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THE

WORKS

Of the Learned

Iſaac Barrow, D. D.

Late Maſter of *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge.*

(Being All his ENGLISH Works.)

In Three Volumes.

Publiſhed by His GRACE,

Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON,

Late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury.*

The Firſt Volume,

Containing { Thirty two *Sermons* Preach'd upon ſeveral Occaſions.
An *Expoſition* of the *Lord's-Prayer*, the *Creed*, &c.
A Learned *Treatiſe* of the *Pope's Supremacy.*

LONDON:

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ADAMS 1129

To the Right Honourable

HENEAGE

Earl of Nottingham,

Lord High Chancellor of *England*,

AND

One of His MAJESTY's most Honourable PRIVY-COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

I Take the boldness to present your Lordship with some of the fruits of my deceased Son's Studies in Divinity. And since it hath pleased God, to my unspeakable grief and loss, to deprive me of so great a blessing, and comfort of my old age; it is no small mitigation of my sorrow, that whilst he liv'd he was not unprofitable to the world, and that now he is dead, he hath left those monuments of his piety and learning behind him, which I am told are generally thought not unworthy to be imparted to the publick.

If theſe *Sermons* be ſuch, I have no cauſe to doubt but they will eaſily obtain your Lordſhip's Patronage, who are ſo known a Favourer of all that is vertuous and worthy, eſpecially of Religion and the Miniſters of it. Of which I had particular experience upon the death of my good Son, when your Lordſhip was pleaſed, with ſo much humanity and condeſcenſion, to ſend to comfort me under that ſad loſs, and to expreſs your own reſentment of it.

But what-ever theſe *Sermons* be, ſince I have no other way to acknowledge my great obligations to your Lordſhip upon all occaſions, I hope your Lordſhip will pleaſe favourably to accept of this, how ſmall ſoever, yet ſincere teſtimony of my dutifull reſpects and gratitude. I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged

and moſt obedient Servant,

THOMAS BARROW.

The

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THE Authour *of the following* SERMONS *was so publickly known, and so highly esteemed by all Learned and Good men, that nothing either needs or can be said more to his advantage. Not but that I think it very fit, that the Picture of this truly-great Man should be drawn at full length, for the knowledge and imitation of posterity; and it will, I hope, be done hereafter by some more skilfull hand: However I shall not within the narrow limits of a* Preface, *so much as attempt the Character of him; of whom, either not a little, or nothing at all ought to be said.*

And the Sermons *themselves do as little need commendation, as the* Authour; *their own excellency and eloquence will praise them best. I shall therefore only advertise the* Reader *of some few things concerning them.*

The Design of the Five *first is, to recommend Religion to our esteem and practice, from the consideration of the manifold excellencies and advantages of it. The* Four *next do treat of the two great Duties of Religion, and parts of Divine Worship,* Prayer *and* Thanksgiving; *and contain likewise a very powerfull persuasive to the practice of them. The* Three *following were preach'd upon three solemn Occasions: The* First *of them upon the* 29. *of* May, 1676.

the

the Anniversary of His MAJESTY's happy Restoration: *The* Second *upon the* 5. *of* November, 1675. *in commemoration of our great Deliverance from the* Powder-Treason: *both in the year of his* Vice-Chancellourship: *The* Third *at the Consecration of the Bishop of* Man, (*afterwards Lord Bishop of* S. Asaph), *his Uncle; in which he pleads for the due Respect and Revenue of the Clergy with so much modesty, and yet with so great force of reason and eloquence, that the whole Profession may justly think themselves for ever indebted to him.*

Some of these twelve Sermons *were the very first that he made; by which we may judge with what preparation and furniture he entred upon this Sacred employment. The* first *of them was preach'd at St.* Mary's *in* Cambridge, June 30. 1661. *and was, I think, the first that he ever preach'd. Those* two *excellent* Sermons *of* Thanksgiving *were, as I am inform'd the next. The* fourth *in order, was the first that he preach'd before the* King's Majesty. *In the placing of them as they now stand, I had very little regard to the order of Time, but rather to some small reason taken from the Subject matter of them, not worth the mentioning; any reason almost being good enough in a matter so indifferent, and where none is necessary.*

The next ten Sermons *are thought fit to be put together, because of their affinity to one another, all of them relating to the same Argument, and tending to reform the several Vices of the Tongue. The* two *last of them indeed against* Pragmaticalness *and meddling in the affairs of others, do not so properly belong to this Subject; but considering that this Vice is chiefly managed by the Tongue, and is almost ever attended with some irregularity and indiscretion of Speech, they are not altogether so foreign and unsutable to it. And never were Discourses of this kind more necessary than in this wicked and perverse Generation; wherein the Vices here reprehended are so very rife, and out of the abundant impiety of mens hearts there proceeds so much* Evil-speaking *of all kinds, in Atheistical Discourses, and blasphemous Railery, and prophane Swearing; and when Censoriousness, Detraction and Slander are scarce accounted faults, even with those who would seem to be most strict in other parts and duties of Religion.*

The Authour *of them, as he was exemplary in all manner of conversation, so especially in this part of it; being of all men I ever had the happiness to know the cleerest of this common guilt, and most free*

free from Offending in Word; *coming as near as is possible for humane frailty to do, to the perfect Idea of* St. James *his* perfect man. *So that in these excellent Discourses of his he hath only transcribed his own practice. All the Rules which he hath given he most religiously observ'd himself, and was very uneasie when at any time he saw them transgressed by others in his company*

There is one thing in them needs excuse, namely, That several things which are more briefly and summarily said in the First of these Sermons about Evil-speaking *are repeated in some of the following Discourses: which because it could not well be avoided, but either by wholly leaving out the First Sermon, or very much mangling some of the rest, will, it is hoped, for that reason be easily pardoned.*

The eight *following* Sermons *are likewise sorted together, because they explain and enforce the* two *great Commandments of the Law, the* Love of God, *and* of our Neighbour.

The two *next were published by himself, and onely those two. The* first *of them, about the* Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor, *was preach'd at the* Spital, *and publish'd at the desire of the* Lord Mayor *and* Court of Aldermen. *This was received with universal approbation; and perhaps there is nothing exstant in* Divinity *more perfect in its kind: it seems to have exhausted the whole Argument, and to have left no consideration belonging to it untouch'd. The other, on the* Passion of our Blessed Saviour, *was the last he preach'd, but one; and, I think, the occasion of his death, by a Cold he then got, which, in all probability, was the cause of the Fever of which he died, to our unspeakable loss. This he sent to the Press himself, but did not live to see it publish'd.*

The last part of this First *Volume is his learned* Treatise *of the* Pope's Supremacy, *to which, because there is prefix'd a* Preface *giving a short account of it, I need not here to say any thing farther of it.*

The next part of this Volume *is a brief Explication of the* Lord's Prayer, *the* Creed, *the* Decalogue, *and the Doctrine of the* Sacraments.

The Creed *also he hath handled in a larger way, in a great many excellent* Sermons *upon the several* Articles *of it, wherein he hath*

not

not only explain'd and confirm'd the great Doctrines of our Religion, but likewise shewn what influence every Article of our Faith ought to have upon our Practice. Which Discourses *make the* Second *Volume of his Works.*

Besides these, the Authour *hath left many other excellent* Sermons, *upon several important and usefull Subjects in* Divinity: *Which make the* Third *Volume, being All his* English *Works.*

Now I heartily recommend these Sermons *which are here publish'd to thy serious perusal; and shall only say this of them, That as they want no other kind of excellency, so particularly they are animated throughout with so genuine a spirit of true Piety and Goodness, that he must either be a perfectly-good, or prodigiously-bad man, that can read them over without being the better for them.*

JOHN TILLOTSON.

SOME

SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Dr. Isaac Barrow:

TO THE

Reverend Dr. TILLOTSON, Dean of *Canterbury.*

SIR,

THE affection of Friends, or interest of the Bookseller has made it usual to prefix the Life of an Authour before his works; and sometimes it is a care very necessary to give him a high and excellent character, the better to protect his Writings against that censoriousness and misconstruction to which all are subject. What Dr. *Barrow* has left do as little as any need such an advantage, standing firm on their own worth; nay, his Works may supply the want of a History of his Life, if the Reader take along with him this general remark, That his Sermons were the counterpart of his Actions; therein he has drawn the true Picture of himself, so that in them *being dead he yet speaketh,*

Heb. 11. 4. *Marg.* or rather, *is ſpoken of.* Yet we the Readers do gladly entertain any hopes of ſeeing his Example added to his Doctrine, and we think we expreſs ſome kind of gratitude for your reviewing, digeſting and publiſhing his Sermons, if we deſire from you his Life too. His Sermons have coſt you ſo much pains as would have produced many more of your own; if now his Life ſhould ask a farther part of your time, it were ſtill promoting the ſame ends, the Doctour's honour, and the publick good. What Memorials I can recollect, I here preſent you, that when you have refined this Ore, it may be admitted as my offering toward his Statue. What may be ſaid would have had a ſtronger impreſſion upon our Paſſions when they were moved upon the firſt news of ſo great a loſs; or perhaps 'twere beſt to forbear till the Publication of all his works, when the Reader will be farther prepared to admire him. But I proceed in the order of time, that the other particulars occurring to your memory or ſuggeſted by other friends may more readily find their proper place, and ſo give the better luſtre to one another: and this I think the fitter to be obſerved becauſe the harmonious, regular, conſtant tenour of his life is the moſt admirable thing in it. For though a life full of variety and even of contrariety were more eaſie to be writ, and to moſt more pleaſant to be read, it leſs deſerves to be imitated.

Dr. *Iſaac Barrow* was the ſon of Mr. *Thomas Barrow* (a Citizen of *London* of good reputation yet living, Brother to *Iſaac Barrow*, late L. Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*) Son of *Iſaac Barrow*, Eſq. of *Spiny Abby* in *Cambridge-ſhire* (where he was a Juſtice of Peace for 40 years) Son of *Philip Barrogh* who has in Print a Method of Phyſick, and had a brother *Iſaac Barrow* Doctour of Phyſick, a Benefactour to *Trinity College*, and there Tutour to *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury* and Lord Treaſurer.

He was born in *London* *October* 1630. his Mother was *Ann*, Daughter of *William Buggin* of *North Cray* in *Kent*, Eſq; whoſe tenderneſs he did not long enjoy, ſhe dying when he was about four years old.

His firſt ſchooling was at the *Charterhouſe* for two or three years when his greateſt recreation was in ſuch ſports

as

as brought on fighting among the Boys; in his after-time a very great courage remained, whereof many inſtances might be ſet down, yet he had perfectly ſubdued all inclination to quarrelling, but a negligence of his Cloaths did always continue with him. For his Book he minded it not, and his Father had little hope of ſucceſs in the profeſſion of a Scholar, to which he had deſigned him. Nay, there was then ſo little appearance of that comfort which his Father afterward received from him, that he often ſolemnly wiſht, that if it pleaſed God to take away any of his Children, it might be his ſon *Iſaac*, ſo vain a thing is man's judgment, and our providence unfit to guide our own affairs

Removing thence to *Felſted* in *Eſſex*, he quickly made ſo great a progreſs in Learning and all things praiſe-worthy, that his Maſter appointed him a little Tutour to the Lord Viſcount *Fairfax* of *Emely* in *Ireland*. While he ſtay'd here he was admitted in *Peter-houſe* his Uncle the Biſhop's College; but when he removed to (and was fit for) the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Feb.* 1645. he was planted in *Trinity* College; His condition was very low, his Father having ſuffered much in his Eſtate on account of adhering to the King's Cauſe, and being gone away from *London* to *Oxford*, his chief ſupport at firſt was from the liberality of the famous and reverend Dr. *Hammond*, to whoſe memory he paid his thanks in an excellent Epitaph (among his Poems) wherein he deſcribes the Doctour and himſelf too; for the moſt, and moſt noble parts of the character do exactly agree to them both. Being now as it were without Relations, he abuſed not the opportunity to negligence in his ſtudies, or licentiouſneſs in his manners, but ſeaſoned his tender years with the principles and the exerciſe of diligence, learning and piety, the beſt preparatives for the ſucceeding varieties of life.

The Young-man continued ſuch a Royaliſt that he would never take the *Covenant*; yet carrying himſelf with fairneſs, candour and prudence he gained the good-will of the chief Governours of the Univerſity. One day Dr. *Hill*, Maſter of the College, laying his hand on his head, ſaid, *thou art a good Lad, 'tis pity thou art a Cavilier*: and when in an Oration on the *Gun-powder-*

treaſon he had ſo celebrated the former times as to reflect much on the preſent, ſome Fellows were provok'd to move for his expulſion, but the Maſter ſilenced them with this; *Barrow is a better man than any of us.* Afterward when the *Ingagement* was impoſed, he ſubſcribed it, but upon ſecond thoughts, repenting of what he had done, he went back to the Commiſſioners and declared his diſſatisfaction, and got his name raſed out of the Liſt.

For the Juniours, he was always ready to give them his help and very freely, though for all the Exerciſes he made for them in verſe and proſe he never received any recompence but one pair of Gloves.

While he was yet a young Scholar his judgment was too great to reſt ſatisfied with the ſhallow and ſuperficial Phyſiology then commonly taught and received in the Univerſities, wherewith Students of meaner abilities contentedly took up, but he applied himſelf to the reading and conſidering the Writings of the Lord *Verulam*, *Monſieur des Cartes*, *Galileo*, and other the great Wits of the laſt Age, who ſeemed to offer ſomething more ſolid and ſubſtantial.

When the time came that he could be choſen Fellow of his College, *Ann. Dom.* 1649. he obtained by his merit, nothing elſe could recommend him who was accounted of the contrary Party. After his Election, finding the times not favourable to men of his opinion in the affairs of Church and State, to qualify him (as he then thought) to do moſt good, he deſigned the Profeſſion of Phyſick, and for ſome years bent his ſtudies that way, and particularly made a great progreſs in the knowledge of Anatomy, Botanicks and Chymiſtry. But afterward upon deliberation with himſelf and conference with his Uncle the late Lord Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, thinking that Profeſſion not well conſiſtent with the Oath he had taken when admitted Fellow, to make Divinity the end of his ſtudies, he quitted Medicine and apply'd himſelf chiefly to what his Oath ſeemed to oblige him.

He was upon all opportunities ſo open and communicative, that many of his friends in that College (for out of it he had few acquaintance) can, and I hope ſome one will report frequent inſtances of his calm temper in a factious

ous time, his large charity in a mean eſtate, his facetious talk upon fit occaſions, his indefatigable induſtry in various ſtudies, his clear judgment on all arguments, his ſteady vertue in all difficulties which they muſt often have obſerved and can better deſcribe.

Of his way of diſcourſe I ſhall here note one thing, that when his opinion was demanded, he did uſually ſpeak to the importance as well as to the truth of the queſtion; this was an excellent advantage, and to be met with in few mens converſation.

Tractare res multi norunt, æſtimare pauci. Cardan.

While he read *Scaliger* on *Euſebius* he perceived the dependence of Chronology on Aſtronomy, which put him on the ſtudy of *Ptolomy*'s *Almageſt*, and finding that Book and all Aſtronomy to depend on Geometry, he applied himſelf to *Euclide*'s *Elements*, not ſatisfied till he had laid firm foundations; and ſo he made his firſt entry into the Mathematicks, having the Learned Mr. *John Ray* then for his *ſocius ſtudiorum*, and always for his eſteemed friend: he proceeded to the demonſtration of the other ancient Mathematicians, and publiſhed his *Euclide* in a leſs form and a clearer method than any one had done before him; at the end of his demonſtration of *Apollonius* he has writ *April* 14. *May* 16. *intra hæc temporis intervalla peractum hoc opus*; to ſo much diligence nothing was impoſſible: and in all his ſtudies his way was not to leave off his deſign till he brought it to effect, only in the Arabick Language he made an Eſſay for a little while and then deſerted it. In the ſame place having alſo writ, *Labore & conſtantiâ*, he adds, *Bonæ ſi conjungantur humilitati & ſubminiſtrent charitati.* With theſe ſpeculations the largeneſs of his mind could joyn Poetry, to which he was always addicted and very much valued that part thereof which conſiſts of deſcription, but the Hyperboles of ſome modern Poets he as much ſlighted; for our Plays he was an enemy to them as a principal cauſe of the debauchery of theſe times, (the other cauſes he thought to be the French education and the ill examples of great Perſons;) for Satyrs, he writ none; his Wit was pure and peaceable.

When Dr. *Duport* reſigned the Chair of Greek Profeſſour, he recommended this his Pupil for his Succeſſour, who

who juſtified his Tutour's opinion by an excellent performance of the Probation exerciſe, but being thought inclined to Arminianiſm he obtained it not; however he always acknowledged the favour which Dr. *Whichcote* ſhewed him on that as on all occaſions. The partiality of others againſt him in that affair ſome thought might help forward his deſire to ſee Foreign Countrys. I make no doubt, but that he, who in leſſer occurrences did very judiciouſly conſider all circumſtances, had on good grounds made this reſolution, and wiſh we now knew them; for the reaſons and counſels of action would take off from the drineſs of this Narration, and more ſtrongly recommend him to imitation.

To provide for his Voyage, *Ann. Dom.* 1654. he ſold his Books and went firſt into *France*; at *Paris* he found his Father attending the Engliſh Court, and out of his ſmall *viaticum* made him a ſeaſonable preſent; he gave his College an account of his Voyage thither, which will be found among his Poems; and ſome farther obſervations in a Letter, which will ſhew his piercing judgment in Political affairs when he applied his thoughts that way.

After ſome Months he went to *Italy*, and made a ſtay at *Florence*, where he had the favour and neglected not the advantage to peruſe many Books in the Great Duke's Library and ten thouſand of his Medals, and diſcourſe thereon with Mr. *Fitton*, the fame of whoſe extraordinary abilities in that ſort of learning had cauſed the Duke to invite him to the charge of that great treaſury of Antiquity.

Florence was too dear a place for him to remain in long, his deſire was to viſit *Rome* rather than any other place, but the Plague then raging there, he took ſhip at *Livorn* (*Nov.* 1657.) for *Smyrna*, where he made himſelf moſt welcome to Conſul *Bretton*, and the Merchants; and ſo at *Conſtantinople*, to Sir *Thomas Bendiſh* the Engliſh Embaſſadour, and Sir *Jonathan Daws*, from whoſe civility he received many favours, and there ever after continued between them an intimate friendſhip.

As he could preſently learn to play at all Games, ſo he could accommodate his Diſcourſe to all Capacities, that it ſhould be grateful and profitable; he could argue a point without arrogance or paſſion to convince the Learned,

and

and could talk pleaſantly to the entertainment of eaſier minds, yet ſtill maintaining his own character, which had ſome ſuch authority as is inſinuated in theſe words of *Cicero* to *Atticus*; *Non te Bruti noſtri vulticulus ab iſta oratione deterret?* Ep.20. l. 14.

At *Conſtantinople*, the See of St. *Chryſoſtome*, he read over all the Works of that Father, whom he much preferred before any of the others, and remained in *Turkey* above a year; returning thence to *Venice*, as ſoon as he was landed the Ship took fire, and with all the goods was burnt, but none of the People had any harm: he came thence home through *Germany* and *Holland*; and ſome part of theſe Travels and Obſervations are alſo related in his Poems.

The term of time was now ſomewhat paſt before which all Fellows of *Trinity* College are by the Oath obliged to take upon them prieſtly Orders, or quit the College; he had no reſt in his mind till he got himſelf ordained, notwithſtanding the times were then very unſetled, the Church of *England* at a very low ebb, and circumſtances much altered from what they were when he took the Oath wherewith others ſatisfied themſelves in the neglect of Orders.

When the Church and ſtate flouriſhed upon the King's reſtauration, his Friends expected great things for him who had ſuffered and deſerved ſo much, yet nothing came, ſo that he was ſenſible enough to ſay, (which he has not left among his Poems)

Te magìs optavit rediturum, Carole nemo,
Et nemo ſenſit te rediiſſe minús.

1660. He was without a Competitor choſen to the Greek Profeſſourſhip in *Cambridge*, of which I can only ſay, that ſome Friend (to himſelf I mean) thought fit to borrow and never to reſtore thoſe Lectures.

July 16. 1662. He was choſen to the Geometry Lecture at *Greſham College*, vacant by the death of Mr. *Laurence Rook*. Dr. *Wilkins*, who while *Trinity College* had the happineſs of his Maſterſhip, thoroughly obſerved and much eſteemed him, and was always zealous to promote worthy men and generous deſigns, did interpoſe vigorouſly for his aſſiſtence,

assistence, well knowing that few others could fill the place of such a Predecessour; he not only discharged the duty incumbent on him, but supplied the absence of his learned Collegue Dr. *Pope*, Astronomy Professour; and among other of his Lectures were divers of the Projections of the Sphere, which he lent out also, and many other Papers we hear no more of. He so well answered all expectation and performed what Dr. *Wilkins* had undertaken for him, that when (1663) Mr. *Lucas* founded a Mathematick Lecture at *Cambridge*, the same good and constant Friend recommended him to the Executours, Mr. *Raworth*, and Mr. *Buck*, who very readily conferr'd on him that employment; and the better to secure the end of so noble and useful a foundation, he took care that himself and Successours should be bound to leave yearly to the University 10 written Lectures; and those of his which have been, and others yet to be printed, will best give an account how well he acquitted himself of that service. But after that learned piece *Geometricæ Lectiones* had been some while in the world, he had heard only of two Persons that had read it through; these two were Monsieur *Slusius* of *Liege*, and Mr. *Gregory* of *Scotland*, two that might be reckoned instead of thousands, yet the little relish that such things met with did help to loosen him from these Speculations, and the more engage his inclination to the study of Morality and Divinity, which had always been so predominant that when he commented on *Archimedes*, he could not forbear to prefer and admire much more *Suarez* for his Book *de Legibus*; and before his *Apollonius* I find written this divine Ejaculation.

Ὁ Θεὸς γεωμετρεῖ.

Tu autem, Domine, quantus es Geometra? quum enim hæc Scientia nullos terminos habeat; cum in sempiternum novorum theorematum inventioni locus relinquatur, etiam penes humanum ingenium, tu uno hæc omnia intuitu perspecta habes, absque catena consequentiarum, absque tædio demonstrationum. Ad cætera penè nihil facere potest intellectus noster; & tanquam brutorum phantasia videtur non nisi incerta quædam somniare, unde in iis quot sunt homines tot existunt ferè sententiæ: in his conspi-

conſpiratur ab omnibus, in his humanum ingenium ſe poſſe aliquid, imo ingens aliquid & mirificum viſum eſt, ut nihil magis mirum, quod enim in cæteris penè ineptum in hoc efficax, ſedulum, proſperum, &c. Te igitur vel ex hac re amare gaudeo, te ſuſpicor, atque illum diem deſiderare ſuſpiriis fortibus in quo purgatâ mente & claro oculo non hæc ſolum omnia abſque hac ſucceſſiva & laborioſa imaginandi cura verum multo plura & majora ex tua bonitate & immenſiſſima ſanctiſſimáque benignitate conſpicere & ſcire concedetur, &c.

The laſt kindneſs and honour he did to his Mathematick Chair was to reſign it (166 .) to ſo worthy a friend and ſucceſſour as Mr. *Iſaac Newton*, fixing his reſolution to apply himſelf intirely to Divinity; and he took a courſe very convenient for his publick perſon as a Preacher, and his private as a Chriſtian; for thoſe Subjects which he thought moſt important to be conſidered for his own uſe he caſt into the method of Sermons for the benefit of others, and herein was ſo exact as to write ſome of them four or five times over; and now he was onely a Fellow of *Trinity College*, till my L. Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* gave him a ſmall *Sine-cure* in *Wales*, and the R. Reverend *Seth* L. Biſhop of *Salisbury* (who very much valued his converſatian) a Prebend in his Church; the advantages of both which he beſtowed in a way of charity, and parted with them as ſoon as he was made Maſter of his College (1672.) he and his Relations being by that time out of a neceſſitous condition; the Patent for his Maſterſhip, being ſo drawn for him as it had been for ſome others, with permiſſion to marry, he cauſed to be altered, thinking it not agreeable with the Statutes, from which he deſired no diſpenſation.

He had hitherto poſſeſſed but a ſcanty Eſtate, which yet was made eaſie to him by a contented mind, and not made a trouble by envy at more plentifull fortunes; he could in patience poſſeſs his Soul when he had little elſe; and now with the ſame decency and moderation could maintain his character under the temptations of proſperity.

When the King advanced him to this dignity, he was pleaſed to ſay, *he had given it to the beſt Scholar in* England; his Majeſty had ſeveral times done him the honour to diſ-

courſe him, and this preferment was not at all obtained by faction or flattery; it was the King's own act though his deſert made thoſe of the greateſt power forward to contribute to it, particularly *Gilbert* Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Buckingham* then Chancelour of *Cambridge*, and formerly a Member of *Trinity College*.

It were a diſreſpect to his College to doubt, that where he had ſpent ſo much time and obliged ſo many Perſons, he ſhould not be moſt welcome; they knew as his power increaſed, the effects of his goodneſs would do ſo too; and the Seniour Fellows ſo well underſtood and eſteemed him, that with good will and joy they received a Maſter much younger than any of themſelves.

Beſides the particular aſſiſtance he gave to many in their ſtudie, he concerned himſelf in every thing that was for the intereſt of his College; upon the ſingle affair of building their Library, he writ out quires of Paper, chiefly to thoſe who had been of the College, firſt to engage them, and then to give them thanks, which he never omitted; theſe Letters he eſteemed not enough to keep Copies of, but by the generous returns they brought in, they appeared to be of no ſmall value; and thoſe Gentlemen that pleaſe to ſend back their Letters will deſerve to be accounted farther Benefactours to the Library. He had always been a conſtant and early man at the Chappel, and now continued to do the ſame; and was therein incouraged not only by his own devotion, but by the efficacy his example had upon many others of his College.

In this place ſeated to his eaſe and ſatisfaction, a ſtation wherein of all others in the world he could have been moſt uſefull, and which he meant not to make uſe of as a ſtep to aſcend higher, he abated nothing of his ſtudies, he yielded the day to his publick buſineſs, and took from his Morning ſleep many hours to encreaſe his ſtock of Sermons and write his Treatiſe of the *Pope's Supremacy*. He underſtood Popery both at home and abroad, he had narrowly obſerved it, militant in *England*, triumphant in *Italy*, diſguiſed in *France*, and had earlier apprehenſions than moſt others of the approaching danger, and would have appeared with the forwardeſt in a needfull time; for his ingagement in that Cauſe, and his place in your Friendſhip, I would

would (with the leave of the moſt worthy Dean of St. *Paul's*, his highly reſpected Friend) call him another Dr. *Stillingfleet*.

But ſo it pleaſed God, that being invited to preach the *Paſſion-Sermon*, *April* 13. 1677. at *Guildhall Chappel* (and it was the ſecond Sermon for which he received a pecuniary Recompence) he never preached but once more, falling ſick of a Fever; ſuch a diſtemper he had once or twice before, otherwiſe of a conſtant health; this fatally prevailed againſt the skill and diligence of many Phyſicians his good Friends.

I think not my ſelf competent to give an account of his life, much leſs of his ſickneſs and death; if great grief had not forced ſilence, you Sir, his deareſt and moſt worthy Friend, had perpetuated the remarkables of that ſad ſcene, in a Funeral Sermon.

Our Paſſions, which have hitherto been kept within the banks, ſhould now be permitted to overflow, and they even expect to be moved by a breath of Eloquence, but that is not my talent. In ſhort, his death was ſuitable to his life; not this imperfect ſlight life as I relate it, but that admirable heroick divine life which he lived.

He died the 4*th*, of *May*, 1677. and had it not been too inconvenient to carry him to *Cambridge*, then Wit and Eloquence had paid their tribute for the honour he has done them.

Now he is laid in *Weſtminſter-Abby*, with a Monument erected by the contribution of his Friends, a piece of gratitude not uſual in this Age, and a reſpect peculiar to him among all the glories of that Church. I wiſh they would (as I have adventured) bring in their Symbols toward the Hiſtory of his Life: there are many which long before me had the advantage of his Converſation, and could offer more judicious obſervations, and in a ſtyle fit to ſpeak of Dr. *Barrow*.

In the Epitaph, Dr. *Mapletoft*, his much eſteemed Friend, doth truly deſcribe him; his Picture was never made from the life, and the Effigies on his Tomb doth little reſemble him. He was in perſon of the leſſer ſize and lean, of extraordinary ſtrength, of a fair and calm complexion, a thin Skin, very ſenſible of the cold; his Eyes gray, clear

and ſomewhat ſhort-ſighted, his Hair of a light aubrun, very fine and curling. He is well repreſented by the Figure of *Marcus Brutus* on his *Denarii*, and I will transfer hither what is ſaid of that great Man.

Cowly.

Vertue was thy Life's centre, and from thence
Did ſilently and conſtantly diſpenſe
The gentle vigorous influence
To all the wide and fair circumference.

The Eſtate he left was Books; thoſe he bought, ſo well choſen as to be ſold for more than they coſt; and thoſe he made, whereof a Catalogue is annexed, and it were not improper to give a farther account of his Works than to name them: Beſide their number, variety, method, ſtyle, fullneſs and uſefulneſs, I might thence draw many proofs to confirm what I have before endeavoured to ſay to his advantage, and many more important reflections will be obvious to you than to ſuch a Reader as I am. I will only take leave to ſay, that for his little piece of *the Unity of the Church*, he has better deſerved of the Church and Religion than many who make a greater Figure in Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtory and Politicks. But ſuch Remarks will be more fitly placed in what we expect from his learned Friends of the Univerſity. And to them I muſt alſo refer for the Obſervables at the taking his ſeveral Degrees, and diſcharging the Office of Vice-chancelour.

There are beſide other particulars which are grateful to talk over among Friends, not ſo proper perhaps to appear in a publick Writing. For inſtance, One morning going out a Friend's Houſe before a huge and fierce Maſtiff was chained up (as he uſed to be all day) the Dog flew at him, and he had that preſent courage to take the Dog by the Throat, and after much ſtrugling bore him to the ground, and held him there till the People could riſe and part them, without any other hurt than the ſtreining of his Hands, which he felt ſome days after.

Some would excuſe me for noting that he ſeem'd intemperate in the love of Fruit, but it was to him Phyſick as well as Food; and he thought that if Fruit kill hundreds in Autumn, it preſerves thouſands; and he was very free

too

too in the uſe of Tobacco, believing it did help to regulate his thinking.

I did at firſt mention the uniformity and conſtant tenour of his life, and proceeding on have noted ſeveral particulars of very different nature. I therefore explain my ſelf thus, that he was always one by his exact conformity to the rule in a vertuous and prudent converſation, he ſteered by the ſame compaſs to the ſame Port when the ſtorms forced him to ſhift his Sails. His fortune did in ſome occaſions partake of the unſettledneſs of the times wherein he lived; and to fit himſelf for the ſeveral works he was to do, he enter'd upon ſtudies of ſeveral kinds, whereby he could not totally devote himſelf to one, which would have been more for the publick benefit, according to his own opinion, which was, that general Scholars did more pleaſe themſelves, but they who proſecuted particular ſubjects did more ſervice to others.

Being thus engaged with variety of men and ſtudies, his mind became ſtored with a wonderful plenty of words wherewith to expreſs himſelf; and it happened that ſometime he let ſlip a word not commonly uſed, which upon reflexion he would doubtleſs have altered, for it was not out of affectation.

But his Life were a ſubject requiring other kind of Diſcourſes; and as he that acts another man, doth alſo act himſelf; ſo he that would give an account of the excellent qualities in Dr. *Barrow*, would have a fair field wherein to diſplay his own. Another *Camerarius* or *Gaſſendus* would make another Life of *Melanchthon* or *Piereskius*. What I am doing will not prevent them; I ſhall be well ſatisfied with my unskilfulneſs if I provoke them to take the argument into better hands.

All I have ſaid, or can ſay, is far ſhort of the Idea which Dr. *Barrow*'s Friends have formed of him, and that Character under which he ought to appear to them who knew him not. Beſide all the defects on my part, he had in himſelf this diſadvantage of wanting foils to augment his luſtre, and low places to give eminence to his heights; ſuch vertues as his, Contentment in all conditions, Candour in doubtful caſes, Moderation among differing Parties, Knowledge without oſtentation, are Subjects fitter for praiſe than narrative.

If

If I could hear of an accuſation, that I might vindicate our Friend's fame, it would take off from the flatneſs of my expreſſion; or a well-managed Faction, under the name of zeal, for or againſt the Church, would ſhew well in ſtory; but I have no ſhadows to ſet off my Piece. I have laid together a few ſticks for the Funeral-fire, dry Bones which can make but a Sceleton, till ſome other hand lay on the Fleſh and Sinews, and cauſe them to live and move. You will encourage others by pardoning me, which I promiſe my ſelf from that goodneſs wherewith Dr. *Barrow* and you have uſed to accept the ſmall ſervice with the great devotion of,

S I R,

Your obedient

London, 10. *April* 1683.

and humble Servant,

A. H.

Iſaacus

Isaacus Barrow.

S. T. P. Regi CAROLO II. A SACRIS.

VIR propè Divinus, & verè Magnus, si quid Magni habent
Pietas, Probitas, Fides, summa Eruditio, par Modestia,
Mores sanctissimi undequaque, & suavissimi.
Geometriæ Professor *Londini Gresshamensis*,
Græcæ Linguæ, & Matheseos apud *Cantabrigienses* suos.
Cathedras omnes, Ecclesiam, Gentem ornavit.
Collegium S. S. *Trinitatis* Præses illustravit,
Jactis Bibliothecæ verè Regiæ Fundamentis auxit.
Opes, Honores, & universum vitæ ambitum,
Ad majora natus, non contempsit, sed reliquit seculo.
Deum, quem à teneris coluit, cum primis imitatus est
Pauciſſimis egendo, benefaciendo quam plurimis,
Etiam posteris, quibus vel mortuus concionari non desinit.
Cætera, & penè Majora ex scriptis peti possunt.

Abi, Lector, & æmulare.

Obiit IV. Die *Maii*, Ann. Dom. MDCLXXVII.

Ætat. suæ XLVII.

Monumentum hoc Amici posuêre.

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The End of the CATALOGUE.

VOL. I.

SERMON I.

The Pleaſantneſs of Religion.

PROV. III. 17.

Her ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace.

THE meaning of theſe words ſeem plain and obvious, and to need little explication. *Her ways*, that is, the ways of Wiſdom. What this Wiſdom is, I ſhall not undertake accurately to deſcribe. Briefly, I underſtand by it, An habitual skill or faculty of judging aright about matters of practice; and chuſing according to that right judgment, and conforming the actions to ſuch good choice. *Ways* and *paths* in Scripture-dialect are the courſes and manners of action. For *doing* there is commonly called *walking*; and the methods of doing are the *ways* in which we walk. By *pleaſantneſs* may be meant the joy and delight accompanying, and by *peace* the content and ſatisfaction enſuing ſuch a courſe of actions. So that, in ſhort, the ſenſe of theſe words ſeems ſimply to be this, That a courſe of life directed by wiſdom and good judgment is delightful in the practice, and brings content after it. The truth of which Propoſition it ſhall be my endeavour at this time to confirm by divers Reaſons, and illuſtrate by ſeveral inſtances.

I. Then, Wiſdom of it ſelf is delectable and ſatisfactory, as it implies a revelation of Truth, and a detection of Error to us. 'Tis like Light, pleaſant to behold, caſting a ſprightly luſtre, and diffuſing a benign influence all about; preſenting a goodly proſpect of things to the eyes of our mind; diſplaying objects in their due ſhapes, poſtures, magnitudes and colours; quickning our ſpirits with a comfortable warmth, and diſpoſing our minds to a chearful activity; diſpelling the darkneſs of ignorance, ſcattering the miſts of doubt, driving away the ſpectres of deluſive fancy; mitigating the cold of ſullen melancholy; diſcovering obſtacles, ſecuring progreſs, and making the paſſages of life clear, open and pleaſant. We are all naturally endowed with a ſtrong appetite to know, to ſee, to purſue Truth; and with a baſhful abhorrency from being deceived, and entangled in miſtake. And as ſucceſs in enquiry after Truth affords matter of joy and triumph; ſo being conſcious of Error, and miſcarriage therein, is attended with ſhame and ſorrow. Theſe deſires Wiſdom in the moſt perfect manner ſatisfies, not by entertaining us with dry, empty, fruitleſs theories, upon mean and vulgar ſubjects; but by enriching our minds with excellent and uſeful knowledge, directed to the nobleſt objects, and ſerviceable to the higheſt ends. Nor in its own nature only, but,

Veritatis lucementi hominis nihil dulcius. Cic. *Acad.* 2.

II. Much more in its worthy consequences is Wisdom exceedingly pleasant and peaceable: in general, by disposing us to acquire and to enjoy all the good, delight and happiness we are capable of; and by freeing us from all the inconveniences, mischiefs and infelicities our condition is subject to. For whatever good from clear understanding, deliberate advice, sagacious foresight, stable resolution, dextrous address, right intention and orderly proceeding doth naturally result, Wisdom confers: whatever evil blind ignorance, false presumption, unwary credulity, precipitate rashness, unsteady purpose, ill contrivance, backwardness, inhability, unwieldiness and confusion of thought, beget, Wisdom prevents. From a thousand snares and treacherous allurements, from innumerable rocks and dangerous surprizes, from exceedingly many needless incumbrances and vexatious toils of fruitless endeavour, she redeems and secures us. More particularly,

III. Wisdom assures us we take the best course, and proceed as we ought. For by the same means we judge aright, and reflecting upon that judgment are assured we do so: as the same arguments by which we demonstrate a theorem convince us we have demonstrated it, and the same light by which we see an object makes us know we see it. And this assurance in the progress of the action exceedingly pleases, and in the sequel of it infinitely contents us. He that judges amiss, not perceiving clearly the rectitude of his process, proceeds usually with a dubious solicitude, and at length, discovering his error, condemns his own choice, and receives no other satisfaction but of repentance. Like a Traveller, who being uncertain whether he goes in the right way, wanders in continual perplexity, till he be informed, and then too late, understanding his mistake, with regret seeks to recover himself into it. But he that knows his way, and is satisfied that it is the true one, makes on merrily and carelessly, not doubting he shall in good time arrive to his designed journey's end. Two troublesome mischiefs therefore Wisdom frees us from, the company of anxious doubt in our actions, and the consequence of bitter repentance, For no man can doubt of what he is sure, nor repent of what he knows good.

IV. Wisdom begets in us a hope of success in our actions, and is usually attended therewith. Now what is more delicious than hope? what more satisfactory than success? That is like the pursuit of a flying enemy, this like gathering the spoil; that like viewing the ripe corn, this like the joy of harvest it self. And he that aims at a good end, and knows he uses proper means to attain it, why should he despair of success, since effects naturally follow their causes, and the Divine providence is wont to afford its concourse to such proceedings? Beside that such well-grounded hope confirms resolution, and quickens activity, which mainly conduce to the prosperous issue of designs. Farther,

V. Wisdom prevents discouragement from the possibility of ill success, yea and makes disappointment it self tolerable. For if either the foresight of a possible miscarriage should discourage us from adventuring on action, or inculpable frustration were intolerable, we should with no heart apply our selves to any thing; there being no designs in this world, though founded upon the most sound advice, and prosecuted by the most diligent endeavour, which may not be defeated, as depending upon divers causes above our power, and circumstances beyond our prospect. The inconstant opinions, uncertain resolutions, mutable affections, and fallacious pretences of men, upon which the accomplishment of most projects rely, may easily deceive and disappoint us. The imper-

imperceptible course of nature exerting it self in sudden tempests, diseases, and unlucky casualties, may surprize us, and give an end to our businesses and lives together. However, the irresistible power of the Divine providence, guided by the unsearchable counsel of his will, we can never be assured that it will not interpose and hinder the effects of our endeavours. Yet notwithstanding, when we act prudently, we have no reason to be disheartened; because, having good intentions, and using fit means, and having done our best, as no deserved blame, so no considerable damage can arrive to us: and though we find Almighty God hath crossed us, yet we are sure he is not displeased with us. Which consideration, wherewith Wisdom furnishes us, will make the worst success not only tolerable, but comfortable to us. For hence we have reason to hope, that the All-wise Goodness reserves a better reward for us, and will sometime recompence not only the good purposes we unhappily pursued, but also the unexpected disappointment we patiently endured; and that however we shall be no losers in the end. Which discourse is mainly fortified by considering how the best and wisest attempts have oft miscarried. We see *Moses*, authorized by God's command, directed by his counsel, and conducted by his hand, intended to bring the *Israelites* into the land of *Canaan*; yet by the unreasonable incredulity and stubborn perverseness of that people he had his purpose frustrated. The holy Prophets afterward earnestly endeavoured to contain the same people within compass of obedience to the Divine commands, and to reduce them from their idolatrous and wicked courses; yet without correspondent effect. Our Saviour, by the example of his holy life, continual instruction, and vehement exhortations, assayed to procure a belief of and submission to his most excellent Doctrine; yet how few *believed his report*, and complied with his Discipline? Yea, Almighty God himself often complains, how in a manner his designs were defeated, his desires thwarted, his offers refused, his counsels rejected, his expectations deceived. *Wherefore*, (saith he concerning his Vineyard) *when I looked it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?* And again, *I have spread out my hands all the day to a rebellious people.* And again, *I have even sent unto you all my prophets daily, rising up early, and sending them; yet they hearkened not unto me.* Wherefore there is no good cause we should be disheartened, or vexed, when success is wanting to well-advised purposes. 'Tis foolish and ill-grounded intentions, and practices unwarrantable by good reason, that make the undertakers solicitous of success, and being defeated leave them disconsolate. Yea farther,

Isa. 5. 4. Isa. 65. 2. Jer. 7. 25, 26.

VI. Wisdom makes all the troubles, griefs and pains incident to life, whether casual adversities, or natural afflictions, easy and supportable; by rightly valuing the importance, and moderating the influence of them. It suffers not busy fancy to alter the nature, amplify the degree, or extend the duration of them, by representing them more sad, heavy and remediless than they truly are. It allows them no force beyond what naturally and necessarily they have, nor contributes nourishment to their increase. It keeps them at a due distance, not permitting them to encroach upon the Soul, or to propagate their influence beyond their proper sphere. It will not let external mischances, as poverty and disgrace, to produce an inward sense which is beyond their natural efficacy: nor corporeal affections of sickness and pain to disturb the mind, with which they have nothing to do. The region of these malignant distempers being at most but the habit of the body, Wisdom by effectual antidotes

repels them from the heart, and inward parts of the Soul. If any thing, sin, and our unworthy miscarriages toward God, should vex and discompose us: yet this trouble Wisdom, by representing the Divine Goodness, and his tender mercies in our ever-Blessed Redeemer, doth perfectly allay. And as for all other adversities, it abates their noxious power, by shewing us they are either merely imaginary, or very short and temporary: that they admit of remedy, or at most do not exclude comfort, not wholly hindring the operations of the mind, nor extinguishing its joys; that they may have a profitable use, and pleasant end; and, however, neither imply bad Conscience, nor induce obligation to punishment. For,

VII. Wisdom hath always a good Conscience attending it, that purest delight and richest cordial of the Soul; that brazen wall, and impregnable fortress against both external assaults, and internal commotions; that *continual feast*, whereon the mind, destitute of all other repast, with a never-languishing appetite may entertain it self; that faithful witness, and impartial judge, whoever accuses, always acquitting the innocent Soul; that certain friend, in no strait failing, in no adversity deserting; that sure refuge in all storms of fortune, and persecutions of disgrace. Which (as *Solomon* here notes) renders a man's *sleep sweet*, and undisturbed with fearful phantasms, his heart light, and his steps secure; and, if any thing, can make the Stoical paradox good, and cause the Wise man to smile in extremity of torment; arming his mind with an invincible courage, and infusing a due confidence into it, whereby he bears up chearfully against malicious reproach, undauntedly sustains adversity, and triumphs over bad fortune. And this invaluable treasure the Wise man is only capable of possessing; who certainly knows, and heartily approves the grounds upon which he proceeds; whenas the fool, building his choice upon blind chance, or violent passion, or giddy fancy, or uncertain example, not upon the steddy warrant of good reason, cannot avoid being perplexed with suspicion of mistake, and so necessarily is deprivd of the comfort of a good Conscience.

VIII. Wisdom confers a facility, expert readiness, and dexterity in action; which is a very pleasant and commodious quality, and exceedingly sweetens activity. To do things with difficulty, struggling and immoderate contention, disheartens a man, quells his courage, blunts the edge of his resolution, renders him sluggish and averse from business, though apprehended never so necessary, and of great moment. These obstructions Wisdom removes, facilitating operations by directing the intention to ends possible and attainable, by suggesting fit means and instruments to work by, by contriving right methods and courses of process; the mind by it being stored with variety of good principles, sure rules, and happy expedients, reposed in the memory, and ready upon all occasions to be produced, and employed in practice.

IX. Wisdom begets a sound, healthful and harmonious complexion of the Soul, disposing us with judgment to distinguish, and with pleasure to relish savory and wholesome things, but to nauseate and reject such as are ingrateful and noxious to us; thereby capacifying us to enjoy pleasantly and innocently all those good things the Divine Goodness hath provided for, and consigned to us; whence to the Soul proceeds all that comfort, joy and vigour, which results to the Body from a good constitution, and perfect health.

X. Wis-

X. Wisdom acquaints us with our selves, our own temper and constitution, our propensions and passions, our habitudes and capacities; a thing not only of mighty advantage, but of infinite pleasure and content to us. No man in the world less knows a fool than himself; nay, he is more than ignorant, for he constantly errs in the point, taking himself for, and demeaning himself as toward another, a better, a wiser and abler man than he is. He hath wonderful conceits of his own qualities and faculties; he affects commendations incompetent to him; he soars at employment surpassing his ability to manage. No Comedy can represent a mistake more odd, and ridiculous, than his: for he wanders, and stares, and hunts after, but never can find nor discern himself; but always encounters with a false shadow instead thereof, which he passionately huggs and admires. But a Wise man, by constant observation, and impartial reflection upon himself, grows very familiar with himself: he perceives his own inclinations, which if bad, he strives to alter and correct; if good, he cherishes and corroborates them: he apprehends the matter he is fitting for, and capable to manage, neither too mean and unworthy of him, nor too high and difficult for him; and those applying his care to, he transacts easily, chearfully and successfully. So being neither puft up with vain and over-weening opinion, nor dejected with heartless diffidence of himself; neither admiring, nor despising; neither irksomely hating, nor fondly loving himself; he continues in good humour, maintains a sure friendship and fair correspondence with himself, and rejoices in the retirement and private conversation with his own thoughts: whence flows a pleasure and satisfaction unexpressible.

XI. Wisdom procures and preserves a constant favour and fair respect of men, purchases a good name, and upholds reputation in the world: which things are naturally desirable, commodious for life, encouragements to good, and preventive of many inconveniences. The composed frame of mind, uniform and comely demeanour, compliant and inoffensive conversation, fair and punctual dealing, considerate motions and dextrous addresses of Wise men naturally beget esteem and affection in those that observe them. Neither than these things is there any thing more commendable to humane regard. As symmetry and harmony to the animal senses, so delectable is an even temper of Soul and orderly tenour of actions to rational apprehensions. Folly is freakish and humorous, impertinent and obstreperous, inconstant and inconsistent, peevish and exceptious; and consequently fastidious to society, and productive of aversation and disrespect. But the Wise man is stable in his ways, consonant to himself, suting his actions to his words, and those to his principles, and all to the rule of right reason; so that you may know where to find him, and how to deal with him, and may easily please him, which makes his acquaintance acceptable, and his person valuable: beside that real worth of it self commands respect; and extorts veneration from men, and usually prosperity waits upon his well-advised attempts, which exceedingly adorn, and advance the credit of the undertaker: however, if he fail sometime, his usual deportment salves his repute, and easily makes it credible it was no fault of his, but of his fortune. If a fool prosper, the honour is attributed to propitious chance; if he miscarry, to his own ill management: but the entire glory of happy undertakings crowns the head of Wisdom; while the disgrace of unlucky events falls otherwhere. His light, like that of the Sun, cannot totally be eclipsed;

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it may be dimmed, but never extinguished, and always maintains a day, though over-clouded with misfortune. Who less esteems the famous *African* Captain for being overthrown in that last fatal battel, wherein he is said to have shewn the best skill, and yet endured the worst of success? Who contemns *Cato*, and other the grave Citizens of *Rome*, for embracing the just, but improsperous Cause of the Commonwealth? A Wise man's circumstances may vary and fluctuate like the floods about a rock; but he persists unmovably the same, and his reputation unshaken: for he can always render a good account of his actions, and by reasonable apology elude the assaults of reproach.

XII. Wisdom instructs us to examine, compare, and rightly to value the objects that court our affections, and challenge our care; and thereby regulates our passions, and moderates our endeavours, which begets a pleasant serenity and peaceable tranquility of mind. For when, being deluded with false shews, and relying upon ill-grounded presumptions, we highly esteem, passionately affect, and eagerly pursue things of little worth in themselves, or concernment to us, as we unhandsomely prostitute our affections, and prodigally mis-spend our time, and vainly lose our labour; so the event not answering our expectation, our minds thereby are confounded, disturb'd and distempered. But when, guided by right reason, we conceive great esteem of, and zealously are enamoured with, and vigorously strive to attain things of excellent worth, and weighty consequence, the conscience of having well placed our affections, and well employed our pains, and the experience of fruits corresponding to our hopes ravishes our mind with unexpressible content. And so it is; Present appearance and vulgar conceit ordinarily impose upon our fancies, disguising things with a deceitful varnish, and representing those that are vainest with the greatest advantage; whilst the noblest objects, being of a more subtile and spiritual nature, like fairest Jewels enclosed in a homely Box, avoid the notice of gross sense, and pass undiscerned by us. But the light of Wisdom, as it unmasks specious imposture, and bereaves it of its false colours; so it penetrates into the retirements of true Excellency, and reveals its genuine lustre. For example, Corporeal Pleasure, which so powerfully allures and enchants us, Wisdom declares that it is but a present, momentany and transient satisfaction of brutish sense, dimming the light, sullying the beauty, impairing the vigour, and restraining the activity of the mind; diverting it from better operations, and indisposing it to enjoy purer delights; leaving no comfortable relish or gladsome memory behind it, but often followed with bitterness, regret and disgrace. That the Profit the World so greedily gapes after is but a possession of trifles, not valuable in themselves, nor rendring the Masters of them so: accidentally obtained, and promiscuously enjoyed by all sorts, but commonly by the worst of men; difficultly acquired, and easily lost; however, to be used but for a very short time, and then to be resigned into uncertain hands. That the Honour men so dote upon is, ordinarily but the difference of a few petty circumstances, a peculiar name or title, a determinate place, a distinguishing ensign; things of only imaginary excellence, derived from chance, and conferring no advantage, except from some little influence they have upon the arbitrary opinion and fickle humour of the people; complacence in which is vain, and reliance upon it dangerous. That Power and dominion, which men so impatiently struggle for, are but necessary evils introduced to restrain the bad tempers of men; most evil to them that enjoy

joy them; requiring tedious attendance, distracting care, and vexatious toil; attended with frequent disappointment, opprobrious censure, and dangerous envy; having such real burthens, and slavish encumbrances, sweetned only by superficial pomps, strained obsequiousness, some petty privileges and exemptions scarce worth the mentioning. That Wit and parts, of which men make such ostentation, are but natural endowments, commendable only in order to use, apt to engender pride and vanity, and hugely dangerous, if abused or misemployed? What should I mention Beauty, that fading toy; or bodily Strength and activity, qualities so palpably inconsiderable? Upon these and such like flattering objects, so adored by vulgar opinion, Wisdom exercising severe and impartial judgment, and perceiving in them no intrinsick excellence, no solid content springing from them, no perfection thence accruing to the mind, no high reward allotted to them, no security to the future condition, or other durable advantages proceeding from them; it concludes they deserve not any high opinion of the mind, nor any vehement passion of the Soul, nor any laborious care to be employed on them, and moderates our affections toward them: it frees us from anxious desire of them; from being transported with excessive joy in the acquisition of them; from being overwhelmed with disconsolate sorrow at the missing of them, or parting with them; from repining and envying at those who have better success than our selves in the procuring them; from immoderate toil in getting, and care in preserving them: and so delivering us from all these unquiet anxieties of thought, tumultuous perturbations of passion, and tedious vexations of body, it maintains our minds in a chearful calm, quiet indifferency, and comfortable liberty. On the other side, things of real worth and high concernment, that produce great satisfaction to the mind, and are mainly conducible to our happiness, such as are a right understanding and strong sense of our obligations to Almighty God, and relations to men, a sound temper and complexion of mind, a vertuous disposition, a capacity to discharge the duties of our places, a due qualification to enjoy the happiness of the other World; these and such like things, by discovering their nature, and the effects resulting from them, it engages us highly to esteem, ardently to affect, and industriously to pursue; so preventing the inconveniences that follow the want of them, and conveying the benefits arising from the possession of them.

XIII. Wisdom distinguishes the circumstances, limits the measures, determines the modes, appoints the fit seasons of action; so preserving *decorum* and order, the parent of peace, and preventing confusion, the mother of iniquity, strife and disquiet. 'Tis in the business of human life as in a building: a due proportion of bigness, a fit situation of place, a correspondency of shape, and suitableness of colour, is to be observed between the parts thereof: a defect in any of which requisites, though the materials hap to be choice and excellent, makes the whole fabrick deformed and ugly to judicious apprehension. The best actions, if they swell, and exceed their due measure, if they be unskilfully misplaced, if in uncouth manner performed, they lose their quality, and turn both to the disgrace and disadvantage of life. 'Tis commendable to pray; but they that would always be performing that duty, by their absurd devotion procured to themselves the title of Hereticks: and they that will stand praying in places of publick concourse, deserved our Saviour's reprehensions; and those men who, against the custom and ordinary

ordinary use, would needs pray with their faces covered; you know S. *Paul* insinuates of them, that they were fond and contentious persons. Friendly admonition is very laudable, and of rare use; but being upon all occasions immoderately used, or in publick society so as to encroach upon modesty, or endamage reputation; or when the person admonished is otherwise employed, and attent upon his business; or being delivered in an imperiously-insulting way, or in harsh and opprobrious language; it becomes unsavoury and odious, and both in shew and effect resembles a froward malicious exceptiousness. 'Twere infinite to compute in how many instances want of due order, measure and manner, do spoil and incommodate action. 'Tis Wisdom that applies remedy to these mischiefs. Things must be compared to, and arbitrated by, her standard, or else they will contain something of monstrous enormity; either strutting in unwieldy bulk, or sinking in defective scantness. If she do not fashion and model circumstances, they will sit ugly on the things that wear them; if she do not temper the colours, and describe the lineaments, the draught of practice will be but rude and imperfect, and little resemble the true patterns of duty: but if she interpose, and perform her part, all things will appear conformable, neat and delicate.

XIV. Wisdom discovers our relations, duties and concernments, in respect of men, with the natural grounds of them; thereby both qualifying and inclining us to the discharge of them: whence exceeding convenience, pleasure and content ensues. By it we understand we are parts and members of the great Body, the Universe; and are therefore concerned in the good management of it, and are thereby obliged to procure its order and peace, and by no irregular undertaking to disturb or discompose it; which makes us honest and peaceable men: that we proceed from the same primitive stock, are children of the same father, and partake of the same blood with all men; are endowed with like faculties of mind, passions of Soul, shape of body, and sense of things: that we have equally implanted in our original constitution inclinations to love, pity, gratitude, sociableness, quiet, joy, reputation: that we have an indispensible need and impatient desire of company, assistance, comfort and relief: that therefore it is according to the design of nature, and agreeable to reason, that to those, to whom our natural condition by so many bands of cognation, similitude and mutual necessitude, hath knit and conjoyned us, we should bear a kind respect and tender affection; should chearfully concur in undergoing the common burthens; should heartily wish and industriously promote their good, assist them in accomplishing their reasonable desires, thankfully requite the courtesies received from them, congratulate and rejoice with them in their prosperity, comfort them in their distresses, and, as we are able, relieve them; however, tenderly compassionate their disappointments, miseries and sorrows. This renders us kind and courteous neighbours; sweet and grateful companions. It represents unto us the dreadful effects and insupportable mischiefs arising from breach of faith, contravening the obligations of solemn pacts, infringing publick laws, deviating from the received rules of equity, violating promises, and interrupting good correspondence among men: by which considerations it engages us to be good citizens, obedient subjects, just dealers, and faithful friends. It minds us of the blindness, impotence and levity, the proneness to mistake, and misbehaviour that human nature necessarily is subject to; deserving rather our commiseration, than anger or hatred, which prompts us to bear the infirmities of our brethren, to be gentle in censure, to be insensible of

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petty affronts, to pardon injuries, to be patient, exorable and reconcileable to those that give us greatest cause of offence. It teaches us, the good may, but the evil of our neighbour can in no wise advantage us; that from the suffering of any man, simply considered, no benefit can accrue, nor natural satisfaction arise to us; and that therefore 'tis a vain, base, brutish and unreasonable thing, for any cause whatsoever, to desire or delight in the grief, pain or misery of our neighbour, to hate or envy him, or insult over him, or devise mischief to him, or prosecute revenge upon him; which makes us civil, noble and placable enemies, or rather no enemies at all. So that Wisdom is in effect the genuine parent of all moral and political vertue, justice and honesty; as *Solomon* says in her person, *I lead in a way of righteousness, and in the midst of the paths of judgment.* Prov. 8. 20. And how sweet these are in the practice, how comfortable in the consequences, the testimony of continual experience, and the unanimous consent of all wise men sufficiently declare. But farther,

XV. The principal advantage of Wisdom is, its acquainting us with the nature and reason of true Religion, and affording convictive arguments to persuade to the practice of it; which is accompanied with the purest delight, and attended with the most solid content imaginable. I say, the Nature of Religion, wherein it consists, and what it requires; the mistake of which produceth daily so many mischiefs and inconveniences in the world, and exposes so good a name to so much reproach. It sheweth it consisteth not in fair professions and glorious pretences, but in real practice; not in a pertinacious adherence to any Sect or party, but in a sincere love of goodness, and dislike of naughtiness, where-ever discovering it self; not in vain ostentations and flourishes of outward performance, but in an inward good complexion of mind, exerting it self in works of true Devotion and Charity; not in a nice orthodoxy, or politick subjection of our judgments to the peremptory dictates of men, but in a sincere love of Truth, in a hearty approbation of and compliance with the Doctrines fundamentally good, and necessary to be believed; not in harsh censuring and virulently inveighing against others, but in carefull amending our own ways; not in a peevish crossness and obstinate repugnancy to received laws and customs, but in a quiet and peaceable submission to the express Laws of God, and lawfull commands of man; not in a furious zeal for or against trivial circumstances, but in a conscionable practising the substantial parts of Religion: not in a frequent talking or contentious disputing about it, but in a ready observance of the unquestionable rules and prescripts of it. In a word, that Religion consists in nothing else but doing what becomes our relation to God, in a conformity or similitude to his Nature, and in a willing obedience to his holy Will: to which by potent incentives it allures and persuades us; by representing to us his transcendently-glorious Attributes, conspicuously displayed in the frame, order and government of the World; that wonderful Power, which erected this great and goodly fabrick; that incomprehensible Wisedom, which preserves it in a constant harmony; that immense Goodness, which hath so carefully provided for the various necessities, delights and comforts of its innumerable inhabitants. I say, by representing those infinitely-glorious Perfections, it engages us with highest respect to esteem, reverence and honour him. Also, by minding us of our manifold obligations to him, our receiving being, life, reason, sense, all the faculties, powers, excellencies, privileges and commodities of

our natures from him; of his tender Care and loving Providence continually supporting and protecting us; of his liberal Beneficence, patient Indulgence, and earnest desire of our good and happiness by manifold expressions evidently manifested toward us; it inflames us with ardent love, and obliges us to officious gratitude toward him. Also, by declaring the necessary and irreconcileable contrariety of his Nature to all impurity and perverseness, his peerless Majesty, his irresistible Power, and his all-seeing Knowledge, it begets an awful dread and a devout fear of him. By discovering him from his infinite Benignity willing, and from his unlimited Power onely able to supply our needs, relieve us in distresses, protect us from dangers, and confer any valuable benefit upon us, it engenders faith, and encourages us to rely upon him. By revealing to us his supereminent Sovereignty, uncontrollable Dominion, and unquestionable Authority over us; together with the admirable excellency, wisdom and equity of his Laws, so just and reasonable in themselves, so suitable to our nature, so conducible to our good, so easie and practicable, so sweet and comfortable; it powerfully inclines, and by a gentle force as it were constrains us to obedience. By such efficacious inducements Wisdom urges us to all duties of Religion, and withall surely directs us (as I before said), wherein it consists; teaching us to have right and worthy apprehensions of the Divine nature, to which our Devotion (if true and good) must be suited and conformed: And so it frees us, as from irreligion and profane neglect of God, so from fond superstitions, the sources of so much evil to mankind. For he that wisely hath considered the Wisdom, Goodness and Power of God, cannot imagine God can with a regardless eye overlook his presumptuous contempts of his Laws, or endure him to proceed in an outrageous defiance of Heaven, to continue hurting himself, or injuring his neighbour; nor can admit unreasonable terrours, or entertain suspicious conceits of God, as of an imperious Master, or implacable Tyrant over him, exacting impossible performances from, or delighting in the fatal miseries of his Creatures; nor can suppose him pleased with hypocritical shews, and greatly taken with superficial courtships of ceremonious address; or that he can in any wise favour our fiery zeals, fierce passions, or unjust partialities about matter of opinion and ceremony; or can do otherwise than detest all factious, harsh, uncharitable and revengefull proceedings, of what nature, or upon what ground soever; or that he can be so inconsistent with himself, as to approve any thing but what is like himself, that is, Righteousness, Sincerity and Beneficence.

Lastly, Wisdom attracts the Favour of God, purchaseth a glorious Reward, and secureth perpetual Felicity to us. *For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom.* And, *glorious is the fruit of good labour: and the root of wisdom shall never fall away.* And, *Happy is the man that findeth wisdom:* and, *whoso findeth* her, *findeth life, and shall obtain favour of the Lord.* These are the words of wise *Solomon*, in the Book of *Wisdom*, and in the *Proverbs*. God loveth her, as most agreeable to his nature; as resembling him; as an off-spring, beam and efflux of that Wisdom which founded the earth, and established the Heavens; as that which begetteth honour, love and obedience to his Commands, and truly glorifies him; and as that which promotes the good of his Creatures, which he earnestly desires. And the paths she leads in are such as directly tend to the promised Inheritance of joy and bliss.

Wisd. 7. 28. 3. 15. Prov. 3. 13. 8. 35.

Thus

Thus have I ſimply and plainly preſented you with part of what my meditation ſuggeſted upon this Subject: It remains that we endeavour to obtain this excellent endowment of Soul, by the faithfull exerciſe of our Reaſon, carefull obſervation of things, diligent ſtudy of the Divine Law, watchfull reflexion upon our ſelves, vertuous and religious practice; but eſpecially, by imploring the Divine influence, the original ſpring of light, and fountain of all true knowledge, following S. *James* his advice, *If any man lack wiſdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth freely.* Therefore, O everlaſting Wiſdom, the Maker, Redeemer and Governour of all things, let ſome comfortable Beams from thy great Body of heavenly Light deſcend upon us, to illuminate our dark minds, and quicken our dead hearts; to enflame us with ardent love unto thee, and to direct our ſteps in obedience to thy Laws, through the gloomy ſhades of this world, into that region of eternal light and bliſs, where thou reigneſt in perfect Glory and Majeſty, one God ever-Bleſſed, world without end. *Amen.*

SERMON II.

The Profitableneſs of Godlineſs.

1 TIM. IV. 8.

----But Godlineſs is profitable for all things.

HOW generally men, with moſt unanimous conſent, are devoted to Profit, as to the immediate ſcope of their deſigns, and aim of their doings, if with the ſlighteſt attention we view what is acted upon this Theatre of human affairs, we cannot but diſcern. All that we ſee men ſo very ſerious and induſtrious about, which we call buſineſs; that which they trudge for in the Streets, which they work or wait for in the Shops, which they meet and croud for at the Exchange, which they ſue for in the Hall, and ſolicit for at the Court, which they plow and dig for, which they march and fight for in the Field, which they travel for at Land, and ſail for (among rocks and ſtorms) upon the Sea, which they plod for in the Cloſet, and diſpute for in the Schools, (yea, may we not adde, which they frequently pray for, and preach for in the Church?) what is it but Profit? Is it not this apparently for which men ſo eagerly conteſt and quarrel, ſo bitterly envy and emulate, ſo fiercely clamour and inveigh, ſo cunningly ſupplant and undermine one another; which ſtuffeth their Hearts with mutual hatred and ſpite, which tippeth their Tongues with ſlander and reproach, which often embrueth their Hands with bloud and ſlaughter; for which they expoſe their Lives and Lims to danger, for which they undergoe grievous Toils and Drudgeries, for which they diſtract their Mind with Cares, and *pierce their heart with ſorrows*; to which they ſacrifice their preſent Eaſe and Content, yea, to which commonly they proſtitute

Prov. 14. 23. Φεῦ δὴ ὀβολῶ ὡς μέγα δύναται πανταχῆ; Ariſtoph. Plut.

their Honour and Conſcience? This, if you mark it, is the great Miſtreſs, which is with ſo paſſionate rivality every where woed and courted; this the common Mark which all eyes aim, and all endeavours ſtrike at; this the Hire which men demand for all their Pains, the Prize they hope for all their Combats, the Harveſt they ſeek from all the year's aſſiduous Labour. This is the Bait, by which you may inviegle moſt men any-whither; and the moſt certain ſign, by which you may prognoſticate what any man will doe: for mark where his Profit is, there will he be. This ſome profeſſedly and with open face, others ſlily and under thin veils of pretence; (under guiſe of friendſhip, of love to publick good, of loyalty, of religious zeal;) ſome directly and in a plain track, others obliquely and by ſubtle trains; ſome by ſordid and baſe means, others in ways more cleanly and plauſible; ſome gravely and modeſtly, others wildly and furiouſly; all (very few excepted) in one manner or another, do clearly in moſt of their proceedings level and drive at.

Primæ ferè voces, & cunctis notiſſima Templis Divitiæ ut creſcant, &c. Juv. Sat. 10.

Omnes ad affectum atque appetitum utilitatis ſuæ naturæ ipſius magiſterio atque impulſione ducuntur. Salv. *ad Eccl. Cath.* 2.

This practice then being ſo general, and ſeeing that men are reaſonable creatures, that it is ſo cannot ſurely proceed from mere brutiſhneſs, or dotage; there muſt be ſome fair colour or ſemblance of reaſon, which draweth men into, and carrieth them forward in this way. The reaſon indeed is obvious and evident enough, the very name of Profit implieth it, ſignifying that which is uſeful, or conducible to purpoſes really or ſeemingly good. The gain of money, or of ſomewhat equivalent thereto, is therefore ſpecially termed Profit, becauſe it readily ſupplieth neceſſity, furniſheth convenience, feedeth pleaſure, ſatisfieth fancy and curioſity, promoteth eaſe and liberty, ſupporteth honour and dignity, procureth power, dependencies and friendſhips, rendreth a man ſome-body, conſiderable in the world; in fine, enableth to doe good, or to perform works of beneficence and charity. Profit is therefore ſo much affected and purſued, becauſe it is, or doth ſeem, apt to procure or promote ſome good deſirable to us.

If therefore a Project ſhould be propoſed to us very fecible and probable to ſucceed, in purſuance whereof aſſuredly we might obtain great Profit; methinks, in conſiſtence with our ſelves, and conformably to our uſual manner of acting, we ſhould be very ready to embrace and execute it. Such a Project it is which in my Text, by a very truſty Voucher, and skilfull Judge of ſuch things, and one who had himſelf fully experimented it, is propoſed; which in it ſelf is very practicable, ſo that any of us may, if we have a mind to it, and will be at the pains, throughly compaſs and carry it on: which will exceedingly turn to accompt, and bring in Gains unto us unſpeakably vaſt; in compariſon whereto all other deſigns, which men with ſo much care and toil do purſue, are very unprofitable, or detrimental, yielding but ſhadows of profit, or bringing real damage to us.

It is briefly this, to be religious or pious; that is, in our minds ſtedfaſtly to believe on God, (ſuch as nature in ſome meaſure, and revelation more clearly declareth him,) in our hearts earneſtly to love and reverence him, through all our practice ſincerely and diligently to obſerve his Laws. This is it which Saint *Paul* affirmeth to be *profitable for all things*, and which it is my intent, by God's help, to recommend unto you as ſuch; demonſtrating it really to be ſo, by repreſenting ſome of thoſe numberleſs benefits and advantages which accrue from it, extending to all conditions and capacities of men, to all ſtates, all ſeaſons, and in effect to all affairs of life.

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It hath been ever a main obſtruction to the practice of Piety, that it hath been taken for no friend, or rather for an enemy, to Profit; as both unprofitable and prejudicial to its followers: and many ſemblances there are countenancing that opinion. For Religion ſeemeth to ſmother or to ſlacken the induſtry and alacrity of men in following Profit, many ways: by charging them to be content with a little, and carefull for nothing; by diverting their affections and cares from worldly affairs to matters of another nature, place and time, preſcribing in the firſt place to ſeek things ſpiritual, heavenly and future; by diſparaging all ſecular wealth, as a thing in compariſon to Vertue and ſpiritual goods, very mean and inconſiderable; by checking greedy deſires and aſpiring thoughts after it; by debarring the moſt ready ways of getting it, (violence, exaction, fraud and flattery,) yea, ſtreightning the beſt ways, eager care and diligence; by commending ſtrict Juſtice in all caſes, and always taking part with Conſcience when it claſheth with Intereſt; by paring away the largeſt uſes of Wealth, in the prohibition of its free enjoyment to pride or pleaſure; by enjoyning liberal communication thereof in ways of charity and mercy; by engaging men to expoſe their goods ſometimes to imminent hazard, ſometimes to certain loſs; obliging them to forſake all things, and to embrace Poverty for its ſake.

It favoureth this conceit, to obſerve, that often bad men by impious courſes do appear to thrive and proſper; while good men ſeem for their goodneſs to ſuffer, or to be no wiſe viſibly better for it, enduring much hardſhip and diſtreſs.

It furthereth the prejudice, that ſome perſons, void of true Piety, or imperfectly good, (ſome *Dabblers* in Religion,) do not from their lame, ſlight and ſuperficial performances feel ſatisfactory returns, ſuch as they did preſume to find; and thence, to the defamation of Piety, are apt to ſay, with thoſe men in the Prophet, *It is vain to ſerve God, and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hoaſts?* Yea, that ſometimes very pious men, being out of humour, and ſomewhat diſcompoſed by the urgent preſſures of affliction, the diſappointments and croſſes incident to all men here in this region of trouble, are apt to complain and expreſs themſelves diſſatisfied, ſaying with *Job*, *It profiteth a man nothing, that he ſhould delight himſelf with God. What advantage will it be unto me, and what profit ſhall I have, if I be cleanſed from my ſin?* or, with *David*, *Verily I have cleanſed my heart in vain, and waſhed my hands in innocency: For all the day long I have been plagued, and chaſtned every morning.* Mal. 3. 14. Job. 34. 9. 35. 3. Pſ. 73. 13, 14.

To theſe conſiderations, diſadvantagious in this reſpect to Piety, may be added, that the conſtant and certain profits emergent from it (although incomparably more ſubſtantial, and to the mind more ſenſible than any other) are not yet ſo groſs and palpable, that men, who from being immerſed in earth and fleſh are blind in errour, dull of apprehenſion, vain and inconſiderate in their judgments, tainted and vitiated in their palates, can diſcern their worth, or reliſh their ſweetneſs. Hence it is, that ſo many follow the judgment and practice of thoſe in *Job*, *who ſay unto God, Depart from us, for we deſire not the knowledge of thy ways. What is the Almighty, that we ſhould ſerve him? and what profit ſhould we have if we pray unto him?* Job 21. 14, 15.

For voiding which prejudices, and the recommendation of S. *Paul's* project, I ſhall (as I ſaid) propoſe ſome of thoſe innumerable advantages, by conſidering which the immenſe profitableneſs of Piety will appear.

appear. And firſt, I ſhall mention thoſe Conſiderations which more plainly do import Univerſality; then ſhall touch ſome Benefits thereof, ſeeming more particular, yet in effect vaſtly large, and of a very diffuſive influence.

I. Firſt then we may conſider, that Piety is exceeding uſefull for all ſorts of men, in all capacities, all ſtates, all relations; fitting and diſpoſing them to manage all their reſpective concernments, to diſcharge all their peculiar duties, in a proper, juſt and decent manner.

Eph 6. 9. Col. 4. 1. It rendreth all ſuperiors equal and moderate in their adminiſtrations; mild, courteous and affable in their converſe; benign and condeſcenſive in all their demeanour toward their Inferiours.

Eph. 6. 5. Col. 3. 22. 1 Pet. 2. 18. Coreſpondently it diſpoſeth Inferiours to be ſincere and faithfull, modeſt, loving, reſpectfull, diligent, apt willingly to yield due ſubjection and ſervice.

It inclineth Princes to be juſt, gentle, benign, carefull for their Subjects good, apt to adminiſter Juſtice uprightly, to protect Right, to encourage Vertue, to check Wickedneſs.

Rom. 13. 1. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13. Anſwerably it rendreth Subjects loyal, ſubmiſſive, obedient, quiet and peaceable, ready to yield due Honour, to pay the Tributes and bear the Burthens impoſed, to diſcharge all Duties, and obſerve all Laws preſcribed by their Governours conſcionably, patiently, chearfully, without reluctancy, grudging or murmuring.

1 Pet. 4. 9. Phil. 2. 14. Eph. 6. 4. Col. 3. 21. 1 Tim. 5. 8. It maketh Parents loving, gentle, provident for their Childrens good education, and comfortable ſubſiſtence; Children again, dutifull, reſpectfull, gratefull, apt to requite their Parents.

Eph. 6. 1. Col. 3. 20. Husbands from it become affectionate and compliant to their Wives; Eph. 5. 25. Col. 3. 19. Wives ſubmiſſive and obedient to their Husbands.

1 Pet. 3. 7. Eph. 5. 22. Col. 3. 18. Tit. 2. 5. 1 Pet. 3. 5. It diſpoſeth Friends to be Friends indeed, full of cordial affection and good-will, entirely faithfull, firmly conſtant, induſtriouſly carefull and active in performing all good offices mutually.

It engageth men to be diligent in their Calling, faithfull to their Truſts, contented and peaceable in their Station, and thereby ſerviceable to Publick good.

Gal. 6. 2, 10. Phil. 4. 8. 1 Theſ. 3. 12. 2 Cor. 9. 13. It rendreth all men juſt and punctual in their Dealing, orderly and quiet in their Behaviour, courteous and complaiſant in their Converſation, friendly and charitable upon all occaſions, apt to aſſiſt, to relieve, to comfort one another.

It tieth all Relations more faſtly and ſtrongly, aſſureth and augmenteth all Endearments, enforceth and eſtabliſheth all Obligations by the firm bands of Conſcience; ſet aſide which, no Engagement can hold ſure againſt temptations of Intereſt, or Pleaſure. Much difference there is between performing theſe Duties out of natural temper, fear of puniſhment, hope of temporal reward, ſelfiſh deſign, regard to credit, or other the like Principles, and the diſcharging them out of religious Conſcience: this alone will keep men tight, uniform, reſolute and ſtable; whereas all other Principles are looſe and ſlippery, will ſoon be ſhaken and faulter.

In Conſequence to thoſe Practices ſpringing from it, Piety removeth oppreſſion, violence, faction, diſorders and murmurings, out of the State; ſchiſms and ſcandals out of the Church; pride and haughtineſs, ſloth and luxury, detraction and ſycophantry out of the Court; corruption and partiality out of Judicatures; clamours and tumults out of the Street; brawlings, grudges and jealouſies out of Families; extortion and cozenage out of Trade; ſtrifes, emulations, ſlanderous backbitings,

tings, bitter and foul language, out of Converſation: in all places in all Societies it produceth, it advanceth, it eſtabliſheth order, peace, ſafety, proſperity, all that is good, all that is lovely or handſome, all that is convenient or pleaſant for humane ſociety and common life. It is that which (as the *Wiſe man* ſaith) *exalteth a nation*; it is that which *eſtabliſheth a throne*. Prov. 14. 34. & 16 12. & 20. 28. & 29. 14. & 8 15. & 29. 8.

It is indeed the beſt prop and guard that can be of Government, and of the Commonweal: for it ſettleth the Body politick in a ſound conſtitution of health, it firmly cementeth the parts thereof; it putteth all things into a right order and ſteddy courſe. It procureth mutual reſpect and affection between Governours and Subjects, whence ariſeth ſafety, eaſe and pleaſure to both. It rendreth men truly good, (that is, juſt and honeſt, ſober and conſiderate, modeſt and peaceable,) and thence apt, without any conſtraint or ſtir, to yeild every one their due; not affected to needleſs change, not diſpoſed to raiſe any diſturbance. It putteth men in good humour, and keepeth them in it; whence things paſs ſmoothly and pleaſantly. It cheriſheth worth, and encourageth induſtry; whence Vertue flouriſheth, and Wealth is encreaſed; whence the occaſions and means of diſorder are ſtopt, the pretences for ſedition and faction are cut off. In fine, it certainly procureth the benediction of God, the ſource of all welfare and proſperity: whence, *When it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoyceth*; and, *When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoyce*, ſaith the great Politician, *Solomon*. Prov. 11 10. 29. 2.

It is therefore the concernment of all men, who (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaketh) *deſire to live well, and would fain ſee good days*; it is the ſpecial intereſt of great Perſons, (of the Magiſtracy, the Nobility, the Gentry, of all perſons that have any conſiderable intereſt in the world,) who would ſafely and ſweetly enjoy their dignity, power or wealth, by all means to protect and promote Piety, as the beſt inſtrument of their ſecurity, and undiſturbedly enjoying the accommodations of their ſtate. 'Tis in all reſpects their beſt wiſdom and policy; that which will as well preſerve their outward ſtate here, as ſatisfie their conſciences within, and ſave their Souls hereafter. All the *Machiavilian* arts and tricks, all the ſleights and fetches of wordly craft do ſignifie nothing in compariſon to this one plain and eaſie way of ſecuring and furthering their Intereſts. Pſal. 34. 12. 1 Pet. 3. 10.

If then it be a groſs abſurdity to deſire the fruits, and not to take care of the root, not to cultivate the ſtock, whence they ſprout; if every Prince gladly would have his Subjects loyal and obedient, every Maſter would have his Servants honeſt, diligent and obſervant, every Parent would have his Children officious and gratefull, every man would have his Friend faithfull and kind, every one would have thoſe juſt and ſincere with whom he doth negotiate or converſe; if any one would chuſe to be related to ſuch, and would eſteem their relation a happineſs: then conſequently ſhould every man in reaſon ſtrive to further Piety, from whence alone thoſe good diſpoſitions and practices do proceed.

II. Piety doth fit a man for all conditions, qualifying him to paſs through them all with the beſt advantage, wiſely, chearfully and ſafely; ſo as to incurre no conſiderable harm or detriment by them.

Is a man proſperous, high, or wealthy in condition? Piety guardeth him from all the miſchiefs incident to that ſtate, and diſpoſeth him to enjoy the beſt advantages thereof. It keepeth him from being ſwelled

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and puffed up with vain conceit, from being tranſported with fond complacence or confidence therein; minding him, that it is purely the gift of God, that it abſolutely dependeth on his diſpoſal, ſo that it may ſoon be taken from him, and that he cannot otherwiſe than by humility, by gratitude, by the good uſe of it, be ſecure to retain it; minding him alſo, that he ſhall aſſuredly be forced to render a ſtrict accompt concerning the good management thereof. It preſerveth him from being perverted or corrupted with the temptations to which that condition is moſt liable; from luxury, from ſloth, from ſtupidity, from forgetfulneſs of God, and of himſelf; maintaining among the flouds of plenty a ſober and ſteddy mind. It fenceth him from inſolence, and faſtuous contempt of others; rendereth him civil, condeſcenſive, kind and helpfull to thoſe who are in a meaner ſtate. It inſtructeth and inciteth him to apply his wealth and power to the beſt uſes, to the Service of God, to the benefit of his Neighbour, for his own beſt reputation, and moſt ſolid comfort. It is the right balaſt of proſperity, the onely antidote for all the inconveniences of wealth; that which ſecureth, ſweetneth and ſanctifieth all other goods: without it all apparent goods are very noxious, or extremely dangerous: riches, power, honour, eaſe, pleaſure, are ſo many poiſons, or ſo many ſnares, without it. Again, Is a man poor and low in the world? Piety doth improve and ſweeten even that ſtate: it keepeth his ſpirits up above dejection, deſperation and diſconſolateneſs; it freeth him from all grievous ſolicitude and anxiety; ſhewing him, that although he ſeemeth to have little, yet he may be aſſured to want nothing, he having a certain ſuccour and never-failing ſupply from God's good Providence; that notwithſtanding the preſent ſtraitneſs of his condition, or ſcantneſs of outward things, he hath a title to Goods infinitely more precious and more conſiderable. A pious man cannot but apprehend himſelf like the Child of a moſt wealthy, kind and carefull Father, who although he hath yet nothing in his own poſſeſſion, or paſſing under his name, yet is aſſured that he can never come into any want of what is needfull to him: the Lord of all things (who hath all things in Heaven and Earth at his diſpoſal, who is infinitely tender of his Childrens good, who doth inceſſantly watch over them) being his gracious Father, how can he fear to be left deſtitute, or not to be competently provided for, as is truly beſt for him?

This is the difference between a pious, and an impious man. Is the pious man in need? he hath then an inviſible refuge to fly to, an inviſible ſtore to furniſh him; he hath ſomewhat beyond all preſent things to hope in, to comfort himſelf with: whereas the impious perſon hath nothing beſide preſent appearances to ſupport or ſolace himſelf by; the which failing, down he ſinketh into dejection and deſpair. Is the good man in affliction; he knoweth that it cometh not on him without God's wiſe appointment, nor without good intention toward him, for probation, exerciſe and improvement of his Virtues, or for wholeſome correction of his bad diſpoſitions; that it is onely Phyſick and Diſcipline to him, which ſhall have a comfortable iſſue; that it ſhall laſt no longer than it is expedient for him that it ſhould: wherefore he patiently ſubmitteth to it, and undergoeth it chearfully, with the ſame mind wherewith a Patient ſwalloweth down an unſavoury Potion,

Scimus amicos Dei ab amantiſſimo, miſericordiſſimo Patre Deo mala iſta pœnalia recipere, non ut pœnam ſeu vindictam iracundiæ, ſed magis ut correctiones & medicamenta ſtultitiæ, & adjumenta virtutis, ut malleationes ſive fabricationes, & tunſiones, ſive ablutiones, & candidationes. Guil. Par. *de Sacram.*

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which he presumeth will conduce to his Health. Never, indeed, hath any man enjoyed more real content, or hath been more truly satisfied, than good men have been in a seeming depth of adversity. What men ever upon earth have been more sorely afflicted, have underwent greater losses, disgraces, labours, troubles, distresses in any kind, than did the H. Apostles? yet did they most heartily rejoyce, exult and triumph in them all. Such a wondrous virtue hath Piety to change all things into matter of consolation and joy. No condition in effect can be evil or sad to a pious man: his very sorrows are pleasant, his infirmities are wholesome, his wants enrich him, his disgraces adorn him, his burthens ease him; his duties are priviledges, his falls are the grounds of advancement, his very sins (as breeding contrition, humility, circumspection and vigilance) do better and profit him: whereas Impiety doth spoil every condition, doth corrupt and embase all good things, doth embitter all the conveniences and comforts of life.

Ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ ἐπεκέφιζεν ἡ χαρὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας, καὶ ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἐπεγγελμένων, καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ πατρικόν. Euseb. 5 1. *Mart Lugd.*

III. Piety doth virtually comprise within it all other profits, serving all the designs of them all: what-ever kind of desirable good we can hope to find from any other profit, we may be assured to enjoy from it.

He that hath it is *ipso facto* vastly rich, is entituled to immense treasures of most precious Wealth; in comparison whereto all the gold and all the jewels in the world are mere baubles. He hath interest in God, and can call him his, who is the *All*, and in regard to whom all things existent are *less than nothing*. The infinite Power and Wisdom of God belong to him, to be ever, upon all fit occasions, employed for his benefit. All the inestimable treasures of Heaven (a place infinitely more rich than the *Indies*) are his, after this moment of life, to have and to hold for ever: so that great reason had the *Wise man* to say, that *In the house of the righteous is much treasure*. Piety therefore is profitable, as immediately instating in wealth: and whereas the desired fruits of profit are chiefly these, honour, power, pleasure, safety, liberty, ease, opportunity of getting knowledg, means of benefitting others; all these we shall see do abundantly accrue from Piety, and in truth onely from it. Prov. 15. 6.

The Pious man is in truth most honourable. *Inter homines pro summo est optimus*, saith *Seneca*; whom *Solomon* translated thus, *The righteous is more excellent than his neighbour*. He his dignified by the most illustrious titles, a Son of God, a Friend and Favourite to the Sovereign King of the World, an Heir of Heaven, a Denizon of the *Jerusalem* above: Titles far surpassing all those which worldly state doth assume. He is approved by the best and most infallible judgments, wherein true Honour resideth. He is respected by God himself, by the H. Angels, by the blessed Saints, by all good and all wise persons; yea, commonly, by all men: for the effects of genuine Piety are so venerable and amiable, that scarce any man can do otherwise than in his heart much esteem him that worketh them. Sen. *Ep.* 90. Prov, 12 26. Καθ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος τιμητός Aristot. *Eth.* 3. 3. Prov. 12 8,4.

The Pious man is also the most potent man: he hath a kind of omnipotency, because he can do what-ever he will, that is, what he ought to doe; and, because the Divine Power is ever ready to assist him in his pious enterprises, so that *He can do all things by Christ that strengthneth him*. He is able to combat and vanquish him that is ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, *the stout and mighty one*; to wage war with happy success *against principalities and powers*. He conquereth and commandeth himself, which is the bravest *Tantum quantum vult potest, qui se nisi quod debet non putat posse* Senec. *Ep.* 90. Prov. 16. 32. 25. 28.

Vide Sen *de Ben.* 5, 7.

braveſt victory, and nobleſt empire: he quelleth fleſhly luſts, ſubdueth inordinate paſſions, and repelleth ſtrong temptations. He, *by his faith, overcometh the world* with a conqueſt far more glorious than ever any *Alexander* or *Cæſar* could do. He, in fine, doth perform the moſt Worthy exploits, and deſerveth the moſt honourable triumphs that man can do.

The Pious man alſo doth enjoy the onely true Pleaſures; hearty, pure, ſolid, durable Pleaſures; ſuch Pleaſures as thoſe of which the divine Pſalmiſt ſingeth, *In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.* That *all joy in believing*, that *gayety of hope*, that inceſſant *rejoycing in the Lord*, and *greatly delighting in his Law*, that continual feaſt of a good Conſcience, that *ſerving the Lord with gladneſs*, that *exceeding gladneſs with God's countenance*, that *comfort of the Holy Spirit*, that *joy unſpeakable and full of glory*; the ſatisfaction reſulting from the contemplation of Heavenly truth, from the ſenſe of God's favour, and the pardon of his ſins, from the influence of God's grace, from the hopes and anticipation of everlaſting bliſs; theſe are Pleaſures indeed, in compariſon whereto all other pleaſures are no more than brutiſh ſenſualities, ſordid impurities, ſuperficial touches, tranſient flaſhes of delight: ſuch as ſhould be inſipid and unſavoury to a rational appetite; ſuch as are tinctured with ſourneſs and bitterneſs, have painfull remorſes or qualms conſequent. All the Pious man's performances of duty and of devotion are full of pure ſatisfaction and delight here, they ſhall be rewarded with perfect and endleſs joy hereafter.

Pſal. 16. 11. Rom. 15. 13 Heb. 3. 6. Phil. 4. 4. Pſal. 43. 4. Pſal. 112. 1. & 1. 2. & 119. 16, 24, 47, 70, 77, 92, 143, 111. Pſal. 100 2 & 21. 6. & 94. 19. Iſa. 29. 19. Joh. 26. 20. &c. 1 Pet. 1. 8. Rom. 14. 17.

Quid enim jucundius, quàm Dei Patris & Domini reconciliatio, quàm veritatis revelatio, quam errorum recognitio, quàm tot retrò criminum venia? quæ major voluptas, quàm faſtidium ipſius voluptatis, quàm ſeculi totius contemptus, quàm vera libertas, quàm conſcientia integra, quàm vita ſufficiens, quàm mortis timor nullus? &c. Tert. *de Spectac.* 29.

As for ſafety, the Pious man hath it moſt abſolute and ſure: he being guarded by Almighty power and wiſdom: *reſting under the ſhadow of God's wings*; God *upholding him with his hand, ordering his ſteps, ſo that none of them ſhall ſlide, holding his ſoul in life, and ſuffering not his feet to be moved*; he being, by the grace and mercy of God, ſecured from the aſſaults and impreſſions of all enemies, from ſin and guilt, from the Devil, world and fleſh, from death and hell, which are our moſt formidable, and in effect only dangerous enemies.

Pſal. 17. 8. & 36. 7. & 57. 1. & 61. 4. & 91. 4. Pſal. 37. 24. & 119. 117. Pſal. 37. 23, 31. & 119. 133. Pſal. 66. 9. Pſal. 119. 45.

As for Liberty, the Pious man moſt entirely and truly doth enjoy that; he alone is free from captivity to that cruel Tyrant, *Satan*, from the miſerable ſlavery to Sin, from the grievous dominion of luſt and paſſion. He can doe what he pleaſeth, having a mind to doe only what is good and fit. The Law he obſerveth is worthily called *the perfect law of liberty*; the Lord he ſerveth pretendeth only to command freemen and friends: *Ye are my friends*, ſaid he, *if ye doe whatever I command you*; and, *If the Son ſet you free, then are ye free indeed.*

Jam. 1. 25. Joh. 15. 14. Joh 8 36.

And for Eaſe, 'tis he only that knoweth it; having his mind exempted from the diſtraction of care, from diſorder of paſſion, from anguiſh of Conſcience, from the drudgeries and troubles of the world, from the vexations and diſquiets which ſin produceth. He findeth it made good to him, which our Lord inviting him did promiſe, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt:* he feeleth the truth of thoſe Divine aſſertions, *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee*; and, *Great peace have they which love thy Law, and nothing ſhall offend them.*

Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ἐκ ἔστιν ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος ὁ Χριστῷ ζῶν. Chryſ. *ad* Theod.

Iſa. 26 3. Pſ 119. 165. Matt. 11. 28.

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As for Knowledge, the Pious man alone doth attain it conſiderably, ſo as to become truly wiſe, and learned to purpoſe. *Evil men* (ſaith the *Wiſe man* himſelf, who knew well,) *underſtand not judgment: but they that ſeek the Lord underſtand all things.* It is the Pious man that employeth his mind upon the moſt proper and worthy objects, that knoweth things which certainly beſt deſerve to be known, that hath his Soul enriched with the choiceſt notions: he skilleth to aim at the beſt ends, and to compaſs them by the fitteſt means; he can aſſign to each thing its due worth and value; he can proſecute things by the beſt methods, and order his affairs in the beſt manner: ſo that he is ſure not to be defeated or diſappointed in his endeavours, nor to miſ-ſpend his care and pains, without anſwerable fruit. He hath the beſt Maſter to inſtruct him in his ſtudies, and the beſt rules to direct him in his proceedings: he cannot be miſtaken, ſeeing in his judgment and choice of things he conſpireth with infallible Wiſdom. Therefore ὁ εὐσεβὼν ἀνὴρ φιλοσοφεῖ, *the pious man is the exquiſite philoſopher. The fear of the Lord that is wiſdom, and to depart from evil is underſtanding. The fear of the Lord* (as is ſaid again and again in Scripture) *is the head* (or *top*) *of wiſdom. A good underſtanding have all they that keep his commandments.* Farther, the Pious man is enabled and diſpoſed (hath the power and the heart) moſt to benefit and oblige others. He doth it by his ſuccour and aſſiſtence, by his inſtruction and advice, which he is ever ready to yield to any man upon fit occaſion: he doth it by the direction and encouragement of his good Example: he doth it by his conſtant and earneſt Prayers for all men: he doth it by drawing down Bleſſings from Heaven on the place where he reſideth. He is upon all accounts the moſt true, the moſt common benefactour to mankind; all his neighbours, his Country, the World are in ſome way or other obliged to him: at leaſt, he doeth all the good he can, and in wiſh doth benefit all men.

Prov. 28. 5, 7. Trifmeg. Job 28. 28. Prov 9. 10. Pſal. 111. 10. 119. 34, 99, 104, 130.

Thus all the fruits and conſequences of Profit, the which engage men ſo eagerly to purſue it, do in the beſt kind and higheſt degree reſult from Piety, and, indeed, onely from it. All the Philoſophical *Bravado's* concerning a Wiſe man being onely rich, onely honourable, onely happy, onely above fortune, are verified in the Pious man: to him alone, as ſuch, with a ſure foundation, without vanity, with evident reaſon thoſe Aphoriſms may be applied. They are Paradoxes and fictions abſtracting from Religion, or conſidering men onely under the light and power of nature: but ſuppoſing our Religion true, a good Chriſtian ſoberly, without arrogance, in proportion and according to the meaſure of his Piety, may aſſume them to himſelf, as the H. Apoſtles did; *I poſſeſs all things, I can do all things*, he may in a ſort ſay after S. *Paul*.

As for all other Profits, ſecluding it, they are but imaginary and counterfeit, mere ſhadows and illuſions, yielding onely painted ſhows inſtead of ſubſtantial fruit.

Sen. *Ep.* 59.

If from bare worldly wealth (that which uſurpeth the name of Profit here) a man ſeeketh Honour, he is deluded, for he is not thereby truly honourable; he is but a ſhining Earth-worm, a well-trapped Aſs, a gaudy Statue, a theatrical Grandee: with God, who judgeth moſt rightly, he is mean and deſpicable: no intelligent perſon can inwardly reſpect him. Even here (in this world of fallacy and dotage) the wiſeſt and ſobereſt men, whoſe judgment uſually doth ſway that of others, cannot but contemn him, as Maſter of no real good, nor fit for any good purpoſe; as ſeeing that in the end he will prove moſt beggarly and wretched.

If a man affecteth Power thence, he is grievouſly miſtaken; for, inſtead thereof, he proveth exceedingly feeble and impotent, able to perform nothing worthy a man, ſubject to fond humours and paſſions, ſervant to divers luſts and pleaſures, *captivated by the Devil at his pleaſure*, overborn by temptation, hurried by the ſtream of the World, and liable to the ſtroaks of furtune.

If he propoundeth to himſelf thence the enjoyment of Pleaſure, he will alſo much fail therein: for in lieu thereof he ſhall find care and trouble, ſurfeiting and diſeaſe, weariſome ſatiety and bitter regret; being void of all true delight in his mind, and ſatisfaction in his Conſcience; nothing here being able to furniſh ſolid and ſtable pleaſure.

If he fanſieth Safety, he deludeth himſelf: for how can he be ſafe, who is deſtitute of God's protection and ſuccour: who is the object of Divine wrath and vengeance; who is aſſailed by many fierce and powerful enemies; whom the roaring Lion is ready to devour; whom
1 Theſſ. 5. 3. Prov. 10. 29 Death and *ſudden deſtruction* are coming to ſeiſe upon; whom Guilt threatneth, and Hell gapeth for; who without any guard or fence ſtandeth expoſed to ſuch imminent, ſuch horrid and ghaſtly dangers?

If he thirſt for Liberty, he will be fruſtrated: for he can be no otherwiſe than a ſlave, while he continueth impious; *ſervus tot dominorum,*
Auguſt. Prov. 25. 28. *quot vitiorum, a ſlave to ſo many maſters as he keepeth vices:* a ſlave to himſelf, and his own Luſts: carrying about with him the fetters of unſatiable deſire, being hampered with inconſiſtent and irregular affections?

Eaſe he cannot obtain, being oppreſſed with unwieldy burthens of ſin, of eare, of trouble; being toſſed with reſtleſs agitations of luſt and
Iſa. 57. 20. paſſion; being *like the troubled ſea, which cannot reſt, whoſe waters caſt up mire and dirt.*

If he meaneth to get Wiſdom, he is out: for wiſdom and Impiety are incompatible things. All his knowledg is vain, all his ſpeculations are no better than dreams, ſeeing he erreth in the main point, and is *not wiſe to ſalvation.*

He is, in fine, extreamly miſtaken, and in all his projects will be lamentably diſappointed, whoever fanſieth any true profit without Piety: he never can attain to be ſo much as wealthy; but drudge and plod what he can, muſt be a begger, and a forlorn wretch. For how can he be any-wiſe rich, who doth want all the beſt things, the onely valuable things in the world, which any man may have, which any good man doth poſſeſs? How can he be rich, who is deſtitute of the moſt needful accommodations of life; who conſtantly feedeth on the courſeſt and moſt ſordid fare, (the duſt of pelf, the dung of ſenſuality;) who hath no faithful or conſtant friends, (nothing earthly can be ſuch;) who is maſter of nothing but dirt, or chaff, or ſmoak? Whereas alſo Riches do conſiſt, not in what one enjoyeth at preſent, (for that can be little) but in a preſumed ability to enjoy afterward what he may come to need or deſire; or in well-grounded hopes that he ſhall never fall into want or diſtreſs. How can that man be rich, who hath not any confidence in God, any intereſt in him, any reaſon to expect his Bleſſing? yea, who hath much ground to fear the diſpleaſure of him, in whoſe hand all things are, and who arbitrarily diſpoſeth of all? Piety there-
Prov. 3. 15. fore is the onely profitable thing, according to juſt eſteem. *She is more pretious than rubies, and all the things we can deſire are not to be compared to her.* Upon this accompt it is moſt true, what the *Pſalmiſt*
Pſal. 37. 16. affirmeth, *A little that the righteous hath, is better than great riches of the ungodly.*

IV. That

IV. That Commendation is not to be omitted which is neareſt at hand, and ſuggeſted by S. *Paul* himſelf to back this aſſertion concerning the univerſal profitableneſs of Piety; *For* (ſaith he) *it hath the promiſe of the life that now is, and of that which is to come*: that is, God hath promiſed to reward it with Bleſſings appertaining to this mortal life, and with thoſe which concern the future eternal ſtate.

As for the Bleſſings of this life, although God hath not promiſed to load the godly man with affluence of worldly things, not to put him into a ſplendid and pompous garb, not to diſpenſe to him that which may ſerve for pampering the fleſh, or gratifyinng wanton fancy, not to exempt him from all the inconveniences to which humane nature and this worldly ſtate are ſubject; yet hath he promiſed to furniſh him with what-ever is needfull or convenient for him, in due meaſure and ſeaſon, the which he doth beſt underſtand. There is no good thing which a man naturally deſireth, or reaſonably can wiſh for, which is not in expreſs terms propoſed as a reward, or a reſult of Piety.

In general, it is declared, that *Bleſſings are upon the head of the juſt*; Prov. 10 6. that, *No good thing God will withhold from them that walk uprightly*; Deut. 28. 8. 30. 9. that, what-ever otherwiſe doth fall out, it *aſſuredly ſhall be well with them that fear God*; Pſal. 84. 11. Eccles 8. 12. that, *Bleſſed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways: -- happy ſhalt thou be, and it ſhall be well with thee*; Iſa. 3 10 Pſ. 128. 1, 2. that, *There ſhall no evil happen to the juſt*; (Prov. 8. 35) that, *All things work together for good to them that love God*. Prov. 12. 21. Rom. 8. 28.

Particularly, there are promiſed to the Pious man,

A Supply of all wants. *The Lord will not ſuffer the ſoul of the righteous to famiſh. The righteous eateth to the ſatisfying of his ſoul. There is no want to them that fear God. The young Lions do lack, and ſuffer hunger; but they that ſeek the Lord ſhall not want any good thing.* Prov. 10. 3. Prov. 13. 25. Pſ. 34 9, 10, & 33 19. & 36. 3, 19.

A Protection in all Dangers. *The eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their ſoul from death, and to keep them alive in famine. There ſhall no evil befall thee, neither ſhall any plague come nigh thy dwelling: He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways.* Pſal. 33. 18. & 34. 20. & 112. 7. & 37. 28. Pſ. 91. 10, 11

Guidance in all his undertakings and proceedings. *The ſteps of a good man are ordered by the Lord — none of his ſteps ſhall ſlide. — In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he ſhall direct thy path.* Pſ. 37, 23, &: Prov. 3. 6. (Prov. 11. 3, 5. & 16. 3.)

Succeſs and proſperity in his Deſigns. *Commit thy way unto the Lord, truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs. — Whatſoever he doeth, it ſhall proſper. — Thou ſhalt decree a thing, and it ſhall be eſtabliſhed; and the light ſhall ſhine upon thy ways. The Lord ſhall command a bleſſing upon thee in thy ſtore-houſes, and in all that thou ſetteſt thine hand unto. Thine expectations ſhall not be cut off.* Pſal. 37. 5. Pſal. 1. 3. Job 22. 28. Deut. 28. 8, 12. Prov. 23. 18.

Comfortable enjoying the fruits of his induſtry. — *Thou ſhalt eat the labour of thine hands.* — Pſal. 128. 2.

Satisfaction of all reaſonable Deſires. *The deſire of the righteous ſhall be granted. Delight thy ſelf in the Lord, and he ſhall give thee the deſires of thine heart. He will fulfill the deſire of them that fear him: he will hear their cry, and will ſave them.* Prov. 10, 24. Pſal. 37. 4. 145. 19

Firm Peace and quiet. *The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace; and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever. Great peace have they which love thy Law. The fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowed in peace.* Iſa. 32. 17. Pſ. 119. 165. Jam. 3. 18.

Joy and alacrity. *Light is ſown for the righteous, and gladneſs for the upright in heart. In the tranſgreſſion of an evil man there is a ſnare: but the righteous doth ſing and rejoyce.* Pſal. 97. 11. Prov. 29. 6.

Sup-

Pſal. 147. 3. Support and comfort in afflictions. *He healeth the broken in heart,*
31. 24. *and bindeth up their wounds. Be of good courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen*
27. 14. *your heart, all ye that hope in the Lord.*

34 19. Deliverance from trouble. *Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but*
37. 39. *the Lord delivereth him out of all. He keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken.*

37. 24. Preſervation and recovery from miſ-haps, or miſcarriages. *Though he fall, he ſhall not be utterly caſt down: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.*

Preferment of all ſorts, to honour and dignity, to wealth and pro-
Pſal 37. 34. ſperity. *Wait upon the Lord, and keep his way; and he ſhall exalt thee to*
Prov. 22. 4. *inherit the land. By humility and fear of the Lord are riches and honour.*
Pſal. 112. 1,3. *Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord —— wealth and riches are in his*
Prov. 28. 10 *houſe. The upright ſhall have good things in poſſeſſion. If they obey and*
(Job 36. 7.) *ſerve him, they ſhall ſpend their days in proſperity, and their years in plea-*
Job. 36. 11. *ſure. The tabernacle of the righteous ſhall flouriſh.*
Prov. 14. 11.

Long life. *The fear of the Lord prolongeth days. By me thy days ſhall*
10. 27. *be multiplyed, and the years of thy life ſhall be encreaſed. Let thine heart*
9 11. *keep my commandments: For length of days, and long life, and peace ſhall*
Prov. 3 1, 2, 16. *they add unto thee.*

Prov. 10. 7, 25. A Good name enduring after death. *The memory of the juſt is bleſſed.*

Pſal. 37 26. Bleſſings entailed on poſterity. *His ſeed ſhall be mighty upon earth;*
112 2. *the generation of the upright ſhall be bleſſed. The root of the righteous*
(Exo. 20. 6.) *ſhall not be moved.*
Prov. 12 3.

Thus is a liberal diſpenſation even of temporal goods annexed by God's infallible Word unto the practice of Piety. It is indeed more frequently, abundantly and explicitly promiſed unto God's ancient People,
Prov. 11. 31. as being a conditional ingredient of the Covenant made with them, ex-
Deut. 28. 1. & 7. 12. & 11. 13. hibited in that as a recompence of their external performance of Religious works preſcribed in their Law. The Goſpel doth not ſo clearly propound it, or ſo much inſiſt upon it, as not principally belonging to the Evangelical Covenant, the which, in reward to the performance of its conditions by us, peculiarly doth offer Bleſſings Spiritual, and relating
2 Cor. 4. 17. to the future ſtate; as alſo ſcarce deſerving to be mentioned in compa-
Rom. 8. 18. riſon to thoſe ſuperior Bleſſings. Yet as the celeſtial Benefits, although not openly tendered in the *Jewiſh* Law, were yet myſtically couched therein, and cloſely deſigned for the ſpiritual and hearty Practiſers of Religion; ſo is the collation of temporal accommodations to be underſtood to belong to all pious Chriſtians: there is a *Codicill* (as it were) annexed to the New Teſtament, in which God ſignifieth his intention to furniſh his Children with all that is needfull or convenient for them. His Providence hath not ceaſed to watch over us, his Bounty doth not fail toward us even in this reſpect; his care will not be wanting to feed us and cloath us comfortably, to protect us from evil, to proſper our good undertakings. Hence doth he command us to care for nothing,
1 Pet. 5. 7. but *to caſt our care upon him, to recommend our buſineſs to him, becauſe he*
Phil. 4. 6. *careth for us*; he *will never forſake us*; he will hear our Prayers and
Heb. 13. 5. help us. Hence we are enjoyned *not to truſt in uncertain riches, but in*
Matt. 6. 25. 1 Tim. 6. 17. *the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy.* Hence it is ſaid,
2 Pet. 1. 3. that *The divine power hath given us all things pertaining unto life and godlineſs, through the knowledg of him that hath called us to glory and vertue.*
Matt. 6. 33. Hence it it is promiſed by our Lord, that *If we ſeek firſt the Kingdom of God,*

God, all things ſhall be added to us. Hence it is inferred as conſequential to the nature of the evangelical diſpenſation, that we cannot want any good thing; *He* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?* In fine, hence it is propoſed as notorious, that nothing is permitted to fall out otherwiſe than as conduceth to our good. *We know* (ſaith S. *Paal,*) *that all things work together for good unto thoſe that love God:* Nor *will God,* in any caſe, *ſuffer us to be tempted,* by any want or preſſure, *beyond what we are able to bear,* Thus is piety evidently profitable, as *having the promiſes of this Life,* or exhibiting all temporal bleſſings deſirable to the Practiſers thereof.

Rom. 8. 32. Rom 8. 28. 1 Cor. 10. 13.

But infinitely more profitable it is as *having the promiſes of the future life,* or as procuring a title to thoſe incomparably more excellent Bleſſings of the other world; thoſe *indefectible treaſures*; that *incorruptible, undefiled, and neverfading inheritance, reſerved in heaven for us*; that *exceeding weight of glory*; thoſe *ineffable joys of Paradice,* that lightſome Countenance and beatifying Preſence of God; that unconceivably and unexpreſſably joyfull, glorious, perfect and endleſs Bliſs; briefly, all that is compriſed and intimated in thoſe words of the Apoſtle, *Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man the things which god hath prepared for them that love him.* Infinitely profitable ſurely muſt that be which procureth thoſe things for us: and in theſe reſpects great reaſon had S. *Paul* to ſay, that *Godlineſs is profitable for all things.*

Luke 12. 33. 1 Pet. 1. 4. 2 Cor. 4. 17. 1 Pet. 1. 8. 4. 13. 1 Cor. 2. 9.

But farther to evidence and recommend this point, I might propound certain peculiar advantages ariſing from Piety, which have a very general influence upon our lives, and do afford unto them exceeding benefit: but this I muſt in regard to the time and your patience, at preſent forbear.

SERMON III.

The Profitableneſs of Godlineſs.

1 TIM. IV. 8.

----But Godlineſs is profitable for all things.

IN diſcourſing formerly upon theſe words, I did propound divers general Conſiderations, ſerving to confirm and recommend this Aſſertion of S. *Paul.* I ſhall now inſiſt upon ſome others more particular, which yet ſeem much conducible to the ſame purpoſe, declaring the vaſt Utility of Religion or Piety.

I. We may conſider, that Religion doth preſcribe the trueſt and beſt Rules of action; thence enlightning our mind, and rectifying our practice in all matters, and upon all occaſions, ſo that what-ever is perfor-

performed according to it, is done well and wiſely, with a comely grace in regard to others, with a chearfull ſatisfaction in our own mind, with the beſt aſſurance, that things are here capable of, to find happy ſucceſs and beneficial fruit.

Of all things in the world there is nothing more generally profitable than Light: by it we converſe with the world, and have all things ſet before us; by it we truly and eaſily diſcern things in their right magnitude, ſhape and colour; by it we guide our ſteps ſafely in proſecution of what is good, and ſhunning what is noxious; by it our ſpirits are comfortably warmed and cheared, our life conſequently, our health, our vigour and activity are preſerved. The like benefits doth Religion, which is the Light of our Soul, yield to it. Pious men are *children of the light*; Pious works are works of Light *ſhining before men. God's word* (or true Religion) *is a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our path*; enabling us to perceive things, and judge rightly of them; teaching us to walk ſtreightly and ſurely, without erring or ſtumbling; qualifying us to imbrace what is uſefull, and to avoid hurtfull things; preſerving our ſpiritual life, and diſpoſing us to act well with a vigorous alacrity: without it a man is ſtark blind, and utterly benighted, *gropeth* in doubt, wandreth in miſtake, trippeth upon all occaſions, and often falleth into miſchief. *The path of the juſt* (ſaith the *Wiſe man*) *is as the ſhining light* ----*The way of the wicked is as darkneſs, they know not at what they ſtumble. Righteouſneß keepeth him that is upright in the way; but wickedneß overthroweth the ſinner.*

Luk. 16. 8. Eph. 5. 8. 1 Theſſ. 5. 5. Joh. 12. 36. Matt. 5. 16. Eph. 5. 11. Pſ. 119. 105.

Iſ. 59. 10. Job. 5. 14. Deut. 28. 29. Prov. 4. 18, 19. Prov. 13. 6. & 11. 3, 5.

Again, it is a fair ornament of a man, and a grand convenience both to himſelf, and to others with whom he converſeth or dealeth, to act regularly, uniformly and conſiſtently; freeing a man's ſelf from diſtraction and irreſolution in his mind, from change and confuſion in his proceedings; ſecuring others from deluſion and diſappointment in their tranſactions with him. *Even a bad rule conſtantly obſerved is therefore better than none: order and perſeverance in any way ſeemeth more convenient, than roveing and toſſing about in uncertainties. But, ſecluding a regard to the Precepts of Religion, there can hardly be any ſure or ſetled rule, which firmly can engage a man to, or effectually reſtrain a man from any thing.

* *Vtâ eunti aliquid extremum eſt; error immenſus eſt.* Sen. *Ep.* 16.

There is ſcarce in nature any thing ſo wild, ſo untractable, ſo unintelligible as a man who hath no bridle of Conſcience to guide or check him. A prophane man is like a Ship, without Anchor to ſtay him, or Rudder to ſteer him, or Compaſs to guide him; ſo that he is toſt with any wind, and driven with any wave none knoweth whither; whither bodily temper doth ſway him, or paſſion doth hurry him, or intereſt doth pull him, or example leadeth him, or company inveigleth and haleth him, or humour tranſporteth him; whither any ſuch variable and unaccountable cauſes determine him, or divers of them together diſtract him: whence he ſo rambleth and hovereth, that he can ſeldom himſelf tell what in any caſe he ſhould doe, nor can another gueſs it; ſo that you cannot at any time know where to find him, or how to deal with him: you cannot with reaſon ever rely upon him, ſo *unſtable he is in all his ways.* He is in effect a mere Child, all humour and giddineſs, ſomewhat worſe than a Beaſt, which, following the inſtinct of its nature, is conſtant and regular, and thence tractable; or at leaſt ſo untractable, that no man will be deceived in meddling with him. Nothing therefore can be more unmanly than ſuch a perſon, nothing can be more unpleaſant than to have to doe with him.

Nihil eſt tam occupatum, tam multiforme, tot actam variis affectibus conciſum atque laceratum, quàm mala mea. Quint 12. 1.

But

But a Pious man, being steddily governed by Conscience, and a reguard to certain Principles, doth both understand himself, and is intelligible to others: he presently descrieth what in any case he his to doe, and can render an account of his acting: you may know him clearly, and assuredly tell what he will doe, and may therefore fully confide in him.

Οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὄντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν· τῶν τοιούτων μένει γὰρ τὰ βουλήματα, καὶ οὐ μεταῤῥεῖ, ὥσπερ εὔριπος. —Arist. *Eth.* 9. 6.

What therefore Law and Government are to the publick, things necessary to preserve the world in order, peace and safety, (that men may know what to doe, and distinguish what is their own,) that is Piety to each man's private state, and to ordinary conversation: it freeth a man's own life from disorder and distraction; it prompteth men how to behave themselves towards one another with security and confidence.

This it doth by confining our practice within setled bounds: but this advantage appeareth greater, considering that the Rules which it prescribeth are the best that can be. Such they must needs be, as proceeding from infallible Wisdom and immense Goodness; being indeed no other than Laws which the All-wise and most gracious Lord and Maker of the world, out of tender kindness to his subjects and creatures, with especial reguard to our welfare, hath been pleased to enact and declare. What of old he said to the *Israelites*, concerning their Laws, may with greater advantage be applied to those which should regulate our lives; *And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and all thy soul; To keep the Commandments of the Lord, and his Statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good?* (For thy good, that was the design of their being commanded, thereto the observance of them did tend.) And that commendation which by the *Levites* in *Nehemiah* is given to that, doth more clearly and fully agree to the Christian (general and perfect) institution: *Thou camest down from mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments.* And, *The Law* (saith the Apostle *Paul*) *is holy, the commandment is holy, just and good:* as such it is recommended to us by its Author, so we Christians are by many great Arguments assured that it is, and that it is such even our natural reason dictateth; so (as to the chief instances thereof) the most wise and sober men always have acknowledged, so the general consent doth avow, and so even common experience doth attest. For, heartily to love and reverence the Maker of all things, who by every thing apparent before us demonstrateth himself incomprehensibly powerfull, wise and good, to be kind and charitable to our neighbours, to be just and faithfull in our dealings, to be sober and modest in our minds, to be meek and gentle in our demeanours, to be staunch and temperate in our enjoyments, and the like principal rules of duty, are such, that the common reason of men and continual experience do approve them, as hugely conducible to the publick good of men, and to each man's private welfare. So notoriously beneficial they appear, that for the justification of them we might appeal even to the judgment and conscience of those persons who are most concerned to derogate from them. For hardly can any man be so senseless or so lewd, as seriously to disapprove or condemn them, as inwardly to blame or sleight those who truly act according to them. The Will of men sometimes may be so depraved, that dissolute persons wantonly and heedlessly may scoff at, and seem to disparage goodness; that good men by very bad men for doing well may be envied

Deut. 10. 12, 13.

Neh. 9. 13.

Rom. 7. 12.

and hated: (their being ſo treated is commonly an argument of the goodneſs of their perſons and of their ways:) but the Underſtanding of men can hardly be ſo corrupted, that Piety, Charity, Juſtice, Temperance, Meekneſs can in good earneſt conſiderately by any man be diſallowed, or that perſons apparently practiſing them can be deſpiſed; but rather, in ſpight of all contrary prejudice and diſaffections, ſuch things and ſuch perſons cannot but in judgment and heart be eſteemed by all men. The luſtre of them by a natural and neceſſary efficacy (like that of Heaven's glorious light) dazzleth the ſight and charmeth the ſpirits of all men living; the beauty of them irreſiſtibly conquereth and commandeth in the apprehenſions of men: the more they are obſerved, the more uſefull and needfull they appear for the good of men; all the fruits which grow from the obſervance of them being to all mens taſte very pleaſant, to all mens experience very wholeſome. Indeed, all the good whereby common life is adorned, is ſweetned, is rendred pleaſant and deſirable, doth ſpring thence; all the miſchiefs which infeſt particular men, and which diſturb the world, palpably do ariſe from the tranſgreſſion or neglect thereof.

If we look on a perſon ſticking to thoſe Rules, we ſhall perceive him to have a chearfull mind and compoſed paſſions, to be at peace within and ſatisfied with himſelf; to live in comely order, in good repute, in fair correſpondence and firm concord with his neighbours. If we mark what preſerveth the body ſound and luſty, what keepeth the mind vigorous and brisk, what ſaveth and improveth the eſtate, what upholdeth the good name, what guardeth and graceth a man's whole life; it is nothing elſe but proceeding in our demeanour and dealings according to the honeſt and wiſe Rules of Piety. If we view a place where theſe commonly in good meaſure are obſerved, we ſhall diſcern, that Peace and Proſperity do flouriſh there; that all things proceed on ſweetly and fairly; that men generally drive on converſation and commerce together contentedly, delightfully, advantageouſly, yielding friendly advice and aid, mutually ſtriving to render one another happy; that few clamours or complaints are heard there, few contentions or ſtirrs do appear, few diſaſters or tragedies do occur; that ſuch a place hath indeed much of the face, much of the ſubſtance of Paradiſe.

But if you mind a perſon who neglecteth them, you will find his mind galled with ſore remorſe, racked with anxious fears and doubts, agitated with ſtorms of paſſion and luſt, living in diſorder and diſgrace, jarring with others, and no leſs diſſatisfied with himſelf. If you obſerve what doth impair the health, doth weaken and fret the mind, doth waſte the eſtate, doth blemiſh the reputation, doth expoſe the whole life to danger and trouble; what is it but thwarting theſe good Rules? If you conſider a place where theſe are much neglected, it will appear like a wilderneſs of ſavage Beaſts, or a ſty of foul Swine, or a hell of curſed Fiends; full of roaring and tearing, of factions and fewds, of diſtractions and confuſions, of pittifull objects, of dolefull moans, of tragical events. Men are there wallowing in filth, wildly revelling, bickering and ſquabbling, defaming, circumventing, diſturbing and vexing one another; as if they affected nothing more than to render one another as miſerable as they can. It is from luſt and luxury, from ambition and avarice, from envy and ſpite, and the like diſpoſitions, which Religion chiefly doth interdict, that all ſuch horrid miſchiefs do ſpring.

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In fine, the Precepts of Religion are no other, than ſuch as Phyſicians would preſcribe for the health of our Bodies, as Politicians would avow needfull for the peace of the State, as *Epicurean* Philoſophers do recommend for the tranquillity of our Mind, and pleaſure of our Lives; ſuch as common reaſon dictateth, and daily trial ſheweth conducible to our welfare in all reſpects: which conſequently, were there no law exacting them of us, we ſhould in wiſdom chuſe to obſerve, and voluntarily impoſe on our ſelves, confeſſing them to be fit matters of law, as moſt advantageous and requiſite to the good (general and particular) of mankind. So that what *Plutarch* reporteth *Solon* to have ſaid, that *he had ſo ſquared his Laws to the Citizens, that all of them might clearly perceive, that to obſerve them was more for their benefit and intereſt, than to violate them*, is far more true concerning the Divine Laws. Plut. *in* Sol.

II. We may conſider more particularly, that Piety yieldeth to the practiſer all kind of interiour Content, Peace and Joy; freeth him from all kinds of diſſatisfaction, regret and diſquiet; which is an ineſtimable great advantage: for certainly the Happineſs and Miſery of men are wholly or chiefly ſeated and founded in the Mind. If that is in a good ſtate of health, reſt and chearfulneſs, what-ever the perſon's outward condition or circumſtances be, he cannot be wretched: if that be diſtempered or diſturbed, he cannot be happy. For what if a man ſeem very poor; if he be abundantly ſatisfied in his own poſſeſſions and enjoyments? What if he taſteth not the pleaſures of ſenſe; if he enjoyeth purer and ſweeter delights of mind? What if tempeſts of fortune ſurround him; if his mind be calm and ſerene? What if he have few or no friends; if he yet be throughly in peace and amity with himſelf, and can delightfully converſe with his own thoughts? What if men ſlight, cenſure, or revile him; if he doth value his own ſtate, doth approve his own actions, doth acquit himſelf of blame in his own conſcience? Such external contingencies can ſurely no more prejudice a man's real Happineſs, than winds bluſtring abroad can harm or trouble him that abideth in a good room within doors, than ſtorms and fluctuations at ſea can moleſt him who ſtandeth firm upon the ſhore. On the other hand, the greateſt affluence of ſeeming goods will avail nothing, if real content of mind be wanting. For what will the higheſt eminence of outward ſtate import to him that is dejected in his own conceit? What if the world court and bleſs him, or if all people do admire and applaud him; if he be diſpleaſed with, if he condemneth, if he deſpiſeth himſelf? What if the weather look fair and bright without, if ſtorms rage in his breaſt, if black clouds do overcaſt his Soul? What if he do abound with friends, and enjoy peace abroad: if he find diſtraction at home, and is at cruel variance with himſelf? How can a man enjoy any ſatisfaction, or reliſh any pleaſure, while ſore remorſe doth ſting him, or ſolicitous doubts and fears do rack him? Prov. 18. 4. Chryſoſt. *in Rom.* 1 Or. 1. Εὐθυμίαν γὰρ καὶ χαρὰν ἐκ ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἐ χρημάτων πλῆθος, ἐ δυναστείας ὄγκος, ἐκ ἰσχὺς σώματος, ἐ πολυτέλεια τραπέζης, ἐχ ἱματίων κόσμος, ἐκ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνων ποιεῖν ἔσθεν, ἀλλ' ἢ κατόρθωμα μόνον πνευματικὸν, καὶ συνειδὸς ἀγαθόν.

Now that from the practice of Religion, and from it alone, ſuch inward content and pleaſure do ſpring; that it only miniſtreth reaſon of content, and diſpoſeth the mind to enjoy it; that it extirpateth the grounds and roots of diſcontent: that it is the onely mother of true, ſober alacrity and tranquillity of mind, will, upon conſidering things, be manifeſt.

There is no other thing here in this world that can yield any ſolid or
Prov. 27. 24. ſtable content to our mind. For all preſent enjoyments are tranſient and evanid; and of any future thing, in this kingdom of change and con-
Prov. 27. 20. tingency, there can be no aſſurance. There is nothing below large enough to fill our vaſt capacities, or to ſatiate our boundleſs deſires, or to appeaſe our ſqueamiſh delicacy. There is nothing whoſe ſweetneſs we do not preſently exhauſt and ſuck dry; whereof thence we do not ſoon grow weary, quite loathing, or faintly liking it. There is not any thing which is not ſlippery and fleeting; ſo that we can for a long time hope to poſſeſs it, or for any time can enjoy it, without reſtleſs care in keeping it, and anxious fear of loſing it. Nothing there is, in the purſuance, the cuſtody, the defence and maintenance whereof we are not liable to diſappointments and croſſes. Nothing conſequently there is productive of any ſound content to the faſtidious, impatient, greedy and reſtleſs heart of man. The greateſt confluence of preſent, corporeal, ſecular things (of all the health, the riches, the dignity, the power, the friendſhips and dependences, the wit, the learning and wiſdom, the reputation and renown in this world) will not afford much of it: which yet is but an imaginary ſuppoſition; for in effect hardly do all ſuch accommodations of life concurre in any ſtate. There is ever
Eccles 10 2. ſome *dead fly* in our box, which marreth our *ointment*; ſome adherent inconvenience, which ſoureth the guſt of our enjoyments: there is always ſome good thing abſent, which we do want or long for; ſome ill thing preſent, or in proſpect, which we abhorre, would avoid, do fear may come. If therefore we would find content, we muſt not ſeek it here; we muſt want it, or have it from another world: it muſt come hither from Heaven, and thence onely Piety can fetch it down. This, inſtead of theſe unſatisfying, uncertain and unſtable things, ſupplieth us with goods adequate to our moſt outſtretched wiſhes, infallibly ſure, inceſſantly durable; *an indefectible treaſure, an incorruptible inheritance, an unſhakeable Kingdom*, a perfect and endleſs joy, capable to repleniſh the vaſteſt heart: which he that hath a good title to, or a confident hope of, how can he be otherwiſe than extreamly pleaſed, than fully content? It aſſureth the favour and friendſhip of God, of him that is abſolute Lord and diſpoſer of all things: the which he that hath, and confideth in, what can he want or wiſh more? what can he fear? what can annoy or diſmay him? what can hap to him worthy to be deemed evil or ſad? What is Poverty to him, for whom God is concerned to provide? What is Diſgrace to him, that hath the regard and approbation of God? What is danger to him, whom God continually protecteth? What can any Diſtreſs work on him, whom God doth comfort, and will relieve? What is any thing to him, who is ſenſible that all things are purpoſely diſpoſed to him by that Wiſdom which perfectly knoweth what is beſt, by that Goodneſs which entirely loveth him? In fine, he that is conſcious to himſelf of being well-affected in mind, and acting the beſt way, who is ſatisfied in the ſtate of his Soul, ſecure from God's diſpleaſure, and hopefull of his favour, what can make any grievous impreſſion on him? What other affections than ſuch as are moſt gratefull and pleaſant can lodge in his Soul? Joy and Peace have natural ſeeds in ſuch a mind, and neceſſarily muſt ſpring up there: (in proportion, I mean, and according to the degrees of Piety reſident therein.)

Θησαυὸν ἀνέκλειπτον, κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον, βασιλείαν ἀσάλευτον.

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The *Epicureans* did conceit and boaſt, that having by their Atheiſtical explications of natural effects, and common events here, diſcarded the belief and dread of Religion, they had laid a ſtrong foundation for tranquility of mind, had driven away all the cauſes of grief and fear, ſo that nothing then remained troubleſome or terrible unto us; and conſequently, what, ſaid they could forbid, but that we ſhould be entirely contented, glad and happy? —— *Nos exæquat victoria cælo*; No God then ſurely could be more happy than we. But their attempt in many reſpects was vain and lame. They preſumed of a victory which it is impoſſible to obtain: and ſuppoſing they had got it, their triumph would not have been ſo glorious, their ſucceſs would not have been ſo great, as they pretended. For ſeeing no *Epicurean* Diſcourſe can baffle the potent arguments which perſuade Religion; (thoſe arguments which the viſible conſtitution of Nature, the current Tradition of all Ages, the general Conſent of men, the pregnant atteſtations of Hiſtory and Experience concerning ſupernatural and miraculous events do afford;) ſince the Being and Providence of God have proofs ſo clear and valid, that no ſubtlety of man can ſo far evade them, as not to be ſhaken with them, as wholly to be freed from doubt and ſuſpicion of their truth; ſince there can be no means of evincing the negative part in thoſe queſtions to be true or probable; it is impoſſible that any conſidering man, in this cauſe againſt Religion, ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf to have acquired an abſolute and ſecure victory: or that he ſhould reap ſubſtantial fruit of comfort thence. It cannot be, that any man ſhould enjoy any perfect quiet, without acting ſo as to get ſome good hope of avoiding thoſe dreadfull miſchiefs, which Religion threatneth to the tranſgreſſours of its Precepts. Were there indeed but reaſon enough to ſtir, if not to ſtagger, an Infidel; were it ſomewhat dubious whether, yea, were it great odds that there are not reſerved any puniſhments for impiety, as indeed there is, if not the perfecteſt aſſurance imaginable, yet vaſt advantage on the contrary ſide; were there but any ſmall reaſon for a Judgment to come, as there are apparently very many and great ones; had moſt men conſpired in denying Providence, as ever generally they have conſented in avowing it; were there a pretence of miracles for eſtabliſhing the Mortality and Impunity of Souls, as there have been numberleſs, ſtrongly teſtified by good witneſſes and great events, to confirm the oppoſite doctrines; did moſt wiſe and ſober men judge in favour of Irreligion, as commonly they ever did and ſtill do otherwiſe: yet wiſdom would require that men ſhould chooſe to be pious, ſince otherwiſe no man can be throughly ſecure. It is a wildneſs, not to dread the leaſt poſſibility of incurring ſuch horrible miſchiefs: any hazzard of ſuch importance cannot but ſtartle a man in his wits. To be in the leaſt obnoxious to eternal Torments, if men would think upon it as men, (that is, as rational and provident creatures,) could not but diſturb them. And indeed ſo it is in experience; for what-ever they ſay or ſeem, all Atheiſts and profane men are inwardly ſuſpicious and fearfull; they care not to die, and would gladly ſcape the trial of what ſhall follow death. But let us grant or imagine the *Epicurean* ſucceſsfull as he could wiſh in this enterprize of ſubduing Religion: yet except therewith he can alſo trample down Reaſon, new mould humane nature, ſubjugate all natural appetites and paſſions, alter the ſtate of things here, and transform the world, he will yet in greateſt part fail of his conceited advantages; very ſhort he will fall of triumphing in a contented and quiet mind. That which accrueth thence will at moſt be no more than

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ſome negative content, or a partial indolency, ariſing from his being reſcued from ſome particular cares and fears; which exceedeth not the tranquility of a beaſt, or the ſtupidity of one that is out of his ſenſes: that is all he can claim, which yet is more than he can ever compaſs. For he cannot be as a Beaſt, or a mere Sot, if he would: Reaſon, reflecting on preſent evils, and boding others future, will afflict him; his own unſatiable deſires, unavoidable fears and untameable paſſions will diſquiet him. Were the other world quite out of his faith or his thought, yet this world would yield trouble ſufficient to render him void of any ſteddy reſt, or ſolid joy. All men ever have, and ever will complain, that the burthens, croſſes, ſatieties of this life, do much ſurpaſs the conveniences and comforts of it. So that, were no other to be expected or feared, this of it ſelf would become grievous and nauſeous; we ſhould ſoon have enough or too much of it, without a ſupport and ſupply from other-where. In the largeſt affluence of things, in the deepeſt calm of our ſtate, we are apt to nauſeate, and are weary even of our proſperity it ſelf; the which indeed commonly hath ingredients not only ſomewhat unſavoury, but very bitter and loathſome. We may adde, that had thoſe profane attempters quite baniſhed Religion, they with it muſt have driven away all the benefits and comforts of it: which, even ſuppoſing them but imaginary, are yet the greateſt which common life doth need, or can deſire: with it they would ſend packing Juſtice, Fidelity, Charity, Sobriety, and all ſolid Vertue, things which cannot firmly ſubſiſt without Conſcience: which being gone, humane life would be the moſt diſorderly, moſt unſafe, moſt wretched and contemptible thing that can be; nothing but inſipid and flaſhy ſenſualities would be left behind to comfort a man with; and thoſe hardly any man (by reaſon of competitions and contentions for them, no-wiſe reſtrainable) could enjoy quietly, or ſafely. It is therefore Piety alone, which, by raiſing hopes of bleſſings and joys incomparably ſuperior to any here, that cannot be taken from us, can lay any ground of true content, of ſubſtantial and poſitive content; ſuch as conſiſteth not onely in removing the objects and cauſes of vexatious paſſions, but in employing the moſt pleaſant affections (love, hope, joy,) with a delightfull complacence upon their proper and moſt noble objects. *The Kingdom of God* (and that onely, no other Kingdom hath that privilege) *conſiſteth in righteouſneſs* (firſt, then in) *peace and ſpiritual joy.* No Philoſopher, with truth and reaſon, can make that overture to us which our Lord doth; *Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden, and ye ſhall find reſt to your ſouls.* Out of Religion there can be no Aphoriſm pretended like to that of the Prophet, *Thou ſhalt keep him in perfect peace, whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee.*

Non tempeſtate vexor, ſed nauſeâ. Senec. *de Tranq. an* 1.

Rom. 14. 17.

Matt. 11. 28.

Iſa. 26. 3.

If indeed we diſtinctly ſurvey all the grounds and ſources of Content, it will appear that Religion onely can afford it.

Doth it reſult from a well governing and ordering our Paſſions? Then it is plain, that onely a pious man is capable thereof; for Piety onely can effect that: it alone, with the powerfull aid of Divine Grace, doth guide our paſſions by exact rules, doth ſet them upon worthy objects, doth temper and tune them in juſt harmony, doth ſeaſonably curb and check them, doth rightly correct and reform them.

Mala mens ... cùm inſidiatur, ſpe, curis, labore diſtingitur & jam cùm ſceleris compos fuerit, ſolicitudine, pœnitentia, pœnarum omnium expectatione torquetur. Quint. 12. 1.

This no bare reaſon (which naturally is ſo dimm and ſo feeble in man) can atchieve: much leſs can Unreaſonableneſs do it, which is ever

ever prevalent in irreligious perſons. Their Paſſions do ever run wildly and at randome, in no good pace, within no good compaſs, toward the meaneſt and baſeſt objects; whence they can have no reſt or quiet in their minds. As they are conſtantly offending, ſo will they ever be puniſhing themſelves, with inteſtine broils and conflicts, with diſſatisfactions and regrets. Hence, *There is no peace to the wicked. He is like the troubled ſea, which cannot reſt. God* (as S. *Auſtine* ſpeaketh) *hath ſaid it, and ſo it is, Every inordinate mind is a puniſhment to it ſelf.*

Nulla major pœna nequitiæ eſt, quàm quòd ſibi ac ſuis diſplicet. Sen. *Ep.* 42. Τιμωρία πᾶσης ἀδικίας ἀκόλουθος. Plat. *de Leg.* 5. Iſa. 48. 22. 57. 20. *Deus juſſit, & ità eſt, Sibi pœna eſt omnis inordinatus animus.* Aug. *Conf.*

Doth Content ſpring from a hearty approbation of, or a complacence in a man's own actions; from reflection that he conſtantly doth act according to reaſon and wiſdom, to juſtice and duty? Then can the pious man alone pretend to it, who knoweth that he walketh *inoffenſively toward God and man*; that he conſulteth his own beſt intereſt and welfare; that aſſuredly no bad conſequence can attend his unblameable behaviour; that moſt wiſe men have declared their approbation of his proceedings; that if he prove in his chief deſign miſtaken, yet no miſchief can thence befall him; yea, that he is not thereby quite diſappointed, ſeeing even much preſent ſatisfaction and convenience do ariſe up to him from his practice.

Niſi ſapienti ſua non placent: omnis ſtultitia laborat faſtidio ſui. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Doth content grow from a ſound and healthfull conſtitution of Soul? It is the pious man alone that hath that, whoſe mind is clear from diſtempers of vice and paſſion. The impious man is infirm, out of order, full of diſeaſe and pain, according to the Prophet's deſcription of him; —— *The whole head is ſick, and the whole heart faint: from the ſole of the foot even unto the head there is no ſoundneſs in it, but wounds, and bruiſes, and putrefying ſores.* Iſa. 1. 5, 6.

Doth Content ariſe ſpecially from good ſucceſs in our attempts, or from proſperous events befalling us? Then it is the pious man who is moſt capable thereof: for he only is ſecure, that what ſeemeth good and proſperous is really ſuch to him, as meant for his good by the Divine Goodneſs, as tending thereto by the guidance of infallible Wiſdom. As he only hath ground to hope for ſucceſs, becauſe he confideth in God: becauſe he dutifully ſeeketh God's help, becauſe God is favourably diſpoſed toward him, becauſe God *ordereth his ſteps*, becauſe God is by promiſe engaged to bleſs him, becauſe he is conſcious of intentions to render God thanks and praiſe for it, to employ his ſucceſs to God's honour and ſervice: ſo he onely can be ſatisfied with the appearance of ſucceſs, being able with aſſurance to ſay after S. *Paul, We know that to thoſe who love God all things co-operate for good.* Rom. 8. 28.

Is ſecurity from danger, from trouble, from want, from all evil, a ſource or matter of Content? It certainly doth attend the pious man; God being his eſpecial Protector, his Comforter, his Purveyour. *There ſhall no evil befall the juſt: There ſhall no plague come near his dwelling. God keepeth all his bones, not one of them is broken. He delivereth the righteous out of their troubles. The deſire of the righteous ſhall be granted. There is no want to them that fear God.* So do the Holy Oracles aſſure us. Prov. 12 21. Pſal. 91. 10. 34. 20, 17. Prov. 10. 24. Pſal. 34. 9.

Doth contentedneſs ſpring from ſufficiency, real or apprehended? This appertaineth peculiarly to the pious man: for, having God, the Maſter of all, for *his portion*, he hath the richeſt eſtate that can be; he hath all that he can deſire, he cannot but take himſelf to have enough. Hence *Godlineſs with contentedneſs* (μετ' αὐταρκείας, *with ſufficiency*) *is* 1 Tim. 6. 6.

(as

(as S. *Paul* ſaith) μέγας πορισμὸς, *the great way of gaining.* He ſaith it not, as ſuppoſing Godlineſs and Contentedneſs to be ſeparable; but rather, as implying Godlineſs therefore to be moſt gainfull, becauſe Sufficiency and Contentedneſs do ever attend it. In fine, if that ſaying of *Seneca* be true, that, *If to any man the things he poſſeſſeth do not ſeem moſt ample, although he be Maſter of the whole World, he is yet miſerable*; then aſſuredly the pious man onely can be happy; for to him alone his poſſeſſions can ſeem the largeſt and beſt, ſuch as there can be no poſſible acceſſion to, or amendment of. For nothing can be greater or better than God, in whom he hath a ſtedfaſt propriety, whoſe infinite power and wiſdom are engaged to doe him the utmoſt good that he is capable of. And farther,

Si cui ſua non videntur ampliſſima, licèt totius Mundi Dominus ſit, tamen miſer eſt. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

III. Seeing we have mentioned Happineſs, or the *Summum bonum*, the utmoſt ſcope of humane deſire, we do adde, that Piety doth ſurely confer it. Happineſs, whatever it be, hath certainly an eſſential coherence with Piety. Theſe are reciprocal Propoſitions, both of them infallibly true, He that is pious is happy; and, He that is happpy is pious. No man doth undertake or proſecute any thing, which he doth not apprehend in ſome order or degree conducing to that which all men under a confuſed notion reguard and tend to, which they call Happineſs, the higheſt Good, the chiefeſt deſirable thing. But in their judgments about this thing, or the means of attaining it, as men diſſent much: ſo of neceſſity moſt of them muſt be miſtaken. Moſt, indeed, do aim and ſhoot at a mere ſhadow of profit, or at that which is very little conſiderable, and in compariſon nothing at all; which little conduceth to the perfection of their nature, or the ſatisfaction of their deſire. If they miſs the mark, they are diſappointed; if they hit it, they are no leſs, and in effect hit nothing. But whatever this grand matter is, in what-ever it conſiſteth, however it be procured; be it the poſſeſſion and fruition of ſome ſpecial choice goods, or an agreegation an affluence of all goods; Piety ſurely is the main ingredient, and principal cauſe thereof. All other goods without it are inſignificant and unuſefull thereto; and it cannot be wanting, where Piety is. Be a man never ſo rich, ſo powerfull, ſo learned and knowing, ſo proſperous in his affairs, ſo honourable in the opinions and affections of men: yet no-wiſe happy can he be, if he is not pious; being he wanteth the beſt goods, and is ſubject to the worſt evils; being he wanteth the love and favour of God, he wanteth peace and ſatisfaction of Conſcience, he wanteth a right enjoyment of preſent things, he wanteth ſecurity concerning his final welfare. Be he never ſo poor, ſo low in the eyes of men, ſo forlorn and deſtitute of worldly conveniencies; yet if he be pious, he cannot be wretched: for he hath an intereſt in goods incomparably moſt precious, and is ſafe from all conſiderable evils; he hath a free reſort to the inexhauſtible fountain of all Happineſs, he hath a right to immenſe and endleſs Felicity, the which eminently containeth all the goods we are capable of; he is poſſeſſed thereof in hope, and certain reverſion, there is but a moment to paſs before his complete fruition of it. The want of all other petty things no more can maim the integrity of his felicity, than cutting the hair, or pairing the nails, do mutilate a man: all other things are but ſuperfluities or excreſences in regard to the conſtitution of Happineſs. What-ever happeneth, that will aſſuredly be true, which is ſo much inculcated in H. Scripture, *Bleſſed is every one that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his ways; Happy ſhall*

Pſ 128. 1, 2. 112 1.

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he be, and it ſhall be well with him. Piety is indeed fraught with Beatitudes, every part thereof yieldeth peculiar Bleſſedneſs. To the love of God, to charity toward our neighbour, to purity of heart, to meekneſs, to humility, to patience, to mercifulneſs, to peaceableneſs Beatitude is aſcribed by our Lord, (the great Judge and Diſpenſer of it.) Each religious performance hath happy fruits growing from it, and bliſsfull rewards aſſigned thereto. All pious diſpoſitions are fountains of pleaſant ſtreams, which by their confluence do make up a full Sea of Felicity. Matt. 5.

IV. It is a peculiar advantage of Piety, that it furniſheth employment fit for us, worthy of us, hugely gratefull, and highly beneficial to us. Man is a very buſie and active creature, which cannot live and doe nothing, whoſe thoughts are in reſtleſs motion, whoſe deſires are ever ſtretching at ſomewhat, who perpetually will be working either good or evil to himſelf: wherefore greatly profitable muſt that thing be, which determineth him to act well, to ſpend his care and pain on that, which is truly advantageous to him; and that is Religion onely. It alone faſtneth our thoughts, affections and endeavours, upon occupations worthy the dignity of our nature, ſuting the excellency of our natural capacities and endowments, tending to the perfection and advancement of our Reaſon, to the enriching and ennobling of our Souls. Secluding that, we have nothing in the world to ſtudy, to affect, to purſue, not very mean and below us, not very baſe and misbecoming us, as men of reaſon and judgment. What have we to doe but to eat and drink; like horſes or like ſwine; but to ſport and play, like children or apes; but to bicker and ſcuffle about trifles and impertinences, like idiots? what, but ſcrape or ſcramble for uſeleſs pelf; to hunt after empty ſhews and ſhadows of honour, or the vain fancies and dreams of men? what, but to wallow or bask in ſordid pleaſures, the which ſoon degenerate into remorſe and bitterneſs? To which ſort of employments were a man confined, what a pitiful thing would he be, and how inconſiderable were his life? Were a man deſigned onely, like a flie, to buzz about here for a time, ſucking in the air, and licking the dew, then ſoon to vaniſh back into nothing, or to be transformed into worms; how ſorry and deſpicable a thing were he? And ſuch without Religion we ſhould be. But it ſupplieth us with buſineſs of a moſt worthy nature, and lofty importance; it ſetteth us upon doing things great and noble as can be; it engageth us to free our minds from all fond conceits, and cleanſe our hearts from all corrupt affections; to curb our brutiſh appetites, to tame our wild paſſions, to correct our perverſe inclinations, to conform the diſpoſitions of our Soul and the actions of our life to the eternal laws of righteouſneſs and goodneſs: it putteth us upon the imitation of God, and aiming at the reſemblance of his perfections; upon obtaining a friendſhip, and maintaining a correſpondence with the High and Holy one; upon fitting our minds for converſation and ſociety with the wiſeſt and pureſt Spirits above; upon providing for an immortal ſtate; upon the acquiſt of joy and glory everlaſting. It employeth us in the divineſt actions, of promoting Vertue, of performing beneficence, of ſerving the publick, and doing good to all: the being exerciſed in which things doth indeed render a man highly conſiderable, and his life excellently valuable.

'Tis an employment moſt proper to us as reaſonable men. For what more proper entertainments can our mind have, than to be purifying and beautifying it ſelf, to be keeping it ſelf and its ſubordinate faculties

in order, to be attending upon the management of thoughts, of paſſions, of words, of actions depending upon its governance?

'Tis an employment moſt beneficial to us: in purſuing which we greatly better our ſelves, and improve our condition; we benefit and oblige others; we procure ſound reputation and ſteddy friendſhips; we decline many irkſome miſchiefs and annoyances; *we do* not (like thoſe in the Prophet) *ſpend our labour for that which ſatisfieth not, nor ſpend our money for that which is not bread:* for both temporal proſperity and eternal felicity are the wages of the labour which we take herein.

Iſa. 55. 2.

'Tis an employment moſt conſtant, never allowing ſloth or liſtleſneſs to creep in, inceſſantly buſying all our faculties with earneſt contention; according to that profeſſion of S. *Paul*, declaring the nature thereof, *Herein always do I exerciſe my ſelf, to have a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward man.* Whence it is called a *Fight*, and a *Race*, implying the continual earneſtneſs of attention and activity which is to be ſpent thereon.

Acts 4. 16.

It is withal a ſweet and grateful buſineſs? for it is a pious man's character, that *he delighteth greatly in God's commandments*; that *the commandments are not grievous to him*; that it is *his meat and drink to doe God's will*; that *God's words* (or precepts) *are ſweeter than hony to his taſte*; that *the ways of* religious *wiſdom are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace.* Whereas all other employments are weariſome, and ſoon become loathſome: this, the farther we proceed in it, the more pleaſant and ſatisfactory it groweth. There is perpetual matter of victory over bad inclinations peſtering us within, and ſtrong temptations aſſailing us without: which to combat hath much delight; to maſter, breedeth unexpreſſible content. The ſenſe alſo of God's love, the influences of his grace and comfort communicated in the performances of devotion and all duty, the ſatisfaction of good Conſcience, the aſſured hope of reward, the foretaſts of future bliſs, do ſeaſon and ſweeten all the labours taken, and all the difficulties undergone therein.

Pſal. 112. 1. 1 Joh 5 3. Joh. 4. 34 Pſ. 119. 103. Prov. 3 17. *Non poteſt cuiquam ſemper idem placere, niſi rectum,* Sen. 20. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honeſta magis juvarent.* Quint. 1. 12.

In fine, the bare light of Nature hath diſcerned, that were it not for ſuch matters as theſe to ſpend a man's care and pains upon, this would be a lamentable world to live in. There was, for inſtance, an Emperour great and mighty as ever did wield ſceptre upon earth, whoſe excellent Virtue, coupled with wiſedom, (inferiour, perhaps, to none that any man ever without ſpecial inſpiration hath been endowed with) did qualifie him with moſt advantage to examine, and rightly to judge of things here; who, notwithſtanding all the conveniences which his Royal eſtate and well-ſetled proſperity might afford, (the which ſurely he had fully taſted and tried,) did yet thus expreſs his thoughts; Τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κενῷ θεῶν ἢ προνοίας κενῷ; *What doth it concern me to live in a world void of God, or void of Providence?* To govern the greateſt Empire that ever was, in the deepeſt calm; to enjoy the largeſt affluences of wealth, of ſplendour, of reſpect, of pleaſure; to be loved, to be dreaded, to be ſerved, to be adored by ſo many nations; to have the whole civil World obſequious to his will and nod; all theſe things ſeemed vain and idle, not worthy of a man's regard, affection, or choice, in caſe there were no God to worſhip, no Providence to obſerve, no Piety to be exerciſed. So little worth the while common ſenſe hath adjudged it to live without Religion.

M. Ant. *II* 11. & *VI.* 10.

V. It is a conſiderable benefit of Piety, that it affordeth the beſt Friendſhips and ſweeteſt Society. Man is framed for Society, and cannot

Nullius boni ſine ſocio jucunda poſſeſſio eſt. Sen. *Ep* 6.

not live well without it: many of his faculties would be uſeleſs, many of his appetites would reſt unſatisfied in ſolitude. To have a friend wiſe and able, honeſt and good, unto whom upon all occaſions we may have recourſe for advice, for aſſiſtence, for conſolation, is a great convenience of life: and this benefit we owe to Religion, which ſupplieth us with various Friendſhips of the beſt kind, moſt beneficial and moſt ſweet unto us.

Ut aliarum rerum nobis innata dulcedo eſt, ſic amicitiæ. Sen. *Ep* 9.

It maketh God our Friend, a Friend infinitely better than all friends, moſt affectionate and kind, moſt faithfull and ſure, moſt able, moſt willing, and ever moſt ready to perform all friendly offices, to yield advice in all our doubts, ſuccour in all our needs, comfort in all our troubles, ſatisfaction to all our deſires. Unto him it miniſtreth a free addreſs upon all occaſions; with him it alloweth us continually a moſt ſweet and pleaſant intercourſe. The pious man hath always the All-wiſe God to counſel him, to guide his actions and order his ſteps; he hath the Almighty to protect, ſupport and relieve him; he hath the immenſe Goodneſs to commiſerate and comfort him; unto him he is not onely encouraged, but obliged to reſort in need: upon him he may, he ought to diſcharge all his cares and burthens.

Prov. 12. 2. Pſal 34. 15. & 33. 18 & 145 19. & 37. 28. Job 36. 7.

It conſequently doth engage all creatures in the world to be our friends, or inſtruments of good to us, according to their ſeveral capacities, by the direction and diſpoſal of God. All the ſervants of our great Friend will, in compliance to him, be ſerviceable to us, *Thou ſhalt be in league with the ſtones of the field, and the beaſts of the field ſhall be at peace with thee:* So *Job*'s friend promiſeth him upon condition of Piety. And God himſelf confirmeth that promiſe, *In that day* (ſaith he in the Prophet) *will I make a covenant for them with the beaſts of the field, and with the fouls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground.* And again, *When thou paſſeſt through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they ſhall not overflow thee: when thou walkeſt through the fire, thou ſhalt not be burnt; neither ſhall the flame kindle upon thee.* And, *The ſun ſhall not ſmite thee by day, nor the moon by night. Thou ſhalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon ſhall thou trample under foot. They ſhall take up ſcorpions; and if they drink any deadly thing, it ſhall not hurt them:* (ſo our Lord promiſed to his Diſciples.) Not onely the Heavens ſhall diſpenſe their kindly influences, and the Earth yield their plentifull ſtores, and all the Elements diſcharge their natural and ordinary good offices; nor onely the tame and ſociable creatures ſhall upon this condition faithfully ſerve us; but even the moſt wild, moſt fierce, moſt ravenous, moſt venomous creatures ſhall, if there be need, prove friendly and helpfull, or at leaſt harmleſs to us: as were the Ravens to *Elias*, the Lions to *Daniel*, the Viper to S. *Paul*, the Fire to the *Three Children*.

Job 5. 23. Hoſ. 2. 18. Iſa. 43. 2. Pſal. 121. 6. Pſal. 91. 13. Mark 16. 18. Deut. 28. 12. 1 King 17. 6.

But eſpecially Piety doth procure the friendſhip of the good Angels, that puiſſant hoaſt of glorious and happy Spirits: they all do tenderly love the pious perſon; they are ever ready to ſerve and doe him good, to protect him from danger, to aid him in his undertakings, to reſcue him from miſchiefs. What an honour, what a bleſſing is this, to have ſuch an innumerable company of noble Friends (the Courtiers and Favourites of Heaven) deeply concerned and conſtantly vigilant for our welfare?

Pſal 34. 7. 91. 11. Heb. 1. 14.

It alſo engageth the bleſſed Saints in glory, *the Spirits of men perfected, the Church of the firſt-born*, to bear deareſt affection to us, to further our proſperity with their good wiſhes and earneſt prayers, mightily prevalent with God.

It rendreth all sorts of men our friends. To goodmen it uniteth us in holy communion; the communion of brotherly charity and hearty good will, attended with all the good offices they are able to perform: to other men it reconcileth and endeareth us; for that innocent and inoffensive, courteous and benign, charitable and beneficent demeanour, (such as Piety doth require and produce) are apt to conciliate respect and affection from the worst men. For, *Vincit malos pertinax bonitas*; men hardly can persist enemies to him whom they perceive to be their friend: and such the pious man in disposition of mind, and in effect when occasion serveth, is toward all men; being sensible of his obligation to love all men, and, *as he hath opportunity, to do good to all men.* It assureth, and more strictly endeareth our friends to us. For, as it maketh us hearty, faithfull, constant friends to others; so it reciprocally tieth others to us in the like sincerity and fastness of good will.

Sen. *de Benef.* 7. 21.

Qui sibi amicus est, scito hunc amicum omnibus esse. Sen. *Ep.* 6.

Gal. 6. 1. Οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἡδεῖς ἀλλήλοις. Arist. *Eth* 8. 4.

It reconcileth enemies. For, *when a man's ways do please the Lord, he maketh his enemies to be at peace with him.* It hath a natural efficacy to that purpose, and Divine blessing promoteth it.

Prov. 16. 7.

By it all conversation becometh tolerable, gratefull and usefull. For a pious man is not easily disturbed with any crosness or perverseness, any infirmity or impertinency of those he converseth with: he can bear the weaknesses and the failings of his company; he can by wholesome reflections upon all occurrences advantage and please himself.

Συνδιάγειν τε τοῦτ' ἑαυτῷ βούλεται, ἡδέως γὰρ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ. — (Arist. *Eth.* 9. 4.) τῶν τε γὰρ πεπραγμένων ἐπιτερπεῖς αἱ μνῆμαι, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίδες ἀγαθαί.

In fine, Piety rendreth a man a true friend and a good companion to himself; satisfied in himself, able to converse freely and pleasantly with his own thoughts. It is for the want of pious inclinations and dispositions, that solitude (a thing which sometimes cannot be avoided, which often should be embraced) is to most men so irksome and tedious; that men do carefully shun themselves, and fly from their own thoughts; that they decline all converse with their own Souls, and hardly dare look upon their own hearts and Consciences: whence they become aliens from home, wholly unacquainted with themselves, most ignorant of their own nearest concernments, no faithfull friends or pleasant companions to themselves: so for refuge and ease they unseasonably run into idle or lewd conversation, where they disorder and defile themselves. But the pious man is (like *Scipio*) *never less alone, than when alone:* his solitude and retirement is not onely tolerable, but commonly the most gratefull and fruitfull part of his life: he can ever with much pleasure, and more advantage, converse with himself; digesting and marshalling his thoughts, his affections, his purposes into good order; searching and discussing his heart, reflecting on his past ways, enforcing his former good resolutions, and framing new ones; enquiring after edifying truths; stretching his meditations toward the best and sublimest objects, raising his hopes and warming his affections toward spiritual and heavenly things; asking himself pertinent questions, and resolving incident doubts concerning his practice; in fine, conversing with his best Friend in devotion; with admiration and love contemplating the Divine

Quæris quid profecerim? amicus esse mihi cœpi. Sen. *Ep.* 6.

Nemo est, cui non satius sit cum quolibet esse, quàm secum. Sen *Ep.* 25.

Ἔνιοι τὴν ἴδιον βίον, ὡς ἀτερπέστατον θέαμα, προσιδεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν, &c. Plut. περὶ Πολυπρ. p. 916.

Ζητοῦσιν οἱ μοχθεροὶ μεθ' ὧν συνημερεύθουσιν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ φεύγουσιν — Arist. 9. 4.

Nunquam minùs solus, quàm cùm solus.

Acquiescit sibi, cogitationibus suis traditus. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Sapiens nunquam solus esse potest, habet secum omnes qui sunt, quique unquam fuerunt boni; & animum liberum quocunque vult transfert: quod corpore non potest, cogitatione complectitur; & si hominum inops fuerit, loquitur cum Deo. Nunquam minùs solus erit, quàm cùm solus fuerit. Hier. *adv.* Jovin. 1. 28.

Divine perfections, displayed in the works of nature, of providence, of grace; praising God for his excellent benefits and mercies; confessing his defects and offences; deprecating wrath, and imploring pardon, with grace and ability to amend: praying for the supply of all his wants. All which performances yield both unconceivable benefit and unexpressible comfort. So that Solitude (that which is to common nature so offensive, to corrupt nature so abominable) is to the pious man extremely commodious and comfortable: which is a great advantage peculiar to Piety, and the last which I shall mention.

So many, and many more that I can express, vastly great and precious advantages do accrue from Piety; so that well may we conclude with S. *Paul*, that *Godliness is profitable for all things.*

It remaineth that, if we be wise, we should, if we yet have it not ingraffed in us, labour to acquire it; if we have it, that we should endeavour to improve it, by constant exercise, to the praise of God, the good of our neighbour, and our own comfort. Which that we may effectually perform, Almighty God in mercy vouchsafe, by his grace, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord; to whom for ever be all glory and praise.

Amen.

SERMON IV.

The Reward of Honouring God.

1 SAM. II. 30.

For them that honour me, I will honour.

THE words are in the strictest sense the word of God, uttered immediately by God himself; and may thence command from us an especial attention and regard. The History of that which occasioned them is, I presume, well known, neither shall I make any descant or reflection thereon; but do take the words separately, as a proposition of it self, affording a compleat instruction, and ample matter of discourse. And as such, they plainly imply two things: a Duty required of us, to *honour God*; and a Reward profered to us, upon performance of that Duty, being *honoured by God.* It is natural for us, before we are willing to undertake any work, to consider the reward or benefit accruing from it; and it is necessary, before we can perform any duty, to understand the nature thereof. To this our method of action I shall suit the method of my Discourse; first endeavouring to estimate the Reward, then to explain the Duty. Afterward I mean to shew briefly why in reason the Duty is injoyned; how in effect the Reward is conferred.

I. The Reward may be considered either absolutely, (as what it is in it self;) or relatively, (as to its rise, and whence it comes.)

1. For

1. For it ſelf, it is Honour; a thing, if valued according to the rate it bears in the common market, of higheſt price among all the objects of humane deſire; the chief reward which the greateſt actions and which the beſt actions do pretend unto, or are capable of; that which uſually bears moſt ſway in the hearts, and hath ſtrongeſt influence upon the lives of men; the deſire of obtaining and maintaining which doth commonly overbear other moſt potent inclinations. The love of Pleaſure ſtoops thereto: for men, to get or keep Reputation, will decline the moſt pleaſant enjoyments, will embrace the hardeſt pains. Yea, it often prevails over the love of life it ſelf, which men do not onely frequently expoſe to danger, but ſometimes devote to certain loſs, for its ſake. If we obſerve what is done in the world, we may diſcern it to be the ſource of moſt undertakings therein: that it not onely moveth the wheels of publick action, (that not onely for it great Princes contend, great armies march, great battles are fought;) but that from it moſt private buſineſs derives its life and vigour: that for Honour eſpecially the Souldier undergoes hardſhip, toil and hazzard; the Scholar plods and beats his brains; the Merchant runs about ſo buſily, and adventures ſo far; yea, that for its ſake the meaneſt Labourer and Artificer doth ſpend his ſweat, and ſtretch his ſinews. The principal drift of all this care and induſtry (the great reaſon of all this ſcuffling for Power, this ſearching for Knowledge, this ſcraping and ſcrambling for wealth) doth ſeem to be, that men would live in ſome credit, would raiſe themſelves above contempt.

Ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους ὑπὲρ ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἂν τὸ ζῆν ἀντικαταλλαξαμένους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλοντας. Iſocr. *Orat. ad* Philip.

Mors tum æquiſſimo animo appetitur, cùm ſuis ſe laudibus vita occidens conſolari poteſt. Cic. 1. *Tuſc.*

— Laudis avidi pecuniæ liberales erant, gloriam ingentem divitias honeſtas volebant; hanc ardentiſſimè dilexerunt, propter hanc vivere voluerunt, pro hac & mori non dubitaverunt. Cæteras cupiditates hujus unius ingenti cupiditate preſſerunt. Aug. *de civ. D.* 5. 12.

Αἱ γὰρ δυναστεῖαι καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος διὰ τὴν τιμήν ἐστιν αἱρετά. Ariſt. *Eth. IV.* 3.

Honos alit artes, omnéſque incenduntur ad ſtudia gloriâ, &c. Cic. *Tuſc. Qu.* 1.

In ſuch requeſt, of ſuch force doth Honour appear to be. If we examine why, we may find more than mere faſhion (or mutual imitation and conſent) to ground the experiment upon. There is one obvious reaſon, why no mean regard ſhould be had thereto, its great convenience and uſefulneſs: for that a man cannot himſelf live ſafely, quietly or pleaſantly, without ſome competent meaſure thereof; cannot well ſerve the publick, perform offices of duty to his relations, of kindneſs to his friends, of charity to his neighbours, but under its protection, and with its aid: it being an engine very requiſite for the managing any buſineſs, for the compaſſing any deſign, at leaſt ſweetly and ſmoothly; it procuring to us many furtherances in our proceedings, removing divers obſtacles out of our way, guarding a man's perſon from offences, adding weight to his words, putting an edge upon his endeavours: for every one allows a favourable ear to his diſcourſe, lends an aſſiſting hand to his attempts, grants a ready credence to his teſtimony, and makes a fair conſtruction of his doings, whom he eſteems and reſpects. So is Honour plainly valuable among the *bona utilia*, as no ſmall accommodation of life; and as ſuch, reaſon approves it to our judgment.

Vide Hier. *Ep. ad* Celant.

Conſcientia nobis neceſſaria eſt, fama proxima. Qui conſcientiâ fidens, famam negligit, crudelis eſt. Aug.

Πρὸς χρείας ἐπιτίδειον ὄργανον ἡ δόξα. Galen.

Nec verò negligenda fama eſt; nec mediocre telum ad res gerendas exiſtimare oportet benevolentiam civium. Cic. *de Amic.*

Vide Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Orat.* 17.

But ſearching farther, we ſhall find the appetite of Honour to have a deeper ground, and that it is rooted even in our Nature it ſelf. For we

we may descry it budding forth in mens first Infancy (before the use of reason, or speech;) even little Children being ambitious to be made much of, maintaining among themselves petty emulations and competitions, as it were, about punctilio's of Honour. We may observe it growing with Age, waxing bigger and stronger together with the encrease of wit and knowledge, of civil culture and experience: that the maturest age doth much resent and relish it; that it prevails most in civilized nations; that men of the best parts, of the highest improvements, of the weightiest employments, do most zealously affect it and stand upon it; that they who most struggle with it, do most feel its might, how difficult it is to resist or restrain it, how impossible it is to stifle or extinguish it. For the Philosopher with all his reasons and considerations cannot dispute it down, or persuade it away; the Anchoret cannot with all his austerities starve it, or by his retirements shun it: no affliction, no poverty, no wretchedness of condition can totally suppress it. Tis a spirit that not only haunts our Courts and Palaces, but frequents our Schools and Cloisters, yea creeps into Cottages, into Hospitals, into Prisons, and even doggs men into Desarts and Solitudes: so close it sticks to our nature. *Plato* says it is the last coat which a wise man doth put off. But I question whether he could shew us that wise man who had done it, or could tell us where he dwelt, except perhaps in his own *Utopian* Republick. For they who most pretend to have done it, (who in their discourse most vilifie Honour; who talk like *Chrysippus*, that a wise man for Reputation sake will not so much as stretch out his finger, or like *Seneca*, that we should doe every thing purely for conscience sake, without any regard to mens opinion; who make harangues and write volumes against Glory,) do yet appear by their practice, sometimes, by so doing, to aim at it: even as men do usually complain of and eagerly quarrel with that which they most affect and woe. *Chrysippus* wrote, as we are * told, above 700 books, most of them concerning Logical quirks, and such as one can hardly imagine what other drift he could have in composing them, besides ostentation of his subtilty and sharpness of wit. *Seneca*, if History do not wrong him, and the face of his actions do not misrepresent him, was not in his heart exempt from a spice of Ambition. Yea, that excellent Emperour *M. Aurelius*, who would often speak like a *Stoick*, could not but commonly act like a Man, more by his practice commending Honour, than he disparaged it in his words. For Story represents him very careful and jealous of his credit, very diligent to preserve it and to repair it. * *Tertullian* calls such Philosophers *negotiatores famæ*, (Merchants for fame:) and it is perchance some part of their cunning in that trade, which makes them strive to beat down the price of this commodity, that they may more easily engross it to themselves. However, experience proves that such words are but words; (words spoken out of affectation and pretence, rather than in good earnest and according to truth;) that endeavours to banish or to extirpate this desire are but fond and fruitless attempts. The reason why is clear: for 'tis as if one should dispute against eating and drinking, or should labour to free himself from hunger and thirst; the appetite of Honour being indeed, as that of Food, innate unto us, so as not to be quenched or smothered, except by some violent distemper or indisposition of mind; even by the wise Authour of our nature originally implanted therein, for very

Vidi ego & expertus sum zelantem parvulum, &c. Aug

In solitudine sitis, subrepit superbia. Hier.

Cic. *de Fin.* 3.

Nihil opinionis causâ, omnia conscientiæ faciam. Sen. *de V. B.*
Nil sit illi cum ambitione famâq; commune sibi placeat. *Epist.* 113.
Justum esse gratis oportet. *ib.*
Id. de Ira. 3. 41.

* Laert.

Erat famæ suæ curiosissimus, & malè loquentium dictis vel literis vel sermone respondebat. Capit.
* Tert. *Apol.*

Ut quidam morbo aliquo & sensûs stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt; sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi veræ laudis gustum non habent. Cic. Philip. 2.

very good ends and uſes, reſpecting both the private and publick benefit of men; as an engagement to Vertue, and a reſtraint from Vice; as an excitement of induſtry, and incentive of courage, a ſupport of conſtancy in the proſecution of worthy enterpriſes; as a ſerviceable inſtrument for the conſtitution, conſervation and improvement of humane ſociety. For did not ſome love of Honour glow in mens breaſts, were that noble ſpark quite extinct, few men probably would ſtudy for honourable qualities, or perform laudable deeds; there would be nothing to keep ſome men within bounds of modeſty and decency, to deterre them from doing odious and ugly things; men, not caring what others thought of them, would not regard what they did themſelves; a barbarous ſloth or brutiſh ſtupidity would overſpread the world, withdrawing from common life moſt of its ornaments, much of its convenience; men generally would, if not altogether ſhun ſociety, yet at leaſt decline the cares and burthens requiſite to the promoting its welfare, for the ſuſtaining which uſually the chief encouragement, the main recompence, is this of Honour. That men therefore have ſo tender and delicate a ſenſe of their Reputation, (ſo that touching it is like pricking a nerve, as ſoon felt, and as ſmartly offenſive,) is an excellent proviſion in nature; in regard whereto Honour may paſs among the *bona naturalia*, as a Good neceſſary for the ſatisfaction of nature, and for ſecuring the accompliſhment of its beſt deſigns.

Αἰδὼς δ' ὀιχμᾷ πάντων γενέτειρα κακίστων. Naz. Carm 56.

Negligere quid de ſe quiſquis ſentiat arrogantis eſt & diſſoluti. Cic. de Offi. 1.

A moderate regard to Honour is alſo commendable as an inſtance of humanity or good will to men, yea, as an argument of humility, or a ſober conceit of our ſelves. For to deſire another man's eſteem, and conſequently his love, (which in ſome kind or degree is an inſeparable companion of eſteem) doth imply ſomewhat of reciprocal eſteem and affection toward him; and to prize the judgment of other men concerning us, doth ſignifie, that we are not over ſatisfied with our own.

We might for its further commendation alledge the authority of the more cool and candid ſort of Philoſophers, (ſuch as grounded their judgment of things upon notions agreeable to common ſenſe and experience; who adapted their rules of practice to the nature of man, ſuch as they found in the world, not ſuch as they framed it in their own fancies,) who have ranked Honour among the principal of things deſireable, and adorned it with faireſt elogies; terming it a divine thing, the beſt of exteriour goods, the moſt honeſt fruit and moſt ample reward of true Vertue; adjudging, that to neglect the opinions of men (eſpecially of perſons worthy and laudable) is a ſign of ſtupid baſeneſs, that to contemn them is an effect of unreaſonable haughtineſs; repreſenting the love of Honour (rightly grounded and duely moderated) not onely as the parent and guardian (as productive and preſervative) of other Vertues, but as a vertue it ſelf of no ſmall magnitude and luſtre in the Conſtellation of Vertues, the Vertue of Generoſity. A Vertue which next to the ſpirit of true Religion, (next to a hearty reverence toward the ſupreme Bleſſed Goodneſs, and that holy Charity toward men which ſpringeth thence,) doth liſt a man up neareſt to Heaven; doth raiſe his mind above the ſordid deſires, the ſorry cares, the fond humours, the perverſe and froward paſſions, with which men commonly are poſſeſſed and acted: that Vertue,

Θεῖόν τι ἡ τιμή. Plat. *de Leg. IV.*

Καλὸν δὲ πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὸ φιλαχέλδυσμά ὅτι, πρόσιμον εὐδοξίαν ἐν ἡμῖν πολλῶν. *Idem de Rep. XII.*

Μέγιστον δὲ ἐπίδοξος ἀγαθῶν ἡ τιμή. Ariſt *Eth. IV.* 3.

Levis eſt animi, juſtam gloriam, qui eſt fructus virtutis honeſtiſſimus, repudiare. Cic. *in* Piſ.

Ex omnibus præmiis virtutis ampliſſimum eſt præmium gloria. Idem, pro Mil-

Vertue, which enflames a man with Courage, ſo that he dares perform what reaſon and duty require of him, that he diſdains to doe what is bad or baſe; which inſpires him with Sincerity, that he values his honeſty before all other intereſts and reſpects, that he abhors to wrong or deceive, to flatter or abuſe any man, that he cannot endure to ſeem otherwiſe than he is, to ſpeak otherwiſe than he means, to act otherwiſe than he promiſes and profeſſes; which endows him with Courteſie, that he is ready to yield every man his due reſpect, to afford any man what help and ſuccour he is able: that Vertue, which renders a man upright in all his dealings, and correſpondent to all his obligations; a loyal Subject to his Prince, and a true lover of his Country, a candid judge of perſons and things, an earneſt favourer of whatever is good and commendable, a faithfull and hearty friend, a beneficial and uſefull neighbour, a gratefull reſenter and requiter of courteſies, hoſpitable to the ſtranger, bountifull to the poor, kind and good to all the world: that Vertue, in fine, which conſtitutes a man of honour, who ſurely is the beſt man next to a man of conſcience. Thus may Honour be valued from natural light, and according to common ſenſe.

Trahimur omnes laudis ſtudio. & optimus quiſque maximè gloriâ ducitur. Cic. *prò Arch.*

But beyond all this, the Holy Scripture (that moſt certain ſtandard by which we may examine and determine the true worth of things) doth not teach us to ſlight Honour, but rather in its fit order and juſt meaſure to love and prize it. It indeed inſtructs us to ground it well: (not upon bad qualities or wicked deeds, that's villainous madneſs; not upon things of a mean and indifferent nature, that vanity; not upon counterfeit ſhews and pretences, that's hypocriſie; but upon real worth and goodneſs, that may conſiſt with modeſty and ſobriety:) it enjoyns us not to be immoderate in our deſires thereof, or complacences therein, not to be irregular in the purſuit or acquiſt of it; (to be ſo is pride and ambition;) but to affect it calmly, to purchaſe it fairly: it directs us not to make a regard thereto our chief principle, not to propound it as our main end of action: it charges us to bear contentedly the want or loſs thereof, (as of other temporal goods:) yea, in ſome caſes, for Conſcience ſake or for God's ſervice, (that is, for a good incomparably better than it,) it obliges us willingly to proſtitute and ſacrifice it, chuſing rather to be infamous than impious, (to be in diſgrace with men, rather than in diſfavour with God:) it, in fine, commands us to ſeek and embrace it onely in ſubordination and with final reference to God's honour. Which diſtinctions and cautions being provided, Honour is repreſented in Holy Scripture, as a thing conſiderably good, which may be regarded without blame, which ſometimes in duty muſt be regarded. It is there preferred before other good things, in themſelves not deſpicable. For, *A good name is better than precious ointment*; yea, *A good name is rather to be choſen than great riches*, (ſaith the *Wiſe man.*) 'Tis called a Gift of God: for, *There is a man* (ſaith the *Preacher*) *to whom God hath given riches and honour.* Yea, not onely a ſimple gift, but a Bleſſing, conferr'd in kindneſs, as a reward and encouragement of goodneſs: for, *By humility and the fear of the Lord*, ſaith he again, *are riches and honour.* Whence it is to be acknowledged as an eſpecial beneſit, and a fit ground of thankſgiving; as is practiſed by the Pſalmiſt in his royal Hymn: *Honour* (ſaith he) *and Majeſty haſt thou laid upon him.* Wiſdom alſo is deſcribed unto us bearing *in her left hand riches and honour*: and Wiſdom ſurely will not take into any hand of hers, or hold therein, what is worth nothing. No, we are therefore moved to

Οἱ χαρίεντες καὶ πρακτικοὶ, *plauſible and active men do* (ſaith Ariſtot) *place Happineſs in Honour.* (*Eth.* 1. 4.)

Non vis eſſe juſtus ſine gloria? at hercule ſæpe juſtus eſſe debes cum infamia. Sen. *Epiſt.* 113.

Eccles 7. 1. Prov. 22. 1.

Eccles 6. 2.

Prov. 22. 4.

Pſal. 21. 5.

Prov. 3. 16.

Prov. 4. 8, 9. procure her becauſe, *exalting her, ſhe ſhall promote us.* —— *She ſhall give unto our head an ornament of grace, a crown of glory ſhall ſhe deliver to us.* We are alſo enjoyned to render Honour as the beſt expreſſion of good will and gratitude toward them who beſt deſerve in themſelves, or moſt deſerve of us; to our Prince, to our Parents, to our Prieſts;
1 Pet. 2. 17. (eſpecially to ſuch of them *as govern and teach well*, to all good men,
1 Tim. 5. 3, (*Have ſuch in reputation*, ſays the Apoſtle.) And were not Honour a
Phil. 2. 29. 17. good thing, ſuch injunctions would be unreaſonable. Yea, becauſe we
1 Pet. 2. 17. are obliged to bear good will toward all men, S. *Peter* bids us to *honour all men.* From hence alſo, that we are eſpecially bound to render Ho-
Ariſtot. *Eth.* *IV.* 3. nour unto God himſelf, we may well infer with *Ariſtotle*, that *Honour is the beſt thing in our power to offer.* To theſe conſiderations may be
Rom. 13. 13. added, that we are commanded to walk εὐσχημόνως, (*decently*, or ſpeci-
Rom 12. 17. ouſly, which implies a regard to mens opinion;) to *provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men*, (τὰ καλὰ, that is, not onely things good in
1 Pet. 2. 12. ſubſtance, but goodly in appearance;) to *have our converſation honeſt before the Gentiles*, (καλὴν, again, that is, fair, or comely, and plauſible, ſuch as may commend us and our profeſſion to the judgment of
Phil 4. 8. them who obſerve us.) S. *Paul* alſo exhorts us to *mind*, not onely *what things are true, are juſt, are pure*; but alſo ὅσα σεμνὰ, (*what-ever things are venerable*, or apt to beget reſpect,) ὅσα προσφιλῆ, (*what-ever things are lovely*, or gracious in mens eyes and eſteem,) ὅσα εὔφημα, (*what-ever things are well reported*, or *well reputed of.*) He requires us not onely, *if there be any vertue*, (any thing very good in it ſelf,) but, *if there be any praiſe*, (any thing much approved in common eſteem,) that we ſhould *mind ſuch things.* Laſtly, the bleſſed ſtate hereafter (the higheſt inſtance of Divine bounty, the compleat reward of goodneſs) is repreſented and recommended to us as a ſtate of Honour and
Rom. 2. 7. Glory; to be ambitious whereof is the character of a good man. *To every man* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *ſhall God render according to his works: to them who by patient continuance in well doing ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality, Eternal life.*

Such is the Reward propounded to us in it ſelf; no vile or contemptible thing, but upon various accompts much valuable; that which the common apprehenſions of men, plain dictates of reaſon, a predominant inſtinct of nature, the judgments of very wiſe men, and Divine atteſtation it ſelf conſpire to commend unto us as very conſiderable and precious. Such a Reward our Text preſcribes us the certain, the onely way of attaining.

2. Such a benefit is here tendred to us (that which yet more highly commends it, and exceedingly enhances its worth) by God himſelf: *I* (ſaith he) *will honour.* 'Tis ſanctified by coming from his holy hand; 'tis dignified by following his moſt wiſe and juſt diſpoſal; 'tis fortified and aſſured by depending on his unqueſtionable word, and uncontrollable power: who as he is the prime Author of all good, ſo he is in eſpecial manner the ſovereign diſpenſer of Honour. *The King* (we ſay) *is the fountain of Honour.* What any King, as the Repreſentative and Delegate of God, is in his particular Kingdom, that is Almighty God abſolutely and independently, in all the world. *Both riches and Honour*
1 Chron. 29. 12. (ſaid good King *David*) *come of thee, for thou ruleſt over all: in thine hand is power and might; in thine hand it is to make great, and to give ſtrength unto all.* He whoſe grants are in effect onely ſure and valid, whoſe favours onely do in the end turn to good account, he freely offers us moſt deſirable preferment: he doth himſelf graciouſly hold forth

moſt

moſt authentick patents, by virtue of which we may all become *right honourable*, and *perſons of quality* indeed; having not onely the names and titles, the outward enſigns and badges of dignity, (ſuch as earthly Princes confer,) but the ſubſtantial reality, the aſſured enjoyment thereof. (For man can onely impoſe law upon tongues and geſtures; God alone commandeth and enclineth hearts, wherein Honour chiefly reſideth.) He offers it, I ſay, moſt freely indeed, yet not abſolutely: he doth not goe to ſell it for a price, yet he propounds it under a condition; as a moſt juſt and equal, ſo a very gentle and eaſie condition. 'Tis but an exchange of Honour for Honour; of honour from God, which is a free gift, for honour from us, which is a juſt duty; of honour from him our ſovereign Lord, for honour from us his poor vaſſals; of honour from the moſt high Majeſty of Heaven, for honour from us vile worms creeping upon the earth. Such an overture one would think it not onely reaſonable to accept, but impoſſible to refuſe. For can any man dare not to honour invincible Power, infallible Wiſedom, inflexible juſtice? will any man forbear to honour immenſe Goodneſs and Bounty? Yes, it ſeems there are men ſo mad as to reject ſo fair an offer, ſo bad as to neglect ſo equal a duty. Let us therefore conſider what it is that is here required of us, or wherein this honouring of God conſiſts, that we may thereby diſcern when we perform this duty, when we are deficient therein.

II. There are ſeveral ways of honouring God, or ſeveral parts and degrees of this Duty: all which we may referr to two ſorts, conceiving the Duty as a compound made up of two main ingredients, (correſpondent to thoſe two parts in which they reſide, and of which our nature conſiſts; which diſtinction S. *Paul* ſuggeſteth, when he ſaith, *Glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are God's*,) one of them being, as it were, the form and Soul, the other as the matter and Body of the Duty. 1 Cor. 6. 20.

1. The Soul of that Honour which is required of us toward God, is that internal eſteem and reverence which we ſhould bear in our hearts towards him; importing that we have impreſſed upon our minds ſuch conceptions about him as are worthy of him, ſutable to the perfection of his nature, to the eminency of his ſtate, to the juſt quality of his works and actions: that we apprehend him to be, what he really is, in his nature, ſuperlatively good, wiſe, powerfull, holy and juſt: that we aſcribe unto him the production and conſervation of all beings, together with an intire ſuperintendency over and abſolute diſpoſal of all events: that we conceive our ſelves obliged to ſubmit unto and acquieſce in all his diſpenſations of Providence, as moſt wiſe and moſt righteous; to rely upon the declarations of his mind, (whether in way of aſſertion, or promiſe,) as infallibly true and certain. In ſuch acts of mind the honouring of God doth primarily conſiſt. In acts, I ſay: not in ſpeculative Opinions concerning the Divine Excellences, (ſuch as all men have, who are not downright Atheiſts or Infidels,) floating in the fancy, or dormant in the mind; but in continually-preſent, lively, effectual acts of apprehenſion and judgment, ſinking down into the heart and affections, and quickning them to a congruous real performance. Such an apprehenſion of God's Power, as ſhall make us to dread his irreſiſtible hand, ſhall cauſe us to deſpair of proſpering in bad courſes, ſhall diſpoſe us to confide in him, as able to perform what-ever he wills us to expect from him: ſuch an opinion of his Wiſedom, as ſhall keep us from

queſtioning whether that is beſt which God declares to be ſo: as ſhall hinder us from preſuming (in compliance with our own ſhallow reaſon, or vain fancy) to doe any thing againſt God's judgment and advice: ſuch a conceit of God's Juſtice, as ſhall render us carefull to perform what his Law promiſes to reward, and fearfull to commit what it threatens to puniſh: ſuch a perſuaſion concerning God's Goodneſs, as ſhall kindle in us an hearty affection toward him, ſhall make us very ſenſible of his bounty, and ready to yield returns of duty and gratitude unto him; as ſhall preſerve us from being diſtruſtfull of his Providence, or doubtfull in our need and diſtreſs of finding relief from him: ſuch a vigorous and fruitfull eſteem of God in all reſpects, as ſhall produce in us diſpoſitions of mind, and actions of life, agreeable to our various relations and obligations to him; becoming us as his creatures and children, as his ſubjects and ſervants. This is indeed the Soul of the duty, which being abſent, all exteriour (how ſpecious ſoever) either profeſſions or performances are but as pictures, having in them ſomewhat of reſemblance in ſhape and colour, nothing of life: yea rather, as carcaſes, not onely dead and ſenſeleſs, but rotten and filthy in God's ſight.

Matt. 15. 8. *This people* (ſaith God) *do honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Such honour is indeed no honour at all, but impudent abuſe and profane mockery: for what can be more abominably vain, than for a man to court and cajoul him who knows his whole heart, who ſees that he either minds not, or means not what he ſays? It behoves us therefore by all proper means (by contemplating the Works and Actions of God, (his admirable works of nature, the wiſe proceedings of his Providence, the glorious diſpenſations of his Grace) by meditating on his Word, by praying for his Grace, by obſerving his Law and Will) to raiſe up in our hearts, to foment and cheriſh this internal Reverence, which is the true ſpring of all Piety, the principle which forms and actuates that other ſort, coming next to be touched on, being the Body of our due Honour to God; concurring in its order to the integrity thereof, as without which the interiour part would be a kind of Ghoſt, too thin in ſubſtance, too remote from ſenſe, too deſtitute of good fruit and uſe.

2. This Bodily part conſiſts in outward expreſſions and performances, whereby we declare our eſteem and reverence of God, and produce or promote the like in others. For our thus honouring God reſpects thoſe two ends and effects, the uttering our own, the exciting in others a reverence toward him. And it we may firſt view in the general, or groſs bulk thereof; then ſurvey its principal members.

Firſt, in general, God is honoured by a willing and carefull practice of all Piety and Vertue for conſcience ſake, or in avowed obedience to his holy will. This is the moſt natural expreſſion of our Reverence toward him, and the moſt effectual way of promoting the ſame in others. A Subject cannot better demonſtrate the Reverence he bears toward his Prince, than by (with a chearfull diligence) obſerving his Laws: for by ſo doing he declares that he acknowledgeth the Authority, and revereth the Majeſty which enacted them; that he approves the Wiſdom which deviſed them, and the Goodneſs which deſigned them for publick benefit; that he dreads his Prince's Power, which can maintain them, and his Juſtice, which will vindicate them; that he relies upon his Fidelity, in making good what of protection or of recompence he propounds to the obſervers of them. No leſs pregnant a ſignification of our Reverence toward God, do we yield in our gladly and ſtrictly obeying

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ing his Laws; thereby evidencing our ſubmiſſion to God's ſovereign Authority, our eſteem of his Wiſdom and Goodneſs, our awfull regard to his Power and Juſtice, our confidence in him, and dependence upon his word. As alſo the practice of wholeſome Laws, viſibly producing good fruits, (peace and proſperity in the commonwealth,) doth conciliate reſpect unto the Prince, he thereby appearing wiſe and good, able to diſcern, and willing to chuſe what conferrs to publick benefit: ſo actions conformable to the Divine Law, being (by God's wiſe and gracious diſpoſal) both in themſelves comely and lovely, and in effect (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *good and profitable to men*, conducing indeed not onely to private, but alſo to publick welfare, to the rendring humane Society comfortable, to the ſettling and ſecuring common tranquillity,) the performance of them muſt needs bring great commendation to the author and ordainer of them. By obſerving them we ſhall (as S. *Peter* ſpeaks) *ſet forth the vertues of him that called us* to ſuch a practice. The light and luſtre of good works, done in regard to Divine command, will cauſe men to ſee clearly the Excellences of our moſt wiſe and gracious Lord; will conſequently induce and excite them *to glorifie our Father which is in Heaven. In this* (ſaith our Saviour) *is my Father glorified, if you bear much fruit.* The goodlineſs to the ſight, the pleaſantneſs to the taſte, which is ever perceptible in thoſe fruits which genuine Piety beareth, the beauty men ſee in a calm mind and a ſober converſation, the ſweetneſs they taſte from works of juſtice and charity, will certainly produce veneration to the Doctrine which teacheth ſuch things, and to the Authority which enjoyns them. It is an aggravation of Impiety, often inſiſted upon in Scripture, that it ſlurrs (as it were) and defames God, brings reproach and obloquy upon him, cauſes his Name to be profaned, to be curſed, to be blaſphemed: and 'tis anſwerably a commendation of Piety, that by the practice thereof we (not onely procure many great advantages to our ſelves, many bleſſings and comforts here, all joys and felicities hereafter; but do alſo thereby) beget eſteem to God himſelf, and ſanctifie his ever-bleſſed Name; cauſe him to be regarded and reverenced, his name to be praiſed and bleſſed among men. It is by exemplary Piety, by * *providing things honeſt in the ſight of all men*, by doing things honourable and laudable, (ſuch are all things which God hath been pleaſed to command us,) that we ſhall be ſure to fulfill that precept of S. *Paul*, of *doing all things to the glory of God*; which is the Body of that duty we ſpeak of.

Tit. 3. 8. Neh. 9. 13. Deut 10. 13. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Matt 5. 16. Joh. 15. 8. Rom. 2. 23. Tit. 2. 5. 2 Sam. 12. 14. Iſa. 52. 5. Ezek. 36. 20. Eph. 4. 1. Phil. 1. 27. Coloſ. 1. 10. 1 Theſ. 2. 12. * Rom. 12. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 31.

Secondly, But there are, deſerving a particular inſpection, ſome members thereof, which in a peculiar and eminent manner do conſtitute this Honour; ſome acts which more ſignally conduce to the illuſtration of God's glory. Such are,

1. The frequent and conſtant performance (in a ſerious and reverent manner) of all religious Duties, or Devotions immediately addreſſed to God, or converſant about him: that which the Pſalmiſt ſtyles, *Giving the Lord the honour due to his Name, worſhipping the Lord in the beauty of Holineſs.*

Pſal. 29. 2.

2. Uſing all things peculiarly related unto God his holy Name, his holy Word, his holy Places, (the places *where his honour dwelleth,*) his holy Times, religious Faſts and Feſtivities) with eſpecial reſpect.

Pſal. 26. 8. Iſa. 58. 13.

3. Yielding due obſervance to the Deputies and Miniſters of God (both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical) as ſuch, or becauſe of their relation to God: the doing of which God declares that he interprets and accepts as done unto himſelf.

Rom. 13. 4. Mal. 2. 7. 1 Sam. 8. 7. Matt. 10. 40. Joh. 13. 20.

4. Freely

4. Freely ſpending what God hath given us (out of reſpect unto him) in works of Piety, Charity and Mercy; that which the *Wiſe man* calls *Honouring the Lord with our Subſtance.*

2 Cor. 9 13. Prov. 3 9. 14 31.

5. All penitential Acts, by which we ſubmit unto God, and humble our ſelves before him. (As *Achan*, by confeſſing of his ſin, is ſaid to *give glory to the Lord God of Iſrael.*)

Joſh. 7. 19. Apoc. 16. 9.

6. Chearfull undergoing afflictions, loſſes, diſgraces, for the profeſſion of God's truth, or for obedience to God's commands. (As *S. Peter* is ſaid *by his death*, ſuffered upon ſuch accompts, *to glorifie God.*)

Joh. 21. 19.

Theſe ſignal inſtances of this duty (repreſented as ſuch in Holy Scripture) for brevitie's ſake I paſs over; craving leave onely to conſider one, moſt pertinent to our preſent buſineſs, and indeed a very comprehenſive one; which is this:

7. We ſhall eſpecially honour God, by diſcharging faithfully thoſe offices which God hath intruſted us with; by improving diligently thoſe talents which God hath committed to us; by uſing carefully thoſe means and opportunities, which God hath vouchſafed us, of doing him ſervice, and promoting his glory. Thus he to whom God hath given Wealth, if he expend it (not to the nouriſhment of pride and luxury, not onely to the gratifying his own pleaſure or humour, but) to the furtherance of God's honour, or to the ſuccour of his indigent neighbour, (in any pious or charitable way,) he doth thereby in eſpecial manner honour God. He alſo on whom God hath beſtowed Wit and parts, if he employ them (not ſo much in contriving projects to advance his own petty intereſts, or in procuring vain applauſe to himſelf, as) in advantageouſly ſetting forth God's praiſe, handſomely recommending goodneſs, dexterouſly engaging men in ways of vertue, (doing which things is true wit and excellent policy indeed,) he doth thereby remarkably honour God. He likewiſe that hath Honour conferr'd upon him, if he ſubordinate it to God's honour, if he uſe his own credit as an inſtrument of bringing credit to goodneſs, thereby adorning and illuſtrating Piety, he by ſo doing doth eminently practiſe this duty. The like may be ſaid of any other good quality, any capacity or advantage of doing good; by the right uſe thereof we honour God: for that men, beholding the worth of ſuch good gifts, and feeling the benefit emergent from them, will be apt to bleſs the donour of them; as did they in the Goſpel, who, ſeeing our Saviour cure the Paralitick man, did preſently *glorifie God, who had given ſuch power unto men.* but eſpecially they to whom Power and Authority is committed, as they have the chief capacity, ſo they are under an eſpecial obligation thus to honour God: they are particularly concerned to hear and obſerve that Royall proclamation, *Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord glory and ſtrength; Give unto the Lord the honour due unto his name.* When ſuch perſons (like King *Nebuchadnezzar* returned to his right ſenſes) do ſeriouſly acknowledg their power and eminency derived from God alone; when they profeſs ſubjection unto him, and expreſs it in their practice, not onely driving others by their power, but drawing them by their example, to piety and goodneſs; when they cauſe God's Name to be duly worſhipped, and his Laws to be ſtrictly obſerved; when they favour and encourage Vertue, diſcourage and chaſtiſe wickedneſs; when they take care that juſtice be impartially adminiſtred, innocence protected, neceſſity relieved, all iniquity and oppreſſion, all violence and diſorder, yea, (ſo much as may be) all affliction and wretchedneſs be prevented, or removed; when they by all means ſtrive to promote both

Matt. 9. 8.

Pſal. 29. 1, 2.

Dan. 4. 34. *I bleſſed the moſt High, and praiſed and honoured him*, &c.

both the ſervice of God, and the happineſs of men; (*diſpenſing* equally and benignly, to the family over which their Lord hath ſet them, *their meat in due ſeaſon*; providing that men under them *may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godlineſs and honeſty*; doing which is the buſineſs allotted to them, the intereſt (as it were) of God, which he declares himſelf concernedly to tender, and by their miniſtry to proſecute:) when they carefully do ſuch things, then do they indeed approve themſelves worthy honourers of their High Maſter, and Heavenly King; then do they truly act God's part, and repreſent his perſon decently. When the actions of theſe viſible Gods are ſo divinely good and beneficial, men will be eaſily induced, yea, can hardly forbear to reverence and magnifie the inviſible Founder of their Authority. By ſo doing, as they will ſet before mens eyes the beſt pattern of Loyalty; as they will impreſs upon mens hearts the ſtrongeſt Argument for Obedience and reſpect toward themſelves; as they ſhall both more plainly inform, and more effectually perſuade people to the performance of their duty unto them, than by all the law and all the force in the world; as they will thereby conſequently beſt ſecure and maintain their own honour, and their own welfare: (for men will never be heartily loyal, and ſubmiſſive to Authority, till they become really good; nor will they ever be very good, till they ſee their Leaders ſuch:) ſo they will together greatly advance the praiſe and glory of Him in whoſe name they rule, to whoſe favour they owe their power and dignity; *in whoſe hand* (as the Prophet ſaith) *is their breath, and whoſe are all their ways*. For all men will be ready moſt awfully to dread Him, unto whom they ſee Princes themſelves humbly to ſtoop and bow: no man will be aſhamed or unwilling to ſerve Him, whom he ſhall obſerve that his Lords and Governours do concern themſelves to worſhip: the world cannot but have a good opinion of Him, a participation of whoſe power and majeſty yields ſuch excellent fruits; it will not fail to adore him, whoſe ſhadows and images are ſo venerable. 'Tis a moſt notorious thing, both to reaſon and in experience, what extreme advantage Great perſons have, eſpeciall by the influence of their practice, to bring God himſelf, as it were, into credit: how much it is in their power eaſily to render Piety a thing in faſhion and requeſt. For in what they doe, they never are alone, or are ill attended; whither they goe, they carry the world along with them: they lead crowds of people after them, as well when they goe in the right way, as when they run aſtray. The cuſtom of living well, no leſs than other modes and garbs, will be ſoon convey'd and propagated from the Court; the City and Country will readily draw good manners thence, (good manners truly ſo called, not onely ſuperficial forms of civility, but real practices of goodneſs.) For the main body of men goeth not *quà eundum, ſed quà itur*, not according to rules and reaſons, but after examples and authorities; eſpecially of great perſons, who are like ſtars, ſhining in high and conſpicuous places, by which men ſteer their courſe: their actions are to be reckon'd not as ſingle or ſolitary ones, but are, like their perſons, of a publick and repreſentative nature, involving the practice of others, who are by them awed, or ſhamed into compliance. Their good example eſpecially hath this advantage, that men can find no excuſe, can have no pretence why they ſhould not follow it. Piety is not onely beautified, but fortified by their dignity; it not onely ſhines in them with a clear luſtre, but with a mightier force and influence: a word, a look (the leaſt intimation) from them will doe more good, than others beſt eloquence, cleareſt reaſon,

Matt. 24. 45.

1 Tim. 2. 2.

Dan. 5. 23.

reason, most earnest endeavours. For it is in them, if they would apply themselves to it, as the wisest Prince implies, to *scatter iniquity with their eyes.* A smile of theirs were able to enliven Vertue, and diffuse it all about; a frown might suffice to mortifie and dissipate wickedness. Such apparently is their power of honouring God; and in proportion thereto surely great is their obligation to doe it: of them peculiarly God expects it, and all equity exacts it. What the meaner rank of servants (who are employ'd in baser drudgeries, whose fare is more course, whose wages are more scant, who stand at greater distance from their Lord, and receive no such ample or express marks of his favour, what these) doe is of some consequence indeed, but doth not import so much to the Master's reputation; their good word concerning him, their good carriage toward him doth not credit him so much. But those whom he employs in matters of highest trust, and importance to his affairs; whom he places in the nearest degree to himself, (seats even in his own throne, upon his own tribunal,) whom he feeds plentifully and daintily, maintains in a handsome garb, allows largely, as their deportment doth much reflect on their Lord's esteem, as they are highly capable of advancing his repute; so all the rules of ingenuity and gratitude, all the laws of justice and equity do oblige them earnestly to endeavour it. And it is indeed no less their concernment to doe so. For if there be disorders, prejudicial to the Master's honour and interest, frequently committed in the family, 'tis those servants must be responsible: if due order be there kept to his glory and advantage, they shall chiefly be commended, and peculiarly hear the *Euge, bone serve.* They must be loaded with other mens faults, or crowned for other mens vertues, as their behaviour hath respectively contributed to them. Those universal Rules of equity, proposed in the Gospel, will, in God's reckoning with and requiting men, be punctually observed: *To whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required:* answerable to the improvement of what is delivered in trust, shall the acceptance be.

Prov. 20 8.

Matt. 25. 23. Luk. 12. 48.

I have insisted somewhat more largely on this point, because our Text hath a particular aspect thereon; the words being uttered upon occasion of *Eli*, then Judge in *Israel*, his not using authority to these purposes; his forbearing to redress a grievous abuse, committed by his own Sons, to the disservice and dishonour of God. Whence to persons of his rank is this Law especially directed; upon them is this duty chiefly incumbent; on them assuredly, (as sure as God is true,) if they will observe the Duty, the Reward shall be conferred. God will certainly not onely preserve the honour they have already, but will accumulate more Honours on them.

These are general Truths; the particular application of them is ours. God, I pray, vouchsafe his grace and blessing, that it may be made to our benefit and comfort.

III. I should now shew why the Duty is required of us, or how reasonable it is. I must not (and the matter is so palpable that I need not) spend many words on that. God surely doth not exact Honour from us because he needs it, because he is the better for it, because he (for its self) delights therein. For (beside that he cannot want any thing without himself, that he cannot anywise need mortal breath to praise him, or hands of flesh to serve him, who hath millions of better creatures than we absolutely at his devotion, and can with

Ἀκήρατος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἀνενδεὴς οὖσα, οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου προσδεῖται· οἱ δὲ αἰνοῦντες αὐτὸν λαμπρότεροι γίνονται. Chrys. *in Psal.* 144. *& vide in Ps.* 103.

with a word create millions of millions more fitter than we to honour him) the beſt eſtimation we can have of him is much below him; the beſt expreſſion we can make is very unworthy of him. He is infinitely excellent beyond what we can imagine or declare: his *Name is exalted above all bleſſing and praiſe; his glory is above the earth and heaven.* So that all our endeavours to honour him are, in compariſon to what is due, but defects, and in a manner diſparagements to him. 'Tis onely then (which ſhould effect our ingenuity to conſider) his pure goodneſs, that moves him, for our benefit and advantage, to demand it of us. Nehem. 9. 5. Pſal. 148. 13. Eccluſ 43. 30. affect

1. For that to honour God is the moſt proper work of Reaſon; that for which primarily we were deſign'd and framed: (for as other things were made to afford the matter and occaſion, ſo Man was deſigned to exerciſe the act of glorifying God:) whence the performance thereof doth preſerve and perfect our nature; to neglect it being unnatural and monſtrous. Sen. *Ep.* 76.

2. For that alſo it is a moſt pleaſant duty. He is not a man (hath loſt all natural ingenuity and humanity) who doth not delight to make ſome returns thither, where he hath found much good will, whence he hath felt great kindneſs. Since then all the good we have, we have received from God's favour, it cannot but be very pleaſant to render ſomewhat of requital (as it were) unto him; and we can render no other but this. We cannot make God more rich, more joyfull, more happy than he is: all that we can do is, to expreſs our reverence toward him.

3. For that likewiſe our honouring God diſpoſes us to the imitation of him, (for what we do reverence we would reſemble,) that is, to the doing thoſe things wherein our chief perfection and happineſs conſiſts, whence our beſt content and joy doth ſpring.

4. In fine, for that the practice of this duty is moſt profitable and beneficial to us; unto it by an eternal rule of juſtice our final welfare and proſperity being annexed: whence God hath declared it to be the way and condition of our attaining that thing which we ſo like and prize, Honour to our ſelves; the which by promiſe he hath engaged himſelf to confer on thoſe who honour him. And,

IV. This promiſe he makes good ſeveral ways: Some of them I ſhall briefly ſuggeſt.

1. The honouring God is of it ſelf an honourable thing; the employment which ennobles Heaven it ſelf, wherein the higheſt Angels do rejoyce and glory. 'Tis the greateſt honour of a Servant to bring credit to his Maſter, of a Subject to ſpread his Prince's renown, and (upon grounds vaſtly more obliging) of a Creature to glorifie his Maker: that we may doe ſo is an honour we ſhould be glad, may be proud of.

2. By honouring God we are immediately inſtated in great Honour; we enter into moſt noble relations, acquire moſt illuſtrious titles, enjoy moſt glorious priviledges: we become the friends and favourites of Heaven, are adopted into God's family, and are ſtyled his Children; do obtain a free acceſs unto him, a ſure protection under him, a ready aſſiſtence from him in all our needs. And what honour can exceed, can equal this?

3. God hath so ordered it, that Honour is naturally consequent upon the honouring him. God hath made Goodness a noble and a stately thing; hath impressed upon it that beauty and majesty which commands an universal love and veneration, which strikes presently both a kindly and an awfull respect into the minds of all men. **The righteous is* (not onely in himself, but in common esteem) *more excellent than his neighbour.* Power may be dreaded, Riches may be courted, Wit and Knowledge may be admired; but onely Goodness is truly esteemed and honoured. Not onely men of goodness and discretion, but even the vulgar sort of men (yea, as *Plato* hath well observed, the worst men) do pass this judgment, do prefer true Goodness above all things.

Γίνου τοῦ πλησίον τιμιώτερος ἐκ τοῦ φανῆναι χρηστότερος, &c. Naz. *Orat. de Paup.*

Is gloriâ maximè excellit, qui virtute plurimùm præstat. Cic.

Κατ' ἀλήθειαν ὁ ἀγαθὸς μόνος τιμητός. Aristot. *Eth.* 4. 3.

* Prov. 12. 26.

Adeo gratiosa virtus est, ut insitum sit etiam malis probare meliora. Sen *de Benef.* 4. 17.

Θεῖόν τι καὶ εὔστοχόν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς· ὥστε πάμπολλοι τῶν σφόδρα κακῶν εὖ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τῶν δόξαις διαιρῆνται τοὺς ἀμείνους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς χείρους. Plat. *de Repub. XII.*

4. God by his extraordinary providence, as there is reason and occasion, doth interpose, so as to procure Honour to them, to maintain and further their reputation, who honour him. God *fashioneth the hearts of men: The hearts* of the greatest men *are in his hand; he turneth them as the rivers of waters, whithersoever he will:* he consequently raiseth or depresseth us, as he pleases, in the judgments and affections of men. *When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him,* saith the *Wiseman*; that is, he disposeth the most averse minds to love and honour him. No envy can supplant, no slander can deface the credit of such a person; since God hath taken it into his charge and care, since he hath said it, that *he will bring forth his righteousness as the light, and his judgment as the noon-day.* God also by secret methods, and undiscernible trains, ordereth all events, managing our thoughts and designs, our enterprizes and actions so, that the result of them shall be matter of benefit, comfort and reputation, or of disaster, regret and disgrace, as he thinks good. Victory and success he absolutely disposeth of, and consequently of the Honour that follows them; and they do usually attend the honourers of God: for (as it is in the Psalm) *A good success have they who keep his commandments.* Many are the instances of persons (such as *Abrahan, Joseph, Moses, David, Job* and *Daniel*) who, for their signal honouring of God, from a base and obscure, or from an afflicted and forlorn condition, have, in ways strange and wonderfull, been advanced to eminent dignity, have been rendred most illustrious, by the providence of him, who *raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the begger out of the dunghill, to set them among Princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory.* He doeth it in an evident manner, and eminent degree, to some; he doth it in a convenient way, and competent measure, to all that honour him.

Psal. 33. 15. Prov. 21. 1. Prov. 16 7. Psal. 37. 6. Psal. 30. 7. & 90. 17. Ps. 111. 10. Prov. 3. 4. 1 Sam. 2. 8. Ps. 107. 41.

5. Whereas men are naturally inclined to bear much regard to the judgment of Posterity concerning them, are desirous to leave a Good name behind them, and to have their memory retained in esteem: God so disposes things, that *the memory of the just shall be blessed*; that *his righteousness shall be had in everlasting remembrance*; that *his light shall rejoyce,* (or burn clearly and pleasantly, even when his life is put out here.) No spices can so embalm a man, no monument can so preserve his name and memory, as a pious conversation, whereby God hath been honoured, and men benefited. The fame of such a person is, in the best judgments, far more precious

Cic. *Tusc.* 1. Prov. 10. 7. Psal. 112. 6. Prov. 13. 9.

Ἀνάγκη, ὡς ἔοικε, μέλειν ἡμῖν καὶ τῶν ἔπειτα χρόνου· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυγχάνουσι κατά τινα φύσιν, οἱ μὲν ἀνδραποδωδέστατοι, οὐδὲν φροντίζοντες αὐτοῦ. οἱ δ' ἐπιεικέστατοι, πᾶν ποιοῦντες ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὖ ἀκούωσιν. Plat. *Epist.* 2.

precious and truly glorious, than is the fame of thoſe who have excelled in any other deeds or qualities. For what ſober man doth not in his thoughts afford a more high and hearty reſpect to thoſe poor Fiſhermen, who by their heroical activity and patience did honour God in the propagation of his heavenly Truth, than to all thoſe *Hectors* in Chivalry, thoſe Conquerors and atchievers of mighty exploits, (thoſe *Alexanders* and *Cæſars*) who have been renowned for doing things which ſeemed great, rather than for performing what was truly good? To the honour of thoſe excellent poor men conſpicuous monuments have been erected every-where; anniverſary memorials of their names and vertues are celebrated; they are never mentioned or thought of without reſpect; their commendations are interwoven with the praiſes of their great Lord and Maker, whom they honoured.

Τῶν γὰρ ἀθλων τὰ χειρὰ καὶ τὰ σήματα λαμπρὰ, καὶ ἡμέραι καταφανεῖς, ἑορτὴ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποιοῦσι, &c. Chryſ. *in* 2 *Cor. Or.* 27.

6. Laſtly, to thoſe who honour God here, God hath reſerved an Honour infinitely great and excellent, in compariſon whereto all Honours here are but dreams, the loudeſt acclamations of mortal men are but empty ſounds, the brighteſt glories of this world are but duskiſh and fleeting ſhadows; an honour moſt ſolid, moſt durable; *an eternal weight of glory*. They ſhall in the face of all the world be approved by the moſt righteous Judge his unqueſtionable Sentence; they ſhall be eſteemed in the unanimous opinion of Angels and Saints; they ſhall be applauded by the general voice and atteſtation of Heaven; they ſhall then be ſeated upon unmovable Thrones, their heads encircled with unfading Crowns, their faces ſhining with rays of unconceivable Glory and Majeſty. The leſs of Honour they have received here, in this tranſitory moment of life, the more thereof they ſhall enjoy in that future eternal ſtate: where, with him who, through the whole courſe of his life, *ſought not his own honour, but the honour of him that ſent him*; who, *for the ſuffering of death, was crowned with glory and honour*; who, *for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet at the right hand of God*; with thoſe who conſecrated all their endeavours, and who ſacrificed their lives to the promoting of God's Honour, they ſhall poſſeſs everlaſting glory. Which, together with them, God Almighty of his infinite mercy grant unto us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord; to whom, with God the Father, and God the Holy Ghoſt, be for ever all Honour and Praiſe. *Amen.*

2 Cor. 4. 17.

Joh. 8. 49, 50. Heb. 2. 9. 12. 2.

SERMON V.

Upright walking Sure walking.

PROV. X. 9.

He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.

THE world is much addicted to the Politicks; the heads of men are very buſie in contrivance, and their mouths are full of talk about the ways of conſulting our ſafety, and ſecuring our intereſts. May we not therefore preſume, that an infallible Maxim of Policy, propoſing the moſt expedient and certain method of ſecurity in all our tranſactions, will be entertained with acceptance? Such an one the greateſt Politician and wiſeſt man for buſineſs (if we may take God's own word for it) that ever was or will be, doth here ſuggeſt to us. For the practice couched in our Text he otherwhere voucheth for a point of Policy, telling us, that *A man of underſtanding walketh uprightly:* and here he recommendeth it as a method of Security, *He that walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely.*

1 King. 3. 12.

Prov. 15. 21.

Treating upon which *Aphoriſm*, I ſhall, by God's help, Endeavour, firſt, in way of Explication, briefly to deſcribe the practice it ſelf; then, in way of Proof, by ſome Conſiderations to declare, that Security doth attend it.

For Explication. *To walk* (as well in the ſtyle of Holy Scripture, as in other Writings, and even in common ſpeech) doth ſignifie our uſual courſe of dealing, or the conſtant tenour of our practice.

בתום *Uprightly*, according to the original, might be rendred, *in perfection*, or, *with integrity:* and by the *Greek* Tranſlators in ſeveral places is ſuppoſed chiefly to denote Sincerity and Purity of intention.

In effect, the Phraſe, *He that walketh uprightly*, doth import, One who is conſtantly diſpoſed in his deſigns and dealings to bear a principal regard to the rules of his duty, and the dictates of his Conſcience; who in every caſe emergent is ready to perform that, which upon good deliberation doth appear moſt juſt and fit, in conformity to God's Law and ſound Reaſon, without being ſwayed by any appetite, any paſſion, any ſiniſter reſpect to his own private intereſt of profit, credit, or pleaſure, to the commiſſion of any unlawfull, irregular, unworthy, or baſe act; who generally doth act out of good principles; (namely, reverence to God, charity to men, ſober regard to his own true welfare;) who doth aim at good ends, that is, at God's honour, publick benefit, his own Salvation, other good things ſubordinate to thoſe, or well conſiſtent with them; who doth proſecute his deſigns by lawfull means, in fair ways, ſuch as honeſt providence and induſtry, veracity and fidelity, dependence upon God's help, and prayer for his bleſſing: In ſhort, One who never adviſedly doth undertake any bad thing, nor any good thing to ill purpoſes; nor doth uſe any foul means to compaſs his intents.

He that walketh in his uprightneſs, feareth the Lord. Prov. 14. 2.

For

For Proof. That ſuch an one doth ever proceed with much ſecurity, from the following Conſiderations may appear.

I. An upright walker is ſecure of eaſily finding his way. For it commonly requireth no reach of wit or depth of judgment, no laborious diligence of enquiry, no curious intentneſs of obſervation, no ſolicitous care, or plodding ſtudy, to diſcern in any caſe what is juſt; we need not much trouble our heads about it, for we can hardly be to ſeek for it. If we will but open our eyes, it lieth in view before us, being the plain, ſtreight, obvious road, which common Reaſon prompteth, or which ordinary Inſtruction pointeth out to us: ſo that uſually that direction of *Solomon* is ſufficient, *Let thine eyes look right on, and let thine eye-lids look ſtreight before thee —— Turn not to the right hand, nor to the left.* Prov. 4. 25, 27. & 17. 24. & 14. 6.

The ways of iniquity and vanity, (if we may call them *ways*, which indeed are but exorbitances and ſeductions from the way,) ill deſigns and bad means of executing deſigns, are very unintelligible, very obſcure, abſtruſe and intricate; being infinitely various, and utterly uncertain: ſo that out of them to pick and fix on this or that, may puzzle our heads, and perplex our hearts; as to purſue any of them, may involve us in great difficulty and trouble. But the ways of Truth, of Right, of Vertue, are ſo very ſimple and uniform, ſo fixed and permanent, ſo clear and notorious, that we can hardly miſs them, or (except wilfully) ſwerve from them. For they by Divine wiſdom were chalked out, not onely for ingenious and ſubtle perſons, (men of great parts, of refined wits, of long experience,) but rather for the vulgar community of men, the great Body of God's ſubjects, conſiſting in perſons of meaneſt capacity, and ſmalleſt improvement: being deſigned to *make wiſe the ſimple*, to *give the young man knowledge and diſcretion*; to direct all ſorts of people in their duty, toward their happineſs; according to that in the Prophet, *A high way ſhall be there, and it ſhall be called the way of Holineſs---- the way-faring men, though fools, ſhall not erre therein.* Pſal. 19. 7. & 119. 130. Prov. 8. 5. 1. 4.

They are in very legible characters graven by the finger of God upon our hearts and conſciences, ſo that by any conſiderate reflection inwards we may eaſily read them: or they are extant in God's Word, there written as with a Sun-beam, ſo perſpicuouſly expreſſed, ſo frequently inculcated, that without groſs negligence or ſtrange dulneſs we cannot but deſcry them. For who with half an eye may not ſee, that the practice of pious love and reverence toward God, of entire juſtice and charity toward our neighbour, of ſober temperance and purity toward our ſelves, is approved by Reaſon, is preſcribed by God to us? Pſal. 119. 9. Iſa. 35. 8. Ὁδὸς καθαρά. LXX. Rom. 2. 15. Iſa. 30. 21. Pſal. 37. 31.

Hence in the Holy Scriptures, as bad ways are called dark, crooked, rough, ſlippery ways; ſo the good ways are ſaid to be * clear, plain, direct, even ways. ‖*The path of the juſt* (ſay they) *is as a ſhining light. All the words of my mouth are plain to him that underſtandeth*, (or, *that conſidereth* them.) *My foot ſtandeth in an even place. The Law of his God is in his heart: none of his ſteps ſhall ſlide.* Prov. 4. 19 & 2. 13, 15. Joh. 8 12. Pſal. 82. 5. & 125. 5. & 35. 6. & 73. 18. Jer. 23. 12. * Heb. 12. 13. Pſal. 5. 8. Luke 3. 5. Prov. 3. 23. Deut. 5. 32. & 28. 14. ‖ Prov. 4 18. Prov. 8. 8, 9. & 14. 6. Πάντα ἐνώπια τοῖς συνιοῦσι, LXX. Pſal. 26. 12. & 37. 31 & 26. 1. & 17. 5. & 18. 36.

Hence it is affirmed, that an upright man doth hardly need any conduct beſide his own honeſty. For, *the integrity* (ſaith *Solomon*) *of the upright ſhall guide them*; and, *The righteouſneſs of the perfect ſhall direct his way.* Prov. 11. 3. 11. 5.

But

But in case such an one should ever be at a stand or at a loss, in doubt of his course, he hath always at hand a most sure guide to conduct or direct him. It is but asking the way of him, or saying, with the Psalmist, *Shew me thy ways, O Lord, teach me thy paths; Teach me to doe thy will,* and, *Lead me in the way everlasting; O let me not wander from thy commandments:* and then * *his ears* (as the Prophet saith) *shall hear a word behind him saying, This is the way, walk ye in it;* then the Words of the Psalmist shall be verified, *What man is he that feareth the Lord? him shall he teach in the way that he shall chuse. The meek will he guide in judgment, and the meek he will teach his way.*

Psal. 25. 4. & 16. 11. & 17. 5. Psal. 143. 10. & 139. 24. & 119. 27. Psal. 119. 10. 27, 33, 35, &c. *Isa 30. 21. Psal. 25. 9. 12. & 37. 23.

Hence is the upright man happily secured from tiring pains in the search, from racking anxieties in the choice, from grating scruples and galling regrets in the pursuit of his way.

(Prov. 12. 5.) II. The upright walker doth tread upon firm ground. He doth build his practice, not upon the perillous bogs, the treacherous quagmires, the devouring quick-sands of uncouth, bold, impious Paradoxes, (such as have been vented by *Epicurus*, by *Machiavel*, by others more lately, whose infamous names are too well known, as the effects of their pestilent notions are too much felt;) but upon solid, safe, approved, and well-tried principles; *viz.* these, and the like coherent with them: That there is an eternal God, incomprehensibly powerfull, wise, just and good; who is always present with us, and ever intent upon us; viewing not onely all our external actions, (open and secret,) but our inmost cogitations, desires and intentions, by the which our actions chiefly are to be estimated: That He, as Governour of the world, and Judge of men, doth concern himself in all humane affairs, disposing and managing all events according to his righteous pleasure; exacting punctual obedience to his laws, and dispensing recompences answerable thereto; with impartial justice rewarding each man according to the purposes of his heart, and the practices of his life: That all our good and happiness doth absolutely depend on God's favour; so that to please him can onely be true wisdom, and to offend him the great folly: That vertue is incomparably the best endowment whereof we are capable, and Sin the worst mischief to which we are liable: That no worldly good or evil is considerable in comparison with goods or evils spiritual: That nothing can be really profitable or advantageous, to us, which doth not consist with our duty to God, doth not somewise conduce to our spiritual interest, and eternal welfare: yea, That every thing not serviceable to those purposes is either a frivolous trifle, or a dangerous snare, or a notable damage, or a wofull bane to us: That content of mind, springing from innocence of life, from the faithfull discharge of our duty, from satisfaction of Conscience, from a good hope in regard to God and our future state, is in our esteem and choice much to be preferred before all the delights which any temporal possession or fruition can afford; and, That a bad mind is the sorest adversity which can befall us. Such are the grounds of upright practice, more firm than any rock, more unshakeable than the foundations of heaven and earth; the which are assured by the Sacred Oracles, and attested by many remarkable Providences; have ever been avowed by the wiser sort, and admitted by the general consent of men, as for their truth, most agreeable to Reason, and for their usefulness, approved by constant experience. The belief of them having apparently most wholsome influence upon all the concerns of life, both publick and private; indeed,

indeed, being absolutely needfull for upholding Government, and preserving humane Society; no obligation, no faith or confidence between men, no friendship or peace being able to subsist without it. Whence the practice built on such foundations must be very secure. And if God shall not cease to be, if he will not let go the reigns, if his Word cannot deceive, if the wisest men are not infatuated, if the common sense of mankind do not prove extravagant, if the main props of life and pillars of Society do not fail; he that walketh uprightly, doth proceed on sure grounds.

III. The upright person doth walk steddily, maintaining his principal resolutions, and holding his main course, through all occasions, without flinching or wavering, or dissolutory inconsistence and fickleness; his integrity being an excellent ballast, holding him tight and well-poised in his deportment; so that waves of temptation dashing on him do not make him roll in uncertainty, or topple over into unworthy practices.

Lust, passion, humour, interest, are things very mutable, as depending upon temper of body, casualties of time, the winds and tides of this vertiginous world: whence he that is guided or moved by them must needs be *many-minded*, and *unstable in all his ways*; will *reel to and fro like a drunken man, and be at his wits ends*; never enjoying any settled rest of mind, or observing a smooth tenour of action. But good Conscience is very stable, and persisteth unvaried through all circumstances of time, in all vicissitudes of fortune. For it steereth by immovable pole-stars, the inviolable rules of duty; it aimeth at marks which no force can stir out of their place; its objects of mind and affection are not transitory; its hopes and confidences are fixed on the *rock of ages*. Whence an upright person in all cases, and all conditions, (prosperous or adverse,) is the same man, and goeth the same way. Contingences of affairs do not unhinge his mind from its good purposes, or divert his foot from the right course. Let the weather be fair or foul, let the world smile or frown, let him get or lose by it, let him be favoured or crossed, commended or reproached, (*by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report,*) he will doe what his duty requireth: the external state of things must not alter the moral reason of things with him. This is that which the Psalmist observeth of him; *He shall not be afraid of evil tidings, for his heart standeth fast, and believeth in the Lord. His heart is stablished, and will not shrink.* And this the *Wise man* promiseth to him; *Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established.*

Jam. 1. 8. Psal. 107. 27.

Τελείων ☞. *Justum & tenacem propositi virum, &c.* Hor.

2 Cor. 6. 8.

Psal. 112. 7, 8. Prov. 3. 25.

Prov. 16. 3.

Hence a man is secured from diffidence in himself, and distraction in his mind, from frequently being off the hooks, from leading an unequal life, clashing with it self, from deluding and disappointing those with whom he converseth or dealeth, and consequently from the inconveniences issuing thence,

IV. The way of Uprightness is the surest for dispatch, and the shortest cut toward the execution or attainment of any good purpose; securing a man from irksome expectations and tedious delays, the which (as the *Wise man* saith) *do make the heart sick.*

Prov. 13. 12.

It in Scripture is called *the streight and the plain way.* And as in Geometry, of all lines or surfaces contained within the same bounds, the streight line and the plain surface are the shortest: so it is also in Morality:

Luke 3. 5.

lity: by the right line of Juſtice, upon the plain ground of Vertue, a man ſooneſt will arrive to any well-choſen end.

In this way there are no bewildring intrigues and mazes, no crooked windings and turnings, no occaſions forcing men to dance hither and thither, to skip backward and forward, to doe and undoe; which courſes do protract buſineſs, and commonly do hinder from ever diſpatching it. But a man acting juſtly and fairly, doth continually proceed on in the direct open road, without retreat, excurſion, or deflection; *not turning aſide* (as the phraſe is in Holy Writ) *to the right hand, or to the left.*

Prov. 4. 27. Deut. 5. 32. & 28. 14.

To clamber over fences of Duty, to break through hedges of Right, to treſpaſs upon hallowed encloſures, may ſeem the moſt ſhort and compendious ways of getting thither where one would be: But doth not a man venture breaking his neck, or ſcratching his face, incurring miſchief and trouble thereby? Is he not liable to the fate to which the Preacher doometh him, *He that diggeth a pit ſhall fall into it: and whoſo breaketh a hedge, a ſerpent ſhall bite him?* For inſtance, to grow rich, fraud, extortion, corruption, oppreſſion, over-reaching and ſupplanting may ſeem the readieſt and moſt expedite ways; but in truth they are the fartheſt ways about, or rather no ways at all: for that which is got by thoſe means is not our own; nor is the poſſeſſion of it truly wealth, but uſurpation, or detention of ſpoil and rapine, which we ought to diſgorge. And however, to the getting it there are often mighty difficulties occurring from men, there are commonly inſuperable obſtacles interpoſed by God; who hath expreſly condemned and curſed thoſe ways, declaring, that *Wealth gotten by vanity* (or cozenage) *ſhall be diminiſhed*; that *He that oppreſſeth to encreaſe his riches, ſhall ſurely come to want*; that; *He who* (thus) *haſteth to be rich, hath an evil eye, and conſidereth not that poverty ſhall come upon him*; that, *As the partridge ſitteth on eggs, and hatcheth them not: ſo he that getteth riches, and not by right, ſhall leave them in the midſt of his days, and at his end ſhall be a fool.* Whereas the plain way of honeſt harmleſs induſtry, (joyned with a pious regard to him who is the diſpenſer of all good things,) how ſlow ſoever it may ſeem, is the moſt ſpeedy, becauſe the onely ſafe, way to thrive; having, beſide all ſecondary advantages, the ſecurity of thoſe Oracles; *The hand of the diligent ſhall make rich: He that gathereth by labour, ſhall increaſe: By humility and the fear of the Lord are riches, and honour, and life.*

Eccles 10. 8.

(Prov. 23. 10, 11.) Prov. 13. 11. & 22. 16. & 28. 22. 20. & 13. 11. & 21. 6. Jer. 17. 11.

Prov. 10. 4. & 28. 19. & 13. 11. & 22. 4 Pſal. 112 3.

V. The way of Uprightneſs is in it ſelf very ſafe, free of danger, tending to no miſchief; according to thoſe ſayings of the *Wiſe man*; *There ſhall no evil happen to the juſt: In the way of righteouſneſs is life*; *and in the path thereof there is no death.*

Prov. 28 18. & 16. 17. & 13. 6. & 10. 29. & 12 21, 28.

He who deſigneth onely that which is juſt and reaſonable, who innocently and fairly proſecuteth his intent, can run no great hazzard, cannot fall into any extreme diſaſter, cannot irrecoverably ſink into miſerable diſappointment.

Pſal 37. 24.

He probably will not receive much harm from men, or trouble from the world: for, as he meaneth innocently, as he dealeth inoffenſively, (not violently aſſailing, not fraudulently circumventing, not any-wiſe injuriouſly or maliciouſly abuſing any man,) as he doth yield no juſt provocation or urgent temptation to oppoſe him; ſo he is not very likely to meet with obſtructions or croſſes thwarting his deſigns. He can hardly raiſe up adverſaries; at leaſt ſuch as will prove very formidable, or very fierce and implacable toward him. He

He may be ſure that few wiſe men, and no good men will trouble him; but that ſuch rather will afford their countenance and furtherance to his undertakings.

But aſſuredly he ſhall have the favourable protection of Almighty God, who throughly knowing his heart, and obſerving the righteouſneſs of his intentions and proceedings, will not ſuffer him to incurr any notable, deſtructive, remedileſs calamity. His prayer, dictated by good conſcience, *Let integrity and uprightneſs preſerve me*, will certainly be heard; God having paſſed his word for it in numberleſs places of Scripture; particularly in thoſe remarkable words of *Iſaiah*: * *He that walketh righteouſly and ſpeaketh uprightly, he that deſpiſeth the gain of oppreſſions, that ſhaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that ſtoppeth his ears from hearing of bloud, and ſhutteth his eyes from ſeeing evil; He ſhall dwell on high, his place of defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, his bread ſhall be given him, his water ſhall be ſure.* That is, A man who is conſtantly uprightly in his dealings, ſhall by the Divine Providence be infallibly and impregnably preſerved from any grievous miſchief, from any ſore want, from any extreme diſtreſs.

Pſal. 25. 21. (Prov. 13. 6. & 11. 6.) Prov 2. 7. & 18. 10. & 28. 18 & 29 25. Pſal. 18 2, 30. 35 & 23. 4. & 24. 4, 5. Job 11. 14, 15. * Iſa. 33. 15, 16.

The way of Uprightneſs is ever guarded with Angels, ready to promote the affairs of the honeſt perſon, or at leaſt to protect him from evil. He may hopefully ſay to himſelf, as *Abraham* did to his Servant, *The Lord, before whom I walk, will ſend his Angel with thee, and proſper thy way:* or he confidently may apply to himſelf that of the Pſalmiſt, *He ſhall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways: They ſhall bear thee up in their hands, leſt thou daſh thy foot againſt a ſtone.*

Gen 24. 40. Pſ. 91. 11, 12.

However, the ſequel will be tolerable: what-ever the ſucceſs of his undertaking be, it can be no ruin, no ſlurr, no heart-breaking to him. His Conſcience is ſafe, his credit is entire, his hopes are good; he is perfectly ſecure from being tainted with foul guilt, from being expoſed to due reproach, from being ſtung with vexatious remorſe, from being plunged into a gulf of deſperation or diſconſolateneſs. For,

VI. The way of Uprightneſs is fair and pleaſant. He that walketh in it hath good weather, and a clear skie about him; a hopefull confidence and a chearfull ſatisfaction do ever wait upon him. *It is joy* (as the *Wiſe man* ſaith) *to the juſt to do judgment.*

Prov. 21. 15.

Being conſcious to himſelf of an honeſt meaning, and a due courſe of proſecuting it, he feeleth no check or ſtrugling of mind, no regret or ſting of heart; being throughly ſatisfied and pleaſed with what he is about, his judgment approving, and his will acquieſcing in his procedure, as worthy of himſelf, agreeable to reaſon, and conformable to his duty.

(Prov. 23. 17, 18.)

He therefore briskly moveth forward with alacrity and courage; there being within him nothing to controll or countermand him, to pull him back, to make him halt, to diſtract or diſturb him.

Nor hardly can any thing abroad diſmay or diſcourage him. For he may reaſonably hope for the good will of men, and cannot hugely dread their oppoſition. He may ſtrongly preſume upon the propitious aſpect and favourable ſuccour of Heaven, which always ſmileth and caſteth benign influences on honeſt undertakings.

Prov. 11. 20.

He that hath choſen a good way, may with aſſurance commend his way to God's providence; he may depend upon God for his concurrent benediction; he with an humble boldneſs may addreſs prayers to God

Jer. 32. 19. Prov. 24. 14. Heb. 4. 16.

for his protection and aid. He ſo doing hath intereſt in divers clear declarations and expreſs promiſes of good ſucceſs; ſuch as theſe; *Commit thy way unto the Lord, truſt alſo in him, and he ſhall bring it to paſs. The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him in truth: he will fulfill the deſire of them that fear him; he will hear their cry, and will ſave them.*

Pſal. 37 5. & 55. 22. Prov. 16 3. Eccl. 2. 10. Pſal 34. 22 & 26 1. & 33. 21. Prov. 10. 24. Pſal 145. 18, 19. & 34. 15. & 26. 11.

He may dare to refer his caſe to the ſevereſt examination, ſaying with *Job*, *Let me be weighed in an even balance, that God may know mine integrity*; and with the Pſalmiſt, *Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteouſneſs, and according to mine integrity, that is in me.*

Job 22. 27. Job 31. 6. Pſal. 7. 8. & 26. 1.

He with an humble confidence can appeal to God, borrowing the words of *Hezekiah*, *I beſeech thee, O Lord, remember how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy ſight.*

2 King 20. 3.

Hence, *The hope of the righteous* (as the *Wiſe man* telleth us) *is gladneſs.* He conſidering the goodneſs, the juſtice, the fidelity of God, whereof his integrity doth render, him capable and a proper object, cannot but conceive a comfortable hope of a good iſſue.

Prov. 10 28.

And obtaining ſucceſs, he doth not onely enjoy the material pleaſure thereof, but the formal ſatisfaction that it is indeed good ſucceſs, or a bleſſing indulged to him by ſpecial favour of God; enabling him to ſay with the Pſalmiſt, *The Lord rewarded me according to my righteouſneſs; according to the cleanneſs of my hands hath he recompenſed me. For I have kept the ways of the Lord, and have not wickedly departed from my God.*

Pſal. 18. 20, 21.

However, an upright dealer hath this comfortable reſerve, that whatever doth befall him, however the buſineſs goeth, he ſhall not condemn, and puniſh himſelf with remorſe; he ſhall not want a conſolation able to ſupport and to erect his mind. He ſhall triumph, if not in the felicity of his ſucceſs, yet in the integrity of his heart, and the innocence of his deportment; even as Bleſſed *Job* did under all the preſſures of his adverſity: for, *Till I die*, (ſaid he) *I will not remove my integrity from me. My righteouſneſs I hold faſt, and will not let it go: my heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live.*

(Prov. 24. 16.)

Job 27. 5, 6.

So true it is upon all accompts, that, according to that aſſertion in the Pſalm, *Light is ſown for the righteous, and joyfull gladneſs for the upright in heart.*

Pſal. 97. 11.

VII. He that walketh uprightly is ſecure as to his honour and credit. He is ſure not to come off diſgracefully, either at home in his own apprehenſions, or abroad in the eſtimations of men. He doth not bluſh at what he is doing, nor doth reproach himſelf for what he hath done. No blemiſh or blame can ſtick upon his proceeding.

By pure Integrity a man firſt maintaineth a due reſpect and eſteem for himſelf, then preſerveth an entire reputation with others: he reflecteth on his own heart with complacence, and looketh upon the world with confidence. He hath no fear of being detected, or care to ſmother his intents. He is content that his thoughts ſhould be ſounded, and his actions ſifted to the bottom. He could even wiſh, that his breaſt had windows, that his heart were tranſparent, that all the world might ſee through him, and deſcry the clearneſs of his intentions. The more curiouſly his ways are marked, the more exactly his dealings are ſcann'd, the more throughly his deſigns are penetrated and known; the greater approbation he is ſure to receive.

The

The iſſue of things aſſuredly will be creditable to him; and when the day-light hath ſcattered all miſts, hath cleared all miſpriſions and miſtakes, his reputation will ſhine moſt brightly: the event declaring, that he had no corrupt ends; the courſe of his proceedings being juſtified by the very light of things.

God himſelf will be concerned to vindicate his reputation, not ſuffering him to be conſiderably defamed; according to that promiſe, *He ſhall bring forth thy righteouſneſs as the light, and thy judgment as the noon-day.* That in *Job* will be made good to him, *Then ſhalt thou lift up thy face without ſpot:* and he may confidently averre with the Pſalmiſt, *Then ſhall I not be aſhamed, when I have reſpect to all thy commandments.* Pſal. 37. 6, 19. & 34. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 6. Job 11. 15. Pſal. 119 6, 39, 46.

If he findeth good ſucceſs, it will not be invidious, appearing well deſerved, and fairly procured: it will be truly honourable as a fruit and recompence of Vertue, as a mark and pledge of the Divine favour toward him. Pſal. 91. 15.

If he ſeemeth diſappointed, yet he will not be diſparaged: wiſe and candid men will excuſe him; good men will patronize his cauſe; no man of ſenſe and ingenuity will inſult on his misfortune. *He ſhall not* (as the Pſalmiſt aſſureth) *be aſhamed in an evil time.* Yea, often his repute from under a cloud will ſhine, if not with ſo glaring ſplendour, yet with a pleaſant luſtre; Uprightneſs diſpoſing him to bear adverſe events with a gracefull decency. Pſal 37. 19.

VIII. The particular methods of acting which Uprightneſs diſpoſeth to obſerve, do yield great ſecurity from troubles and croſſes in their tranſactions.

What is the conduct of the upright man? He is clear, frank, candid, harmleſs, conſiſtent in all his behaviour, his diſcourſe, his dealing. His heart commonly may be ſeen in his face, his mind doth ever ſute with his ſpeech, his deeds have a juſt correſpondence with his profeſſions: he never faileth to perform what he doth promiſe, and to ſatisfie the expectations which he hath raiſed. Prov. 13. 5. Pſal 36. 3, 4. & 34 13 &. 15. 2.

He doth not wrap himſelf in clouds, that none may ſee where he is, or know how to find him; may diſcern what he is about, or whither he tendeth.

He diſguiſeth not his intents with fallacious pretences of conſcience, of publick good, of ſpecial friendſhip and reſpect. Prov. 10 18.

He doth uſe no diſingenuous, ſpitefull unjuſt tricks or ſleights to ſerve the preſent turn.

He laieth no baits or ſnares *to catch men*, alluring them into miſchief or inconvenience. Jer. 5. 26. (Pſal. 64. 5. & 56. 6. & 9.

As he doth not affect any poor baſe ends, ſo he will not defile his fair intentions by ſordid means of compaſſing them; ſuch as are illuſive ſimulations and ſubdolous artifices, treacherous colluſions, ſlie inſinuations and ſycophantick detractions, verſatile whifflings and dodgings, flattering colloguings and glozings, ſervile crouchings and fawnings, and the like. 15. & 7. 15. & 10. 2. & 57. 6. & 35. 7. & 140. 5. Prov. 26. 27. Eccles 10. 8) Pſal. 10 7. & 55. 21. & 64. 6. & 10 9, 10. & 56. 5.

He hath little of the Serpent, (none of its lurking inſidiouſneſs, of its ſurprizing violence, of its rancorous venom, of its keen mordacity,) but much of the Dove, (all its ſimplicity, its gentleneſs, its fidelity, its innocence,) in his converſation and commerce. Rom. 16. 18. Ecclus 19 26. 2 Sam. 15. 5.

His wiſedom is ever tempered with ſincerity, and ſeaſoned with humanity, with meekneſs, with charity; being *the wiſedom which is from above,* Prov. 11. 9. & 26. 25. Jam. 3. 17.

above, first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie.

Prov. 14 33. & 29 11. & 13. 16. & 13. 3. & 21. 23. & 12. 23. He sometime may prudently reserve his mind, not venting it by foolish loquacity: but his words do never clash with his meaning, so as to deceive or disappoint any man.

Eccles 20. 7. Prov. 22. 3. & 27. 12. & 14. 8. & 14. 15, 16. He may warily prevent harm and decline perils: but it is without hurtfull countermining, or deriving mischief on his neighbour.

He may discreetly pick out seasons and embrace opportunities of righting or benefitting himself: but he never will will seek or lay hold of advantages to prejudice others.

Eccles 8. 5. Prov. 12. 16. 19. 11. He sometimes may repress insurrections of anger or disgust: but he never doth allow them to bake into rancour or malice.

He may be apt to use courteous, affable, obliging demeanour, serving to breed friendships, and to stifle enmities: but he never thereby meaneth to gull, inveigle and entrap men; or to procure instruments and aids of any perverse design.

He is no enemy to himself, but (according to the obligations of reason and conscience) he hath always a regard to the good of others; nor is ever so selfish, as to be unjust or uncharitable to any man.

The principal engines he doth employ for atchieving his enterprises are, a carefull and cautious providence in contriving, a sedulous and steddy diligence in acting, a circumspect heedfulness not to provoke any man by offensive carriage, by injury, by discourtesie, to obstruct him, but rather by kind demonstrations and real beneficence to engage men to further him in his proceedings: but especially his main instrument, wherein he most confideth, is devout supplication to God for his succour and blessing.

Now is not this conduct the most secure that can be? doth it not afford many great commodities and advantages? doth it not exempt from manifold fears, and cares, and crosses, and slaveries?

Prov. 12. 22. (Pro. 12. 19.) It cannot but derive blessings from the God of truth, the great friend of simplicity and sincerity, the hater of falshood and guile.

And humanely regarding things, he that useth these methods, doth from them obtain many conveniences. He doth not lie under perpetual constraint, engaged to keep a constant guard upon himself, to watch his memory, to curb his tongue, to manage his very looks and gestures, lest they betray his intentions, and disclose his plots. He is not at the trouble of stopping holes, of mending flaws, of patching up repugnances in his actions, that his mind do not break through them. He is not afraid of the disappointment and shame which attend the detection of unworthy designs. He is not at pains to obviate the jealousies, the surmises, the diffidences, the counterplots, the preventive oppositions and assaults, which gloomy closeness and crafty dissimulation ever do raise against the practisers of them. In fine, men do not shun the conversation and the commerce of an upright person, but gladly do consort and deal with him; do seek his acquaintance and alliance: they are not apt to distrust him, to suspect him, to be shy and reserved in their intercourse with him; but readily do place an entire confidence in him, and use a clear frankness toward him. No man doth fear him as dangerous, or will cross him as an adversary. Whence as he seldom hath cause to fear, or occasion to contest with others; so he doth undisturbedly enjoy the benefits of Society with great safety, ease and comfort.

Prov. 26. 25. 10. 18. 21. 6. Psal. 26. 4.

IX. Lastly

IX. Laſtly, An upright walker hath perfect ſecurity, as to the final reſult of affairs, that he ſhall not be quite baffled in his expectations and deſires. And if proſperity doth conſiſt in a ſatisfaction of mind concerning events, he cannot fail of moſt proſperous ſucceſs. *Whatſoever he doeth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt of him) *it ſhall proſper.* How is that? Doth he, if he warreth, always get the victory? is he perpetually, when he tradeth, a conſiderable gainer? will he certainly after ſowing reap a plentifull crop? Probably yes; and perhaps no: Yet aſſuredly he ſhall proſper, in the true notion of proſperity, explained by thoſe Divine ſayings; *Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace. The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effect of righteouſneſs quietneſs and aſſurance for ever. Surely I know it ſhall be well with them that fear God.* Pſal. 1. 3. Prov. 12. 21. Pſal. 37. 37. Iſa. 32. 17. Eccles 8. 12.

He cannot be much defeated in his purpoſes: for, as to his general, principal, abſolute deſigns, (that is, his deſign of pleaſing God, and procuring his favour; his deſign of ſatisfying himſelf, and diſcharging his Conſcience; his deſign of promoting his own ſpiritual intereſt, and ſaving his Soul; his deſign of doing good, of exerciſing charity to his neighbour, of ſerving the publick, of obliging the world by vertuous example, and by real beneficence,) theſe he cannot fail thoroughly to accompliſh; nothing can obſtruct him in the proſecution, nothing can debarre him from the execution of theſe undertakings; in ſpite of all the world, by the ſuccour of that Divine grace which ever doth favour and further ſuch deſigns, he moſt happily will atchieve them. And for other inferiour deſigns, he can hardly be croſſed in regard to them: for it is an eſſential part of integrity, not otherwiſe to affect or aim at private ſecular intereſts, than under condition, and with a reſervation, if it be God's pleaſure, if it ſeem good to Divine Wiſedom. He knoweth that his pains employed on any honeſt purpoſe, in a fair way, (be it to procure ſome worldly advantage for himſelf, for his relations, for his friend,) are not loſt, if they have the fruit of ſubmiſſion to God's will, and acquieſcence in the event diſpoſed by him. He is aſſured that it is good luck to have his project blaſted, and that miſſing is better than getting, when by Sovereign Wiſedom it is ſo determined. He therefore could not ſo fix his heart, or engage his affection in any ſuch concern, that his mind is ſurpriſed, or his paſſions diſcompoſed by a ſeeming adverſneſs of events to his endeavours. So that in effect he can have no bad ſucceſs. For how can that occurrence be deemed bad, which plain reaſon dictateth in certain judgment to be moſt expedient for him; about which he ever was very indifferent, and with which at preſent he is not heartily diſpleaſed? How can it be taken for diſappointment and misfortune, which one was prepared to embrace with ſatisfaction and complacence?

Yea, to a perſon ſo diſpoſed, that ſucceſs which ſeemeth moſt adverſe, juſtly may be reputed the beſt and moſt happy, as promoting ends incomparably more excellent than any worldly gain; as producing fruits exceedingly more wholeſome and more ſavoury than any temporal commodity; as exerciſing and improving the divineſt Vertues, (Humility, Patience, Meekneſs, Moderation, Contentedneſs) a grain whereof is worth all the wealth, all the preferment, all that is deſirable in the world.

Wherefore let the worſt that can arrive, (or that which humane blindneſs and fondneſs do count the worſt,) yet upright perſons do not come off ill, or ſo (matters being rightly ſtated) as to be loſers upon the foot of the accompt.

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If this do not satisfie grosser apprehensions, we may adde, that even in these meaner concerns Almighty God is pleased commonly to reward and encourage upright persons by the best success. For He hath as it were a natural inclination to gratifie those who desire to please him; and (as the Psalmist expresseth it) *hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servants.* He may seem concerned in honour to countenance those who have regard to his will, and who repose confidence in his aid; discriminating them from such as presume to act against or without him, in defiance to his will, with no deference to his Providence. As they do render him his due respect, by submitting to his authority, and avowing his power; so he will acknowledge them by signally favouring their concerns. Even his truth and fidelity are engaged in their behalf; seeing he very often hath declared and promised, that in all matters, and upon all occasions, he will be ready to bless them.

Psal. 35. 27. Prov. 11. 20. 15. 9.
Prov. 14. 2.
Deut 28 2, &c. & 30. 9. Ps. 128. 1, 2. & 91 1..... &34. 9, 10. & 84. 11.

X. To conclude; It is an infinite advantage of upright dealing, that at the last issue, when all things shall be most accurately tried and impartially decided, a man is assured to be fully justified in it, and plentifully rewarded for it. As then all the deceits, which now pass under specious masks, shall be laid bare; all varnish of pretence shall be wiped off; all perverse intrigues shall be unravelled; all wicked and base intentions shall be quite stripp'd of the veils which now enfold them; all shrewd contrivers and engineers of mischief, all practisers of unjust and malicious guile, shall be exposed to shame, *shall lie down in sorrow:* So then *The righteous man shall stand in great boldness*; his case will be rightly stated, and fully cleared from slanderous aspersions, from odious surmises, from unluckey prejudices and mistakes: what he hath done, shall be approved; what he hath suffered, shall be repaired. So that it then evidently will appear; that upright simplicity is the deepest wisedom, and perverse craft the meerest shallowness: that he who is true and just to others, is most faithfull and friendly to himself: that who-ever doth abuse his neighbour, is his own greatest cheater and foe. For, *In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, every man's work shall be made manifest. The Lord will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.* Unto which our upright Judge, *the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the onely wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

(Prov. 11. 18.)
Rom. 2. 16.
1 Cor. 3. 13. 1 Cor. 4. 5.
1 Tim. 1. 17.

SER-

SERMON VI.

Of the Duty of Prayer.

1 THES. V. 17.

Pray without ceasing.

IT is the manner of S. *Paul* in his Epistles, after that he hath discussed some main Points of doctrine or discipline, (which occasion required that he should clear and settle,) to propose several good advices and rules, in the observance whereof the life of Christian practice doth consist. So that he thereby hath furnished us with so rich a variety of moral and spiritual precepts, concerning special matters, subordinate to the general laws of Piety and Vertue; that out of them might well be compiled a Body of Ethicks, or System of Precepts *de officiis*, in truth and in compleatness far excelling those which any Philosophy hath been able to devise, or deliver. These he rangeth not in any formal method, nor linketh together with strict connexion, but freely scattereth them so as from his mind (as out of a fertile soil, impregnated with all seeds of wisdom and goodness) they did haply spring up, or as they were suggested by that Holy Spirit which continually guided and governed him,

Among divers such delivered here, this is one, which shall be the Subject of my present Discourse; the which, having no other plain coherence (except by affinity of matter) with the rest enclosing it, I shall consider absolutely by it self, endeavouring somewhat to explain it, and to urge its practice.

Pray without ceasing. For understanding these words, let us first consider what is meant by the act enjoyned, *Praying*; then, what the qualification or circumstance adjoyned, *without ceasing*, doth import.

1. The word *Prayer* doth in its usual latitude of acception comprehend all sorts of Devotion, or all that part of Religious practice wherein we do immediately address our selves to God, having by speech (oral or mental) a kind of intercourse and conversation with him. So it includeth that Praise which we should yield to God, implying our due esteem of his most excellent Perfections, most glorious Works, most just and wise dispensations of Providence and Grace; that Thanksgiving whereby we should express an affectionate resentment of our obligation to him for the numberless great benefits we receive from him; that Acknowledgment of our entire dependence upon him, or our total subjection to his power and pleasure; together with that Profession of Faith in him, and avowing of service to him, which we doe owe as his natural creatures and subjects; that humble Confession of our infirmity, our vileness, our guilt, our misery, (joyned with deprecation of wrath and vengeance,) which is due from us as wretched men, and grievous sinners; that Petition of things needfull or convenient for us,

(of

(of ſupply in our wants, of ſuccour and comfort in our diſtreſſes, of direction and aſſiſtence in our undertakings, of mercy and pardon for our offences,) which our natural ſtate (our poor, weak, ſad and ſinfull ſtate) doth engage us to ſeek; that Interceſſion for others, which general charity, or ſpecial relation do require from us, as concerned or obliged to deſire and promote their good. All theſe Religious performances Prayer in its larger notion doth compriſe; according whereto in common uſe the whole Body of Divine Service, containing all ſuch acts, is termed *Prayer*; and Temples, conſecrated to the performance of all holy duties, are ſtyled *Houſes of prayer*; and that Brief Directory, or pregnant Form of all Devotion, which our Lord dictated, is called *his Prayer*: and in numberleſs places of Scripture it is ſo taken.

In a ſtricter ſenſe, it doth onely ſignifie one particular act among thoſe, the Petition of things needfull or uſefull for us.

But according to the former more-comprehenſive meaning I chuſe to underſtand it here; both becauſe it is moſt commonly ſo uſed, (then, eſpecially, when no diſtinctive limitation is annexed, or the nature of the ſubject matter doth not reſtrain it,) and becauſe general reaſons do equally oblige to performance of all theſe duties in the manner here preſcribed: nor is there any ground to exclude any part of Devotion from continual uſe; we being obliged no leſs inceſſantly to praiſe God for his excellences, and thank him for his benefits, to avow his Sovereign Majeſty and Authority, to confeſs our infirmities and miſcarriages, than to beg help and mercy from God. All Devotion therefore, all ſorts of proper and due addreſs to God (that πᾶσα προσευχὴ, *all prayer and ſupplication*, which S. *Paul* otherwhere ſpeaketh of) are here injoyned, according to the manner adjoyned, *without ceaſing*, ἀδιαλείπτως, that is, indefinently, or continually.

Eph. 6. 18.

2. For the meaning of which expreſſion, we muſt ſuppoſe, that it muſt not be underſtood as if we were obliged in every inſtant or ſingular point of time actually to apply our minds to this practice: for to doe thus is in it ſelf impoſſible, and therefore can be no matter of duty; it is inconſiſtent with other duties, and therefore muſt not be practiſed; yea, will not conſiſt with it ſelf; for, that we may pray, we muſt live, that we may live, we muſt eat, that we may eat, we muſt work, and muſt therefore attend other matters: ſo that actual Devotion neither muſt, nor can ſwallow up all our time and care. The deliberate operations of our mind are ſometimes interrupted by ſleep, ſometimes will be taken up in ſatisfying our natural appetites, ſometimes muſt be ſpent in attendence upon other reaſonable employments, commanded or allowed by God; whence there can be no obligation to this practice according to that unlimited interpretation. This Precept therefore (as divers others of a like general purport and expreſſion) muſt be underſtood, not in a natural, but moral ſenſe, according as the exigence of things permitteth, or as the reaſon of the caſe requireth; ſo far as it is conveniently practicable, or as it is reaſonably compatible with other duties and needs. But we muſt not ſo reſtrain it as to wrong it, by pinching it within too narrow bounds. How then it may be underſtood, and how far it ſhould extend, we ſhall endeavour to declare by propounding divers ſenſes whereof it is capable, grounded upon plain teſtimonies of Scripture, and enforcible by good Reaſon; according to which ſenſes we ſhall together preſs the obſervance thereof.

Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem. Tertull.

1. Firſt then, *Praying inceſſantly*, may import the maintaning in our Souls a ready diſpoſition or habitual inclination to Devotion; that which

which in Scripture is termed *the ſpirit of ſupplication.* This in moral eſteem, and according to current language, derived thence, amounteth to a continual practice; a man being reckoned and ſaid to doe that, to which he is ever prompt and propenſe: as it is ſaid of the righteous man, that *he is ever mercifull, and lendeth*, becauſe he is conſtantly diſpoſed to ſupply his neighbour with needfull relief; although he doth not ever actually diſpenſe alms, or furniſh his neighbour with ſupplies for his neceſſity. The words may ſignifie this; they do at leaſt by conſequence imply ſo much: for if we do not in this, we can hardly perform the duty in any ſenſe; without a good temper fitting, and a good appetite prompting to Devotion, we ſcarce can, or will ever apply our ſelves thereto. If there be not in our heart a root of Devotion, whence ſhould it ſpring? how can it live, or thrive? If the organs of Prayer are out of kelter, or out of tune, how can we pray? If we be not *accincti*, have not *the loins of our mind girt*, and *our feet ſhod in preparation* to the ſervice, when ſhall we ſet forward thereto? *My heart* (ſaid *David*) *is fixed, I will ſing and give praiſe*: fixed, that is, readily *prepared*, and ſteddily inclined to devotion. So ſhould ours conſtantly be. As a true friend is ever ready to entertain his friend with a frank courteſie and complacency; as he ever is apt upon occaſion for advice and aſſiſtence to have recourſe to him: ſo ſhould we be always diſpoſed chearfully and decently to converſe with God, when he freely cometh to us, or we have need to apply our ſelves to him. If there be (from ſtupidity of mind, from coldneſs of affection, from ſluggiſhneſs of ſpirit, from worldly diſtraction) any indiſpoſition or averſeneſs thereto, we ſhoul by ſerious conſideration and induſtrious care labour to remove them; rouſing our ſpirits, and kindling in our affections ſome fervency of deſire toward ſpiritual things: otherwiſe we ſhall be apt to ſhun, or to ſlip the opportunities inviting to Devotion; our hearts will be ſo reſty, or liſtleſs, that hardly we ſhall be induced to perform it, when it is moſt neceſſary or uſefull for us.

Zech. 12. 10.

Pſal. 37. 26.

Ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen æquè eſt, &c. Hor.

1 Pet. 1. 13. Luke 12. 35. Eph. 6. 14. Pſal. 108. 1. (2 Chr. 30. 19 Ezr. 7. 10)

II. *Praying inceſſantly* may denote a vigilant attendence (with earneſt regard, and firm purpoſe) employed upon Devotion: ſuch attendence as men uſually beſtow on their affairs, whereof although the actual proſecution ſometime doth ſtick, yet the deſign continually proceedeth; the mind ever ſo directing its eye toward them, as quickly to eſpy, and readily to ſnatch any advantages of promoting them. This is a kind of continuance in practice, and is commonly ſo termed: as we ſay that ſuch an one is building a houſe, is writing a book, is occupying ſuch land, although he be at preſent ſleeping, or eating, or following any other buſineſs; becauſe his main deſign never ſleepeth, and his purpoſe continues uninterrupted. This is that which is ſo often injoyned under the phraſe of *watching* about Prayer. *Watch ye therefore, and pray always*, ſaith our Lord. *Continue in prayer, and watch in the ſame*, ſaith S. *Paul*. *Be ye ſober, and watch unto prayer*, ſaith S. *Peter*. Which expreſſions import a moſt conſtant and carefull attendance upon this duty: that we do not make it a παέργον, or by-buſineſs in our life, (a matter of ſmall conſideration or indifference, of curioſity, of chance,) to be tranſacted drowzily or faintly, with a deſultorious and ſlight endeavour, by fits, as the humour taketh us; but that, accounting it a buſineſs of the choiceſt nature and weightieſt moment, we do adhere thereto with unmoveable purpoſe, regard it with undiſtracted attention, purſue it with unwearied diligence, being always upon the guard, wakefull and expedite, intent upon and apt to cloſe with any

Luke 21. 36. Col. 4. 2. Eph. 6 18. 1 Pet. 4. 7. Matt. 24. 42. 25. 13.

occaſion ſuggeſting matter thereof. That we ſhould doe thus reaſon alſo doth oblige: for that, as in truth no buſineſs doth better deſerve our utmoſt reſolution and care, ſo none doth more need them; nature being ſo backward, and occaſion ſo ſlippery, that if we doe not ever mind it, we ſhall ſeldome practiſe it.

2 Pet. 1 12. ἀεὶ ὑπομιμν. Gal. 4. 18. πάντοτε ζηλοῦσθαι.

III. *Praying inceſſantly* may ſignifie, that we do actually embrace all fit ſeaſons, and emergent occaſions of Devotion. This in moral computation doth paſs for continual performance: as a tree is ſaid to bear that fruit, which it produceth in the ſeaſon; and a man is accounted to work in that trade, which he exerciſeth whenever he is called thereto. This ſenſe is in ſeveral Precepts parallel to that in hand plainly expreſſed. *Pray* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *with all prayer and ſupplication* ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ· and, *Watch* (ſaith our Lord) ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι, *praying in every ſeaſon*, or upon every opportunity. Devotion indeed is rarely unſeaſonable, or impertinent; we may offer it εὐκαίρως, ἀκαίρως, *in ſeaſon, and out of ſeaſon*; that is, not onely taking opportunities preſented for it, or urgently requiring it, but catching at them and creating them to our ſelves, when there is no ſuch apparent and preſſing need of it. But there are ſome ſpecial occaſions, which more importunately and indiſpenſably do exact it: ſome ſeaſons there are (either miniſtred by extrinſecal accidents, or ſpringing from internal diſpoſitions) when, without both great blame, and much damage to our ſelves, we cannot neglect it: times there be moſt proper, and acceptable, when we do eſpecially need to pray, and when we are likely to ſpeed well therein. *Every one* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *that is godly will pray unto thee in a time when thou mayeſt be found:* and, *My prayer* (ſaith he again) *is unto thee in an acceptable time.*

Eph. 6. 18. Luke 21. 36. 2 Tim. 4 2. Pſal. 32. 6. Pſal 69. 13. 2 Cor. 6. 2. Iſa. 49. 8.

Thus, when we have received any ſingular bleſſing or notable favour from God, when proſperous ſucceſs hath attended our honeſt enterpriſes, when we have been happily reſcued from imminent dangers, when we have been ſupported in difficulties, or relieved in wants and ſtraits; then it is ſeaſonable to render ſacrifices of Thankſgiving and praiſe to the God of victory, help and mercy; to admire and celebrate him, who is our *ſtrength, and* our *deliverer*, our *faithfull refuge in trouble*, our *fortreſs, and the rock of* our *ſalvation*. To omit this piece of Devotion then, is vile ingratitude, or ſtupid negligence and ſloth.

Pſal. 18. 1, 2. & 71. 3, &c.

When any rare object or remarkable occurrence doth upon this theatre of the world preſent it ſelf to our view, in ſurveying the glorious works of Nature, or the ſtrange events of Providence; then is a proper occaſion ſuggeſted to ſend up hymns of Praiſe to the power, the wiſdom, the goodneſs of the World's great Creatour and Governour.

Δεῖ πάσης πράξεως θεοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι θεοῦ εὐχῇ. Marc. Erem.

When we undertake any buſineſs of ſpecial moment and difficulty; then it is expedient (wiſdom prompting it) to ſue for God's aid, to commit our affairs into his hand, to recommend our endeavours to the bleſſing of him, by whoſe guidance all things are ordered, without whoſe concourſe nothing can be effected, upon whoſe arbitrary diſpoſal all ſucceſs dependeth.

The beginning of any deſign or buſineſs (although ordinary, if conſiderable) is a proper ſeaſon of Prayer unto him, to whoſe bounty and favour we owe our ability to act, ſupport in our proceedings, any comfortable iſſue of what we doe: (for *All our ſufficiency is of him: Without him we can doe nothing.*) Whence we can never apply our ſelves to any buſineſs or work, not go to eat, to ſleep, to travel, to trade, to ſtudy, with any true content, and reaſonable ſecurity, any ſatisfactory hope, if we doe not firſt humbly implore the favourable protection, guidance and aſſiſtence of God.

2 Cor 3. 5. John 15. 5.

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When we do fall into doubts, or darkneſſes, (in the courſe either of our ſpiritual or ſecular affairs,) not knowing what courſe to ſteer, or which way to turn our ſelves; (a caſe which to ſo blind and ſilly creatures, as we are, muſt often happen;) then doth the time bid us to conſult the great Oracle of truth, *the mighty Counſeller, the Father of lights*, ſeeking reſolution and ſatisfaction, light and wiſdom from him; ſaying with the Pſalmiſt, *Shew me thy ways, O Lord, lead me in thy truth, and teach me; for thou art the God of my ſalvation: Order my ſteps in thy word, and let not any iniquity have dominion over me*; following the advice of S. *James*, *If any man lack wiſedom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it ſhall be given him.*

Jer 10. 23. Prov. 20. 24. 16. 9. Iſa. 9 6. Jam. 1. 17. Pſal. 25. 4, 5, 8. & 27. 11. & 86. 11 & 143. 10. & 32. 8. & 119. 125. Pſa 119. 133. Jam. 1. 5. Prov. 2. 6. Iſa. 30. 1. Pſal. 56. 3. & 34 4. & 18 3.

When any ſtorm of danger bluſtereth about us, perilouſly threatning, or furiouſly aſſailing us with miſchief, (ſo that hardly by our own ſtrength or wit we can hope to evade) then with the wings of ardent Devotion we ſhould fly unto God for ſhelter, and for relief.

When any anxious care diſtracteth, or any heavy burthen preſſeth our minds, we ſhould by Prayer eaſe our ſelves of them, and diſcharge them upon God, committing the matter of them to his care and providence; according to that direction of S. *Paul*, *Be carefull for nothing: but in every thing by prayer and ſupplication with thanksgiving, let your requeſts be made known to God.*

Phil. 4. 6.

When we do lie under any irkſome trouble, or ſore diſtreſs, (of want, pain, diſgrace;) then, for ſuccour and ſupport, for eaſe and comfort, we ſhould have recourſe to *the Father of pities, and God of all conſolation*; who *is nigh to all that call upon him, will alſo hear their cry, and will ſave them*; who, when *the righteous cry, doth hear them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles*; who is ſo often ſtyled *the hiding-place from troubles, the help and ſtrength, the ſhield and buckler, the rock, the fortreſs, the high tower, the horn of ſalvation*, to all good and diſtreſſed people. To him we ſhould in ſuch a condition have recourſe, imitating the pious Pſalmiſt, whoſe practice was this: *In the day of my trouble I ſought the Lord: I poured out my complaint before him, I ſhewed before him my trouble: I called unto the Lord in my diſtreſs: the Lord anſwered me, and ſet me in a large place.*

2 Cor. 1. 3: Pſal. 145. 18, 19. & 147. 3. Pſal. 34. 17. Pſal. 18. 1, 2. & 56. 3. & 84. 9 & 32. 7. & 33. 20. & 71. 3. Pſal. 77. 2. & 18. 6. & 142. 2. & 118. 5.

When any ſtrong temptation doth invade us, with which by our own ſtrength we cannot grapple, but are like to ſink and faulter under it; then is it opportune and needfull that we ſhould ſeek to God for a ſupply of ſpiritual forces, and the ſuccour of his Almighty grace, as S. *Paul* did: when *there was given to him a thorn in the fleſh, a meſſenger of Satan to buffet him*; then *he beſought the Lord thrice that it might depart from him*: and he had this return from God, *My grace is ſufficient for thee.*

2 Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9.

When alſo (from ignorance, or miſtake, from inadvertency, negligence, or raſhneſs, from weakneſs, from wantonneſs, from preſumption) we have tranſgreſſed our duty, and incurred ſinfull guilt; then, (for avoiding the conſequent danger and vengeance, for unloading our Conſciences of the burthen and diſcomfort thereof,) with humble Confeſſion in our mouths, and ſerious contrition in our hearts, we ſhould apply our ſelves to the God of mercy, deprecating his wrath, and imploring pardon from him; remembring that promiſe of S. *John*, *If we confeſs our ſins, he is faithfull and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to cleanſe us from all iniquity*; and that declaration of the *Wiſe man*, *He that covereth his ſins ſhall not proſper: but he that confeſſeth and forſaketh them ſhall have mercy.*

1 Joh. 1. 9. Prov. 28. 13. Pſal. 32. 5. & 51. 1, &c. Job 7 20.

In these and the like cases God by our necessities doth invite and summon us to come unto him; and no less foolish than impious we are, if we do then slink away, or fly from him. Then we should (as the Apostle to the *Hebrews* exhorteth) *come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need,* (or, * for seasonable relief.)

Heb. 4. 16. * εἰς εὔκαιρον βοήθειαν.

And beside those outwardly prompting and urging us, there be other opportunities, springing from within us, which we are no less obliged and concerned to embrace. When God by his gentle whispers calleth us, or by his soft impulses draweth us into his presence; we should then take heed of stopping our ears, or turning our hearts from him, refusing to hearken, or to comply. We must not any-wise quench or damp any sparks of devout affection kindled in us by the Divine Spirit; we must not repell or resist any of his kindly suggestions or motions.

Jer 35. 15. Prov. 1. 24. Isa. 50. 2. & 65. 12 & 66. 4.

When-ever we find our selves well affected to, or well framed for Devotion; that we have a lively sense of, and a coming appetite to spiritual things; that our spirits are brisk and pure, our fancy calm and clear, our hearts tender and supple, our affections warm and nimble; then a fair season offereth it self; and when the iron is so hot, we should strike.

If at any time we feel any forward inclinations or good dispositions to the practice of this duty, we should never check or curb them, but rather should promote and advance them; pushing our selves forward in this hopefull career; letting out the stream of our affections into this right channel, that it may run freely therein, that it may overflow and diffuse it self in exuberance of Devotion. Farther,

IV. *Praying incessantly* may signifie, that we should with assiduous urgency drive on the intent of our Prayers, never quitting it, or desisting, till our requests are granted, or our desires are accomplished. Thus doing, we may be said to pray continually: as he that goeth forward in his journey, (although he sometime doth bait, sometime doth rest and repose himself,) is said yet to be in travel; or as he that doth not wave the prosecution of his cause, (although some demurrs intervene) is deemed still to be in suit. This is that which our Lord did in the Gospel prescribe and persuade, where 'tis recorded of him, that *He spake a parable unto them, that men ought always to pray, and not to faint.* That *praying always* the ensuing discourse sheweth to import restless importunity, and perseverance in prayer: the same which so often is commended to us by the phrases of μὴ ἐκκακεῖν, *not to faint* or *faulter*; μὴ παύεσθαι, *not to cease*, or give over; προσκαρτερεῖν, *to continue instant*, or hold out stoutly; ἀγωνίζεσθαι, *to strive earnestly*, or contest and struggle *in prayers*; προσμένειν ταῖς δεήσεσι, *to abide at supplications*; ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει, *to watch with all perseverance.*

Luke 18. 1.

Luke 18. 1. Col. 1. 9. Eph. 1. 16. Rom. 12. 12. Col. 4. 2, 12. 1 Tim. 5. 5. Eph. 6. 18.

That which also is implied by those terms, which in Scriptural style do commonly express Devotion: by * *seeking God*: which implieth, that God doth not presently, upon any slight address, discover himself in beneficial effects answerable to our desires, but after a carefull and painfull continuance in our applications to him: by * *waiting upon God*; which signifieth, that if God do not presently appear granting our requests, we should patiently stay, expecting till he be pleased to doe it in his own best time, according to that in the Psalm, *Our eyes wait upon the Lord*

* Psal. 10. 4. & 9. 10. & 14 2. & 24. 6. & 63. 1. & 69. 6, 32. & 70. 4. & 83. 16. Job 8 5. Deut. 4 29. Prov. 8. 17. Psal. 77. 6.

* Psal. 123. 2 &. 69 3. & 130 5. & 37. 7. & 25. 5. & 27. 14 & 37. 34 & 25. 21. & 52. 9. & 59. 9. & 145. 15. Isa. 8. 17. & 40 31 & 49. 23 Hos 12. 6. Lam. 3. 25, 26. Prov. 20, 22.

our

our God, untill he have mercy upon us: by *knocking*; which intimateth, that the door of grace doth not ever ſtand open, or that we can have an effectual acceſs to God, untill he, warned and (as it were) excited by our earneſt importunity, pleaſeth to liſten, to diſcloſe himſelf, to come forth unto us. Pſal. 123. 2. Luke 12. 36. Mat. 7. 7.

And this practiſe Reaſon alſo doth enforce. For there are ſome good things abſolutely neceſſary for our ſpiritual life and welfare, (ſuch as are freedom from bad inclinations, diſorderly affections, vicious habits, and noxious errours; the ſanctifying preſence and influence of God's Holy Spirit, with the bleſſed Graces and ſweet fruits thereof; growth in Vertue, delight in ſpiritual things, the ſenſe of God's love and favour, with the like,) which good reaſon engageth us ſo perſeveringly to ſeek, as never to reſt, or be ſatisfied, till we have acquired them in perfect degree; ſince we cannot ever doe well without them, or ever get enough of them. In begging other inferior things, it may become us to be reſerved, indifferent and modeſt; but about theſe matters (wherein all our felicity is extreamly concerned) it were a folly to be ſlack or timorous: as we cannot be ſaid immoderately to deſire them, ſo we cannot be ſuppoſed immodeſtly to ſeek them there, where onely they can be found, in God's preſence and hand. The caſe doth bear, yea doth require, that we ſhould be eager and hot, reſolute and ſtiff, free and bold, yea, in a manner peremptory and impudent ſolicitours with God for them. So our Saviour intimateth, where, comparing the manner of God's proceeding with that of men, he repreſenteth one friend yielding needfull ſuccour to another, not barely upon the ſcore of friendſhip, but διὰ τὴν ἀναίδειαν, *for his impudence*; that is, for his confident and continued urgency, admitting no refuſal or excuſe. So doth God in ſuch caſes allow, and oblige us to deal with him, being inſtant and pertinacious in our requeſts, *giving him no reſt*, (as the phraſe is in the Prophet;) not enduring to be put off, or brooking any repulſe: never being diſcouraged, or caſt into deſpair, by any delay, or ſemblance of neglect. We may *wraſtle with God*, like *Jacob*, and with *Jacob* may ſay, *I will not let thee go, except thou bleſs me*. Thus God ſuffereth himſelf to be prevailed upon, and is willingly overcome: thus Omnipotence may be maſtered, and a happy victory may be gained over Invincibility it ſelf. Heaven ſometime may be forced by ſtorm; (or by the aſſaults of extremely-fervent prayer;) it aſſuredly will yield to a long ſiege. God will not ever hold out againſt the attempts of an obſtinate ſuppliant. So *the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffereth violence, and the violent take it by force*. We read in S. *John*'s Goſpel of a man, that, being thirty eight years diſeaſed, did wait at the pool of *Betheſda* ſeeking relief: him our Lord pitied and helped, crowning his patience with miraculous relief, and propoſing it for an example to us of perſeverance. It is ſaid of the Patriarch *Iſaac*, that *he intreated the Lord for his wife, becauſe ſhe was barren; and the Lord was intreated of him, and Rebekah his wife conceived*. Whereupon S. * *Chryſoſtome* doth obſerve, that he had perſevered twenty years in that petition.

Vid. Chryſ. Tom. 6. Orat. 8 ad Theod. 2.

Αἰδὼς οὐκ ἀραθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ προΐκτῃ.

Luke 11. 8.

Iſa. 62. 7.

Gen 32. 26.

Matt. 11. 12.

Joh. 5. 5.

Vid. Chryſ. *Tom 5. Orat. 40. & in Joh. Or. 36*

Gen. 25. 21.

* *Vid. Tom. 5. Orat. 68.*

Of good ſucceſs to this practice we have many aſſurances in Holy Scripture. *The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the ſoul that ſeeketh him. Bleſſed are all they that wait for him. None that wait on him ſhall be aſhamed.* * *They that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength, they ſhall mount up with wings as eagles; they ſhall run, and not be weary; they ſhall walk, and not faint.* So hath God aſſured by his

Lam. 3. 25. Iſa. 30. 18. & 49. 23. Pſal. 25. 3. & 37. 9. * Iſa. 40. 31. 1 Chr. 28. 9. Ezr. 8. 22.

Amos 5. 4. 2 Chr. 15. 12. Pſal 9. 10. *Seeking God* the periphraſis of a religious man. Pſal 14. 2 & 24. 6 & 69. 6. & 70. 4. & 119. 2. & 10. 4

Word,

Word, and engaged himſelf by promiſe, that he will yield unto conſtant and patient Devotion: ſo that it ſhall never want good ſucceſs.

Without this practice we cannot indeed hope to obtain thoſe precious things; they will not come at an eaſie rate, or be given for a ſong; a lazy wiſh or two cannot fetch them down from Heaven. God will not beſtow them at firſt asking, or deal them out in one lump: but it is upon aſſiduous ſoliciting, and by gradual communication, that he diſpenſeth them. So his wiſe good will for many ſpecial reaſons diſpoſeth him to proceed: that we may (as it becometh and behoveth us) abide under a continual ſenſe of ournatural impotency and penury; of our dependence upon God, and obligation to him for the free collation of thoſe beſt gifts: that by ſome difficulty of procuring them we may be minded of their worth, and induced the more to prize them: that by earneſtly ſeeking them we may improve our ſpiritual appetites, and excite holy affections: that by much converſing with Heaven, our minds may be raiſed above earthly things, and our hearts purified from ſordid deſires: that we may have a conſtant employment anſwerable to the beſt capacities of our Souls, worthy our care and pain, yielding moſt ſolid profit and pure delight unto us: that, in fine, by our greater endeavour in religious practice we may obtain a more ample reward thereof.

For the ſame reaſon indeed that we pray at all, we ſhould pray thus, with continued inſtance. We do not pray to inſtruct or adviſe God; Matt. 6. 8 not to tell him news, or inform him of our wants: (*He knows them* as our Saviour telleth us, *before we ask*:) nor do we pray by dint of argument to perſuade God, and bring him to our bent; nor that by fair ſpeech we may cajoul him, or move his affections toward us by pathetical orations: not for any ſuch purpoſe are we obliged to pray. But for that it becometh, and behoveth us ſo to doe; becauſe it is a proper inſtrument of bettering, ennobling and perfecting our Souls; becauſe it breedeth moſt holy affections, and pure ſatisfactions, and worthy reſolutions; becauſe it fitteth us for the enjoyment of happineſs, and leadeth us thither: for ſuch ends Devotion is preſcribed; and conſtant perſeverance therein being needfull to thoſe purpoſes, (praying by fits and ſtarts not ſufficing to accompliſh them,) therefore ſuch perſeverance is required of us. Farther,

V. *Praying inceſſantly* may import, that we do with all our occupations and all occurrences interlace devout ejaculations of prayer and praiſe; lifting up our hearts to God, and breathing forth expreſſions of devotion, ſutable to the objects and occaſions which preſent themſelves. This as it nearly doth approach to the punctual accompliſhment of what our Text preſcribeth; ſo it ſeemeth required by S. *Paul*, when he biddeth us *pray always* ἐν πνεύματι, *in ſpirit*, and to ſing ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, Eph. 6. 18. & 5. 19. Col. 3. 16. *in the heart*: that is, with very frequent elevations of ſpirit in holy thoughts, and deſires toward Heaven; with opportune reſentments of heart, directing thanks and praiſe to God. We cannot ever be framing or venting long Prayers with our lips, but almoſt ever our mind can throw pious glances, our heart may dart good wiſhes upwards; ſo that hardly any moment (any conſiderable ſpace of time) ſhall paſs without ſome lightſome flaſhes of Devotion. As bodily reſpiration, without intermiſſion or impediment, doth concurr with all our actions: ſo may that breathing of Soul, which preſerveth our ſpiritual life, and ventilateth that holy flame within us, well

Sed non ſatis perſpiciunt quantum natura humani ingenii valeat, quæ ità eſt agilis & velox, ſic in omnem partem, (ut ità dixerim) ſpectat, ut nè poſſit quidem aliquid agere tantùm unum; in plura verò non eodem die modo, ſed eodem temporis momento, vim ſuam impendat. Quint. *l.* 12.

Μνημονευτέον γὰρ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀναπνευστέον· καὶ εἰ οἷόν τε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ ἄλλο τι ἢ τοῦτο ποιητέον. Naz. Or. 33.

well conſpire with all other occupations. For Devotion is of a nature ſo ſpiritual, ſo ſubtile and penetrant, that no matter can exclude or obſtruct it. Our minds are ſo exceedingly nimble and active, that no buſineſs can hold pace with them, or exhauſt their attention and activity. We can never be ſo fully poſſeſſed by any employment, but that divers vacuities of time do intercurr, wherein our thoughts and affections will be diverted to other matters. As a Covetous man, what-ever beſide he is doing, will be carking about his bags and treaſures: an Ambitious man will be diviſing on his plots and projects; a Voluptuous man will have his mind in his diſhes; a Laſcivious man will be doting on his amours; a Studious man will be muſing on his notions; every man, according to his particular inclination, will lard his buſineſs, and beſprinkle all his actions with cares and wiſhes tending to the enjoyment of what he moſt eſteemeth and affecteth: ſo may a good Chriſtian, through all his undertakings, wind in devout reflexions and pious motions of Soul toward the chief object of his mind and affection. Moſt buſineſſes have wide gaps, all have ſome chinks, at which Devotion may ſlip in. Be we never ſo urgently ſet, or cloſely intent upon any work, (be we feeding, be we travelling, be we trading, be we ſtudying,) nothing yet can forbid, but that we may together wedge in a thought concerning God's Goodneſs, and bolt forth a word of praiſe for it; but that we may reflect on our ſins, and ſpend a penitential ſigh on them; but that we may deſcry our need of God's help, and diſpatch a brief petition for it: a *God be praiſed*, a *Lord have mercy*, a *God bleſs* or *God help me*, will no wiſe interrupt or diſturb our proceedings. As worldly cares and deſires do often intrude and creep into our Devotions, diſtracting and defiling them: ſo may ſpiritual thoughts and holy affections inſinuate themſelves into, and hallow our ſecular tranſactions. This practice is very poſſible, and it is no leſs expedient: for that if our employments be not thus ſeaſoned, they can have no true life or ſavour in them; they will in themſelves be dead and putrid, they will be foul and noiſome, or at leaſt flat and inſipid unto us.

Vid. Chryſ. *Orat.* 5. *in Annam. Tom. V. p.* 78, 79.

Εἰπὲ κἂν διάνοιαν, Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεὸς, ἢ ἀπόστησόν σε ἡ εὐχή. Chryſ. *ibid.*

There are ſome other good meanings of this Precept, according to which Holy Scripture, (back'd with good Reaſon) obligeth us to obſerve it: but thoſe (together with the general Inducements to the practice of this Duty,) that I may not farther now treſpaſs on your patience I ſhall reſerve to another opportunity.

SER-

SERMON VII.

Of the Duty of Prayer.

1 THES. V. 17.

Pray without ceasing.

WHAT the *Prayer* here enjoyned by S. *Paul* doth import, and how by it universally all sorts of Devotion should be understood, we did formerly discourse. How also according to divers senses (grounded in Holy Scripture, and enforced by good Reason) we may perform this duty *incessantly*, we did then declare; five such senses we did mention and prosecute: I shall now adde two or three more, and press them.

VI. *Praying* then *incessantly* may imply, that we do appoint certain times conveniently distant for the practice of Devotion, and carefully observe them. To keep the *Jews* in a constant exercise of Divine worship, God did constitute a Sacrifice, which was called *Tamidh*, (ἡ διαπαντὸς θυσία) *the continual sacrifice*. And as that Sacrifice being constantly offered at set times, was thence denominated *continual*; so may we, by punctually observing fit returns of Devotion, be said to pray *incessantly*.

Dan. 8. 11. Heb. 13. 5. Neh. 10. 33.

And great reason there is that we should doe so. For we know that all persons who would not lead a loose and flattering life, but design with good assurance and advantage to prosecute an orderly course of action, are wont to distribute their time into several parcels; assigning some part thereof to the necessary reflection of their bodies, some to the convenient relaxation of their minds, some to the dispatch of their ordinary affairs, some also to familiar conversation, and interchanging good offices with their friends; considering, that otherwise they shall be uncertain, and *unstable in all their ways*. And in this distribution of time Devotion surely should not lack its share: it rather justly claimeth the choicest portion to be allotted thereto; as being incomparably the noblest part of our duty, and manifest concernment of our lives. The feeding our Souls and nourishing our spiritual life, the refreshing our spirits with those no less pleasant than wholesome exercises, the driving on our correspondence and commerce with Heaven, the improveing our friendship and interest with God, are affairs which above all others do best deserve, and most need being secured. They must not therefore be left at random, to be done by the bye, as it hitteth by chance, or as the fancy taketh us. If we do not depute vacant seasons, and fix periodical returns for Devotion, engaging our selves by firm resolution, and inuring our minds by constant usage to the strict observance of them, secluding from them, as from sacred enclosures, all other businesses; we shall often be dangerously tempted to neglect, we shall be commonly listless to it, prone to defer it, easily seduced from it by the encroachment of other affairs, or enticement of other pleasures. It is requisite

Cur ipsi aliquid forensibus negotiis, aliquid desideriis amicorum, aliquid rationibus domesticis, aliquid curæ corporis, nonnihil voluptati quotidie damus? Quint. *I.* 12.

that

that our Souls alſo (no leſs than our Bodies) ſhould have their meals, ſettled at ſuch intervals as the maintenance of their life, their health, their ſtrength and vigour do require; that they may not periſh or languiſh for want of timely repaſts; that a good appetite may duly ſpring up, prompting and inſtigating to them; that a ſound temper and robuſt conſtitution of Soul may be preſerved by them.

Prayers are the bulwarks of Piety and good Conſcience, the which ought to be placed ſo as to flank and relieve one another, together with the interjacent ſpaces of our life; that the enemy (*the ſin which doth ſo eaſily beſet us*) may not come on between, or at any time aſſault us, without a force ſufficiently near to reach and repell him. Heb. 12 1.

In determining theſe ſeaſons and meaſures of time according to juſt proportion, honeſt prudence (weighing the ſeveral conditions, capacities and circumſtances of each perſon) muſt arbitrate. For ſome difference is to be made between a Merchant and a Monk; between thoſe who follow a Court, and thoſe who reſide in a Cloiſter or a College. Some men having great encumbrances of buſineſs and duty, by neceſſity impoſed on them, which conſume much of their time, and engage their thoughts; of them in reaſon neither ſo frequent recourſes to, nor ſo long continuance in prayer can be demanded, as from thoſe who enjoy more abundant leiſure, and free ſcope of thoughts. But ſome fit times all may, and muſt allow, which no avocation of buſineſs, no diſtraction of care ſhould purloin from them.

Certain ſeaſons and periods of this kind Nature it ſelf (in correſpondence to her unalterable revolutions) doth ſeem to define and preſcribe: thoſe which the Royal Prophet recommendeth, when he ſaith, *It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to ſing praiſes unto thy Name, O thou moſt high: To ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs every-morning, and thy faithfulneſs every night.* Every day we doe recover and receive a new life from God; every Morning we doe commence buſineſs, or revive it; from our bed of reſt and ſecurity we then iſſue forth, expoſing our ſelves to the cares and toils, to the dangers, troubles and temptations of the world: then eſpecially therefore it is reaſonable, that we ſhould ſacrifice thanks to the gracious Preſerver of our life, and the faithfull Reſtorer of its ſupports and comforts; that we ſhould crave his direction and help in the purſuit of our honeſt undertakings; that to his protection from ſin and miſchief we ſhould recommend our ſelves and our affairs; that by offering up to him the firſt-fruits of our diurnal labours, we ſhould conſecrate and conſign them all to his bleſſing; that as we are then wont to ſalute all the world, ſo then chiefly with humble obeiſance we ſhould accoſt him, who is ever preſent with us, and continually watchfull over us. Then alſo peculiarly Devotion is moſt ſeaſonable, becauſe then our minds being leſs prepoſſeſſed and peſtered with other cares, our fancies becomeing lively and gay, our memories freſh and prompt, our ſpirits copious and brisk, we are better diſpoſed for it. Pſal. 92. 1. 55. 17.

Every Night alſo reaſon calleth for theſe Duties; requiring that we ſhould cloſe our buſineſs, and wind up all our cares in Devotion; that we ſhould then bleſs God for his gracious preſervation of us from the manifold hazzards and the ſins to which we ſtood obnoxious; that we ſhould implore his mercy for the manifold neglects and tranſgreſſions of our duty, which through the day paſt we have incurred; that our minds being then ſo tired with ſtudy and care, our ſpirits ſo waſted with labour and toil, that we cannot any longer ſuſtain our ſelves, but do of our own accord ſink down into a poſture of death; we ſhould, as

dying men, reſign our Souls into God's hand, depoſiting our ſelves and our concernments into his cuſtody, who alone *doth never ſleep nor ſlumber*; praying that he would guard us from all the dangers and diſturbances incident to us in that ſtate of forgetfulneſs, and *interregnum* of our Reaſon; that he would grant us a happy reſurrection in ſafety and health, with a good and chearfull mind, enabling us thereafter comfortably to enjoy our ſelves, and delightfully to ſerve him.

Thus if we do conſtantly bound and circumſcribe our days, dedicating thoſe moſt remarkable breaks of time unto God's ſervice, ſince beginning and end do comprehend the whole, ſeeing in the computation and ſtyle of *Moſes Evening and Morning* do conſtitute a Day; we may with ſome good congruity be ſaid to pray inceſſantly.

Eſpecially if at the middle diſtance between thoſe extreams we are wont to interpoſe ſomewhat of Devotion. For as then uſually our ſpirits, being ſomewhat ſhattered and ſpent, do need a recruit, enabling us to paſs through the reſidue of the day with its incumbent buſineſs: ſo then it would do well, and may be requiſite, in a meal of Devotion to refreſh our Souls with ſpiritual ſuſtenance, drawn from the never-failing ſtore-houſe of Divine grace; which may ſo fortifie us, that with due vigour and alacrity we may perform the enſuing duties to God's honour, and our own comfort. Thus to practiſe was the reſolution of the
Pſal. 55. 17. Pſalmiſt, that great Maſter of Devotion; *Evening* (ſaid he) *and morning, and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud.* And this was the cuſtom of the noble *Daniel*, from which no occaſion could divert, no hazzard
Dan. 6. 10. could deterr him: *He kneeled*, ſaid the ſtory, *upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God.*

Theſe are times which it is neceſſary, or very expedient, that all men (even perſons of higheſt rank, and greateſt employment) ſhould obſerve. Theſe even of old were the practices of Religious perſons, not expreſly preſcribed by God's Law, but aſſumed by themſelves; good reaſon ſuggeſting them to the firſt practiſers, and the conſenting example of pious men afterward enforcing them.

God indeed did himſelf in his Law, or by his Prophets, appoint publick and ſolemn celebrations of worſhip to himſelf, in Sacrifices (involving Prayer, and accompanied therewith) conſtantly to be offered
2 Chron. 2. 4. every morning and evening; religious Princes alſo did inſtitute ſervices
1 Chron. 16, 40, 41. & 23. 30. of thankſgiving and praiſe to be performed at thoſe times: but there doth not appear any direct inſtitution of private Devotion, or its circumſtances
Ezr. 3 3. ; but the practice thereof ſeemeth originally to have been purely voluntary, managed and meaſured according to the reaſon, by the choice of each perſon: yet ſo, that the practice of eminently-good men leading, and others following, it grew into a kind of common law, or ſtanding rule, (ſeeming to carry an obligation with it,) to obſerve the times ſpecified.

Beſides thoſe three times, there were farther other middle times obſerved by devout people, who had leiſure, and diſpoſition of mind thereto; once between morning and noon, and once between noon and evening were ſequeſtred to that purpoſe: whence in the *Acts* the ninth hour of the day (that is, the middle interval between noon and eve-
Act. 3. 1. ning) is called *the hour of prayer.* Yea, ſome did impoſe on themſelves the obſervation of two other times, one between evening and midnight, the other between midnight and morn. To which practice
Pſal. 63. 5, 6. thoſe places in the *Pſalms* do ſeem to allude; *My mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyfull lips, when I remember thee on my bed, and meditate on thee*

in the night watches. I prevented the dawning of the morning, and cried: Pſ. 119. 147, *Mine eyes prevent the night-watches, that I may meditate on thy word.* 148. And plainly the whole number of thoſe times, which the Pſalmiſt obſerved, is expreſſed in thoſe words, *Seven times a day will I praiſe thee,* Pſ. 119. 164. *becauſe of thy righteous judgments.* Which examples whoever ſhall chuſe to follow, (in any meaſure) he ſhall doe wiſely and commendably; he ſhall certainly have no cauſe to repent; he will find it richly worth his while; great benefit and comfort will thence accrue unto him.

If indeed *Jews* were ſo liberal in aſſigning, ſo punctual in affording ſuch portions of time for yielding praiſe and offering ſupplications unto God; how much more free and ready, more carefull and diligent ſhould we be in this way of practice? we who have a Religion ſo far more ſpiritual, and exempt from corporeal incumbrances; Precepts ſo more expreſs and clear; ſo much higher obligations and ſtronger encouragements to this duty; whom God in eſpecial manner ſo graciouſly doth invite, ſo powerfully doth attract unto himſelf? But farther,

VII. More eſpecially this Precept may be ſuppoſed to exact from us a compliance in carefully obſerving the times of Devotion ordained by publick Authority, or ſettled by general Cuſtom. This in a popular and legal ſenſe is doing a thing indefinently, when we perform it ſo often as is required by law or cuſtom. So the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſaith of *the Prieſts*, that *they went always into the Tabernacle, accompliſhing the ſervice of God*: *always*, that is, at all the ſolemn times appointed. And thus of the Apoſtles it is affirmed by S. *Luke*, that *they were continually in the Temple, bleſſing and praiſing God*; that is, they conſtantly reſorted thither at the ſtated times of concourſe for prayer. This good Reaſon alſo plainly doth injoyn: For that the neglecting it is not onely a diſorderly behaviour in a matter of high conſequence; a criminal diſregard and diſobedience to Authority; a ſcandalous contempt of our neighbours, from whoſe laudable faſhion we diſcoſt; a wrongfull deſerting the publick, to whoſe good, mainly promoted by the publick worſhip of God, we do owe the contribution of our endeavour: but a hainous affront to Almighty God, who thereby is plainly diſhonoured, and in a manner openly diſavowed; a huge prejudice to Religion, the credit and power whereof, without viſible profeſſion, exemplary compliance, mutual conſent and encouragement, cannot be upheld. Were there times by law or cuſtom defined, (as in ſome places indeed there are,) when all men ſhould be required in perſon ſolemnly to attend on their Prince, for profeſſing their Allegeance, or deferring any Homage to him; would not thoſe who ſhould wilfully refuſe or decline appearance, be juſtly chargeable as guilty of diſhonouring and wronging him? would not their ſuch defailance paſs for ſufficient proof, that they do not acknowledge him, that at leaſt they do not much regard or value him? So by not joyning at ſtated times in celebration of Divine worſhip, we may be well conceived wholly to diſclaim God, or greatly to diſeſteem him; to ſlight Religion, as a thing inſignificant and unprofitable. Do we not indeed thereby more than intimate, that we little believe God to be our Sovereign Lord and Governour; that we ſtand in no great awe or dread of him; that we are not much ſenſible of his benefits and mercies; that we repoſe ſmall truſt or hope in him; that we doe not take our ſelves much to want his protection, his guidance, his aſſiſtence, his favour and mercy? Are we not in effect like unto thoſe in *Job*, who *ſay unto God, depart from us, for we deſire not the knowledge of thy ways.* Job 21. 14, *What is the Almighty, that we ſhould ſerve him? or what profit ſhall* 15.

Levit. 19 30. & 26. 2 *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Heb. 9. 6.

Luke 24. 53.

we have, if we pray unto him? Thus the ſtanders by commonly (ſome ſo as to be much offended at, others ſo as to be corrupted by our bad example) will interpret this neglect: and ſo aſſuredly God himſelf will take it from us, and accordingly deal with us. As he claimeth this publick attendance on him for his due: (*Give*, proclaimeth he by the mouth of one of his great Heraulds, *Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty give unto the Lord glory and ſtrength: Give unto the Lord the glory due to his Name; worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſs:*) ſo if we to his wrong and diſgrace refuſe to yield it, we ſhall certainly find anſwerable reſentment and recompence from him; that as we are careleſs to ſerve him, ſo he will be unmindfull to bleſs us; as we are backward to avow and glorifie him, ſo he will not be forward to own and grace us; as we do ſo *deny him before men*, ſo *he will deny us before them alſo*. What other meaſure indeed can we imagine, or expect to receive? Will God, think we, be ſo partial and fond to us, ſo diſregardfull and injurious toward himſelf, that he will vouchſafe to appear in favour to us, when we deign not to appear in reſpect to him? that he will openly tender our repute, when we apparently diſregard his honour? that he will employ his wiſdom, or exert his power in our behalf, when we ſcarce will think a thought, or ſtir a ſtep for his ſervice? Can we hope, that he will freely diſpenſe proſperous ſucceſs to our enterpriſes, when we either care not, or ſcorn to implore his help? that he will reach forth undeſerved bleſſings to us, when we ſubtract due praiſes from him? that he will any-wiſe ſhew himſelf bountifull and mercifull toward us, when we ſo palpably are injuſt and ingratefull toward him? No, *Surely he ſcorneth the ſcorners*; and, *Whoſoever deſpiſeth him, ſhall be lightly eſteemed*: ſo he expreſſely hath threatned; and ſeeing he is both infallibly true, and invincibly able, we may reaſonably preſume that he will accompliſh his word.

Pſal. 29. 1, 2. 66. 2.
2 Tim. 2. 12. Matt. 10. 33. Luke 9 26. 12. 9.
Prov 3. 34. 1 Sam. 2. 30.

VIII. Laſtly, *Praying inceſſantly* may import at large a frequency in Devotion. This the words at leaſt do exact, or neceſſarily imply, however expounded. For doing *inceſſantly* cannot imply leſs than doing *frequently*: in no tolerable ſenſe can we be ſaid to doe that continually, which we doe ſeldome; but it is an ordinary ſcheme of ſpeech to ſay that a man doth that always, which he is wont to doe, and performeth often. As of the pious ſouldier *Cornelius* it is ſaid, that he *gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always*; and of *Anna* the Propheteſs, that ſhe *departed not from the Temple, but ſerved God with prayers and faſtings night and day*; that is, ſhe frequently reſorted to the Temple, and ſerved God with an aſſiduous conſtancy. As the words may bear, and doe involve this ſenſe, ſo doth the reaſon of the caſe inforce it: for very juſt, very fit, very needfull it is to practiſe thus. There is ever at hand abundant reaſon for, and appoſite matter of Devotion; therefore no longer ſpace of time ſhould paſs without it: there be perpetually depending many cauſes thereof; whence there is not to be allowed any long vacation from it. As every moment we from God's mercy and bounty partake great favours: ſo ſhould we often render thanks and praiſe for them: for perpetually to receive courteſies, and rarely to return acknowledgments, is notorious ingratitude and iniquity. We frequently (and in a manner continually) do fall into ſins; often therefore we are obliged to confeſs ſins, we are concerned to deprecate Wrath, and beg mercy: otherwiſe we muſt long crouch under the ſore burthen of guilt, the ſad dread of puniſhment, the bitter pangs of remorſe, or the deſperate hazzard of ſtupid obduration. What-ever

Act. 10. 2.
Luk. 2. 37.

we

we deſign or undertake, toward the good management and happy ſucceſs thereof we (being ignorant and impotent creatures) do need the guidance, the aſſiſtence and the bleſſing of God: ſo often therefore it is requiſite that we ſhould be ſeeking and ſuing for them: if not, we do not onely tranſgreſs our duties, but fondly neglect, or foully betray our own concernments. The Cauſes therefore of Devotion being ſo conſtant, the Effects in ſome correſpondence ſhould be frequent.

Such frequency is indeed neceſſary for the breeding, the nouriſhment, the growth and improvement of all Piety. Devotion is that holy and heavenly fire, which darteth into our minds the light of ſpiritual knowledge, which kindleth in our hearts the warmth of holy deſires: if therefore we do continue long abſent from it, a night of darkneſs will overſpread our minds, a deadning coldneſs will ſeiſe upon our affections. It is the beſt food of our Souls, which preſerveth their life and health, which repaireth their ſtrength and vigour, which rendreth them luſty and active: if we therefore long abſtain from it, we ſhall ſtarve, or pine away; we ſhall be faint and feeble in all religious performances; we ſhall have none at all, or a very languid and meager Piety.

To maintain in us a conſtant and ſteddy diſpoſition to obedience, to correct our perverſe inclinations, to curb our unruly paſſions, to ſtrengthen us againſt temptations, to comfort us in anxieties and diſtreſſes, we do need continual ſupplies of grace from God; the which ordinarily are communicated in Devotion, as the channel which conveyeth, or the inſtrument which helpeth to procure it, or the condition upon which it is granted. Faith, Hope, Love, ſpiritual Comfort and Joy, all Divine Graces are chiefly elicited, expreſſed, exerciſed therein and thereby: it is therefore needfull that it ſhould frequently be uſed; ſeeing otherwiſe we ſhall be in danger to fail in diſcharging our chief Duties, and to want the beſt Graces.

It is frequency of Devotion alſo which maintaineth that Friendſhip with God, which is the ſoul of Piety. As familiar converſation (wherein men do expreſs their minds and affections mutually) breedeth acquaintance, and cheriſheth good will of men to one another; but long forbearance thereof diſſolveth, or ſlackneth the bonds of amity, breaking their intimacy, and cooling their kindneſs: ſo is it in reſpect to God; it is frequent converſe with him which begetteth a particular acquaintance with him, a mindfull regard of him, a hearty liking to him, a delightfull taſte of his goodneſs, and conſequently a ſincere and ſolid good will toward him; but intermiſſion thereof produceth eſtrangement, or enmity toward him. If we ſeldome come at God, we ſhall little know him, not much care for him, ſcarce remember him, reſt inſenſible of his love, and regardleſs of his favour; a coldneſs, a ſhyneſs, a diſtaſt, an antipathy toward him will by degrees creep upon us. Abſtinence from his company and preſence will caſt us into converſations deſtructive, or prejudicial to our friendſhip with him; wherein ſoon we ſhall contract familiarity and friendſhip with his enemies, (the World and the Fleſh,) which are inconſiſtent with love to him, which will diſpoſe us to forget him, or to diſlike and loath him.

It is, in fine the frequency of Devotion which alone can ſecure any practice thereof, at leaſt any practice thereof duly qualified; ſo hearty, ſo eaſy, ſo ſweet and delightfull as it ſhould be. We have all a natural averſeneſs or indiſpoſition thereto, as requiring an abſtraction of thoughts and affections from ſenſible things, and a faſtning them upon objects purely ſpiritual; a rearing our heavy ſpirits above their common

pitch;

pitch; a ſtaying and ſettling our roving fancies; a compoſing our vain hearts in a ſober and ſteddy frame, agreeable to Devotion: to effect which things is a matter of no ſmall difficulty and pain; which therefore without much uſe and exerciſe cannot be accompliſhed; but with it, may; ſo that by frequent practice the bent of our heart being turned, the ſtrangeneſs of the thing ceaſing, the difficulty of the work being ſurmounted, we ſhall obtain a good propenſion to the duty, and a great ſatisfaction therein.

This will render the way into God's preſence ſmooth and paſſable; removing, as all other obſtacles, ſo particularly thoſe of fear and doubt in reſpect to God, which may deterre or diſcourage us from approaching to him. God being moſt holy and pure, moſt great and glorious, we, ſenſible of our corruption and vileneſs, may be fearfull and ſhy of comimg near unto him. But when, comeing into his preſence, we do
Pſal. 34. 8. find, that *ſuch as his Majeſty is, ſuch is his Mercy*; when we do *taſte and*
Pſal 16. 11. *ſee that the Lord is good*; when by experience we feel, that *in his pre-*
Pſal. 36. 8. *ſence there is fulneſs of joy*; being *abundantly ſatisfied with the fatneſs of*
63. 5. *his houſe*; having our Souls there *ſatisfied as with marrow and fatneſs*;
84. 10. finding, that *a day in his courts is better that a thouſand* ſpent otherwhere; perceiving that he biddeth us welcome, that he treateth us kindly, that he ſendeth us away refreſhed with ſweeteſt comforts, and rewarded with moſt excellent benefits: this will not onely reconcile our hearts to Devotion, but draw us into a cordial liking, and earneſt deſire
84. 2. thereof; ſuch as the Pſalmiſt expreſſeth, when he ſaith, *My ſoul longeth, yea even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my fleſh crieth out for the living God.* This will engage us into ſtrong reſolutions of conſtantly practiſing it; ſuch as the ſame Holy perſon again declareth in
116. 1. thoſe words, *I love the Lord, becauſe he hath heard my voice and my*
138. 2. *ſupplications: Becauſe he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.* Hence, inſtead of a ſuſpicious enſtrangedneſs, a ſervile dread, or an hoſtile diſaffection toward God, there will ſpring up an humble confidence, a kindly reverence, a hearty love toward him; which will upon all occaſions drive us to him, hoping for his friendly ſuccour, longing after his kind embraces. So will the frequency of Devotion render it facil and pleaſant. Whereas, on the contrary, diſuſe thereof will make it at any time hard and irkſome; ſtrengthening and encreaſing our natural averſeneſs thereto: performing it ſeldome, we ſhall never perform it well; with that attention, that affection, that promptitude, that willingneſs and alacrity, which are due thereto.

According to ſo many ſenſes, in ſo many reſpects, may we, and ſhould we obſerve this Precept. From thus praying continually there can be no good exception, or juſt excuſe. The moſt common pleas that will be alledged for the omiſſion thereof are two; one drawn from external avocations, the other from internal indiſpoſitions, obſtructing it: both of which are ſo far from being good, that, being ſcanned, they will ſoon appear ſerving rather to aggravate, than to excuſe or abate the neglect.

I. I cannot (ſaith one) now attend to Prayers, becauſe I am not at liberty, or at leiſure, being urgently called away, and otherwiſe engaged by important affairs. How much a flamme this Apology is, we ſhall preſently deſcry, by asking a few Queſtions about it.

1. Do we take Devotion it ſelf to be no buſineſs, or a buſineſs of no conſideration? Do we conceit, when we pay God his debts, or diſcharge our duties toward him, when we crave his aid or mercy, when we ſolicit the main concernments of our Soul, (yea of our body alſo, and its eſtate,)

eſtate,) that we are idle, or miſemployed? that we laviſh our time, or loſe our pains?

2. What other affairs can we have of greater moment or neceſſity than this? Can there be any obligation more indiſpenſable, than is that of yielding due reſpect and ſervice to our Maker, our great Patron, our moſt liberal Benefactour? Can there be any intereſt more cloſe or weighty than this, of providing for our Souls eternal health and happineſs? Is not this indeed the great work, *the onely neceſſary matter*, in compariſon whereto all other occupations are mere trifling, or unprofitable fidling about nothing? What will all other buſineſs ſignifie, what will come of it, if this be neglected? Buſie we may be, we may plod, we may drudge eternally; but all to no end. All our care is in effect improvidence, all our induſtry may be well reckoned idleneſs, if God be not ſerved, if our Souls are not ſecured.

Luk. 10. 24. Job 23. 12. Αἱ τέχναι τῶν πιστῶν ἐπέργειά εἰσιν· ἔργον δὲ ἡ θεοσέβεια. Conſt. Apoſt. 2. 61.

3. If we ſurvey and prize all worldly buſineſſes, which among them will appear ſo importunate as to demand, ſo greedy as to devour, ſo worthy at leaſt as to deſerve all our time, that we cannot ſpare a few minutes for maintaining our moſt pleaſant intercourſe, and moſt gainfull commerce with Heaven? What are the great buſineſſes of the world? what but ſcraping and ſcrambling for pelf, contriving and compaſſing deſigns of ambition, courting the favour and reſpect of men, making proviſion for carnal pleaſure, gratifying fond curioſity or vain humour? And do any of theſe deſerve to be put into the ſcale againſt, ſhall all of them together be able to ſway down our ſpiritual employments? Shall theſe images, theſe ſhadows of buſineſs ſupplant or croud out Devotion; that which procureth wealth ineſtimably precious, pleaſure infinitely ſatisfactory, honour incomparably noble above all this world can afford? If the expence of time be (as the Philoſopher ſaid) πολυτελέστατον ἀνάλωμα, *the moſt precious expence* that can be; how can it better be laid out, than upon the worthieſt things, ſuch as Devotion alone can afford the purchaſe and poſſeſſion of? True Vertue, ſound Wiſdom, a quiet Conſcience, and ſteddy tranquility of mind, the love and favour of God, a title unto endleſs joy and bliſs, are purely the gifts of Heaven; and thence they will not deſcend of themſelves, but Prayer muſt fetch them down. If nothing then in the world be comparable to thoſe things, how can any time be ſo well ſpent as in Prayer, which acquireth them; which alſo beſt ſecureth what-ever we have, and is the readieſt way to procure what-ever we want?

Theophr.

4. Should we not farther honeſtly comparing things, eaſily diſcern, that it is no ſuch indiſpenſable buſineſs, but rather indeed ſome baſe dotage on lucre, ſome inveigling bate of pleaſure, ſome bewitching tranſport of fancy, that croſſeth our Devotion? Is it not often a complemental viſit, an appointment to tattle or tipple, a match for ſport, a wild ramble in vice or folly, that ſo deeply engageth us to put off our duty?

5. Yea, is it not commonly ſloth rather than activity, an averſeneſs from this rather than an inclination to any other employment, which diverteth us from our Prayers? Is not, I ſay, the true reaſon why we pray ſo ſeldome, not becauſe we are very buſie, but becauſe we are extremely idle; ſo idle, that we cannot willingly take the pains to unſcrew our affections from ſenſible things, to reduce our wandring thoughts, to compoſe our hearts into a right frame, to bend our untoward inclinations to a compliance with our duty? Is it not becauſe we do not feel that ſavour and ſatisfaction in theſe, which we do in other trivial and worthleſs employments, nor will be at the trouble to work ſuch diſpoſitions in our Souls?

Souls? Do we not betake our ſelves to other converſations and commerces merely for refuge, ſhunning this intercourſe with God, and with our ſelves? Theſe, I fear, are oftner the real cauſes of our neglecting Devotion, than any ſuch mighty avocations which we pretend.

6. But were there indeed not onely a counterfeit or imaginary, but a real competition between Devotion and other lawfull buſineſs; which, in reaſon, ſhould carry it? in conſcience, which of the two ſhould be forborn or ſuſpended? Is it not evidently better, that the purſuit of our temporal intereſts, what-ever they be, ſhould be a little checked, than that our affairs of everlaſting conſequence ſhould be quite laid aſide? that we ſhould venture a ſmall impairing of our eſtate, than ſurely endamage our Souls? that we hazzard to diſappoint or diſpleaſe a man, than dare to affront and offend the Almighty God?

7. Were it not ſtrangely abſurd and unhandſome to ſay, I cannot wait on God, becauſe I muſt ſpeak with a friend; I cannot go to Church, although God calleth me thither, becauſe I muſt haſte to market; I cannot ſtand to pray, becauſe I am to receive money, or to make up a bargain; I cannot diſcharge my duty to God, becauſe a greater obligation than that doth lie upon me? How unconceivable an honour, how unvaluable a benefit is it, that the incomprehenſibly-great and glorious Majeſty of Heaven doth vouchſafe us the liberty to approach ſo near unto him, to converſe ſo freely with him, to demand and derive from his hand the ſupply of all our needs, and ſatisfaction of all our reaſonable deſires? and is it then juſt or ſeemly, by ſuch compariſons to diſparage his favour, by ſuch pretences to baffle with his goodneſs?

Put the caſe our Prince ſhould call for us to ſpeak with him about matters nearly touching his ſervice, and our welfare; would it be according unto duty, diſcretion, or decency, to reply, that we are at preſent buſie, and have no leiſure, and muſt therefore hold our ſelves excuſed; but that if he will ſtay a while, at another time, when we have leſs to doe, we ſhall be perhaps diſpoſed to wait upon him? The caſe is propounded by our Lord in that Parable, wherein God is repreſented as a great man, that had prepared a feaſt, and invited many guests thereto; but they excuſed themſelves: *One ſaid, that he had purchaſed land, and muſt needs go out to ſee it; another had bought five yoak of oxen, and muſt go to prove them; another had married a wife, and therefore could not come.* Theſe indeed were affairs very conſiderable, as this world hath any; but yet the excuſes did not ſatisfie: for, notwithſtanding, the great perſon was angry, and took the neglect in huge diſdain.

Matt. 22. 2, &c. Luk. 14. 16, &c. Ἔπειτα ὅτι σκῆψις ταύτα καὶ πρόφασις, &c. Chryſ. *in* Joh. *Orat.* 11.

8. Moreover, if we reflect what vaſt portions of time we ſquander away upon our petty matters, upon voluptuous enjoyments, upon fruitleſs paſs-times, upon impertinent talk; how can we ſatisfie our ſelves in not allotting competent time upon God's Service, our own ſalvation, and the future everlaſting ſtate? Doth not he, who with the continuance of our life beſtoweth on us all our time, deſerve that a pittance of it ſhould be reſerved for himſelf? Can all the world duly claim ſo great an allowance thereof? May not our ſoul (which is far our nobleſt part, which indeed is all our ſelves) juſtly challengeth a good ſhare of our time to be expended on it? or ſhall this mortal husk engroſs it all? Muſt Eternity, which comprehendeth all Time, have no time belonging to it, or allotted for its concernments?

9. Again, is it not great imprudence ſo to lay our buſineſs, that any other matter ſhall thwart or thruſt out Devotion? Eaſily with a little providenc

providence may things be ſo ordered, that it, without interfering or juſtling, may well conſiſt with all other, both needfull buſineſs, and convenient divertiſement; ſo that it ſhall neither obſtruct them, nor they extrude it: and are we not very culpable, if we do not uſe ſo much providence?

Πρῶτον μὲν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα οὐ μικρὸν, τὸ κυκλοῦσθαι τοσούτων πραγμάτων πλήθει, καὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς οὕτω προσηλῶσθαι διὰ παντὸς, ὡς μηδὲ μικρὰν εἰς τὰ πάντων ἀναγκαιότερα ἄγειν σχολήν. Chryſ. *in* Joh. 1. 14. (Or.)

10. In truth, attending upon Devotion can be no obſtacle, but will be great furtherance to all other good buſineſs. It is the moſt ſure, moſt pleaſant, moſt advantageous and compendious way of tranſacting affairs, to mix Prayers and Praiſes with them, it is the beſt oil that can be, to make the wheels of action go on ſmoothly and ſpeedily: it not onely ſanctifieth our undertakings, but much promoteth and exceedingly ſweetneth the management of them. For the conſcience of having rendred unto God his due reſpect and ſervice, of having intruſted our affairs to his care, of having conſequently engaged his protection and aſſiſtence for us, will diſpoſe us to do things with a couragious alacrity and comfortable ſatisfaction; will fill us with a good hope of proſpering; will prepare us however to be ſatisfied with the event, what-ever it ſhall be; will in effect procure a bleſſing and happy ſucceſs, ſuch as we may truly rejoyce and triumph in, as conferred by God in favour to us. Whereas neglecting theſe duties, we can have no ſolid content or ſavoury complacence in any thing we undertake: reflecting on ſuch misbehaviour (if we be not downright infidels, or obdurate reprobates in impiety) will quaſh or damp our courage: having thence forfeited all pretence to God's ſuccour, and provoked him to croſs us, we muſt needs ſuſpect diſappointment: as we have no reaſonable ground to hope for ſucceſs; ſo we cannot, if ſucceſs arriveth, be heartily ſatisfied therein, or take it for a bleſſing.

He therefore that is ſuch a niggard of his time, that he grudgeth to withhold any part thereof from his worldly occaſions, deeming all time caſt away, that is laid out in waiting upon God, is really moſt unthrifty and prodigal thereof: by ſparing a little, he waſteth all his time to no purpoſe; by ſo eagerly purſuing, he effectually ſetteth back his deſigns; by prepoſterouſly affecting to diſpatch his affairs, he rendreth them endleſs, or, which is the ſame, altogether unprofitable.

In fine, we may be ſure that no time is ſpent even ſo prudently and politickly, with ſo great advantage, and ſo real fruit to our ſelves, as that which is employed upon devotion. In ſacrificing his time, his pains, his ſubſtance, any thing he hath or can doe, to God's ſervice, no man can be a loſer.

We have alſo many examples plainly demonſtrating the conſiſtency of this practice with all other buiſineſs. Who ever had more or greater affairs to manage, and who ever managed them with greater ſucceſs, than *David*; upon whom did lie the burthen of Royal eſtate, and the care over a moſt populous nation; the which *he fed with a faithful and true heart, and ruled prudently with all his power*; who waged great wars, vanquiſhed mighty enemies, atchieved many glorious exploits, underwent many grievous troubles? Yet could not ſuch engagements diſtract or depreſs his mind from a conſtant attendance on Devotion. *I will bleſs the Lord at all times, his praiſe ſhall be continually in my mouth. My mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy righteouſneſs, and thy ſalvation all the day. I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever.* So he declareth his reſolution and his practice. Who is more preſſingly employed than was *Daniel*, firſt Preſident over ſo vaſt a Kingdom, chief Miniſter of

Pſal. 78. 73.

Pſal. 34. 1. & 71. 6. & 145. 2. & 35. 28. & 61. 4.

Dan. 6. 10. State to the greateſt Monarch on earth? Yet conſtantly *thrice a day did he pray, and give thanks unto his God.* Who can be more entangled
2 Cor. 11. 28. in varieties and intricacies of care, of pains, of trouble, than was he that preſcribeth unto us this rule of Praying continually? Upon him
2 Theſſ. 3. 8. did lie *the care of all the Churches*; *Night and day with labour and toil did he work* for the ſuſtenance of his life, *that he might not* (to the diſparagement of the Goſpel) *burthen any man*; perpetually he was engaged in all ſorts of labour and travail, ever conflicting with perils, with wants, with inconveniences numberleſs: yet did he exactly conform his practice to his rule, being no leſs indefatigable and inceſſant in his Devotion than he was in his buſineſs. Who ever managed a greater Empire than *Conſtantine*? Yet *every day* (as *Euſebius* reporteth) *at ſtated times, ſhutting himſelf up, he alone privately did converſe with his God.* The moſt pious men indeed have never been idle or careleſs men, but always moſt buiſie and active, moſt induſtrious in their callings, moſt provident for their families, moſt officious towards their friends, moſt ready to ſerve their country, moſt abundant in all good works: yet have they always been moſt conſtant in Devotion. So that experience clearly doth evidence, how reconcileable moſt Devotion is to much buſineſs; and that conſequently, the proſecution of the one cannot well palliate the neglect of the other.

Καιροῖς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τακτοῖς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκλείων, μόνος μόνῳ τῷ αὐτῷ προσωμίλει Θεῷ. Euſeb. *de Vita* Conſt. 4. 22.

II. No better can any man ward himſelf from blame, by imputing the neglect of Devotion to ſome indiſpoſition within him thereto. For this is onely cover one fault with another, or to lay on a patch more ugly than the ſore. 'Tis, in effect, to ſay we may ſin, becauſe we have a mind to it, or care not to do otherwiſe. Our indiſpoſition it ſelf is criminal; and, as ſignifying ſomewhat habitual or ſettled, is worſe than a ſingle omiſſion: it ought therefore to be corrected and cured; and the way to doe it is, by ſetting preſently upon the practice of the Duty, and perſiſting reſolutely therein: otherwiſe how is it poſſible that it ſhould ever be removed? The longer we forbear it, the more ſeldom we perform it, the ſtronger ſurely will our indiſpoſition grow, and the more difficult it will be to remove it. But if (with any degree of ſeriouſneſs and good intention) we come indiſpoſed to Prayer, we may thereby be formed into better diſpoſition, and by continual attendance thereon, we ſhall (God's grace co-operating, which never is wanting to ſerious and honeſt intentions) grow toward a perfect fitneſs for it: Prayer by degrees will become natural and delightfull to us.

SER-

SERMON VIII.

The Duty of Thankſgiving.

EPHES. V. 20.

Giving thanks always for all things unto God.

THESE words, although (as the very Syntax doth immediately diſcover) they bear a relation to, and have a fit coherence with thoſe that precede, may yet (eſpecially conſidering S. *Paul*'s ſtyle, and manner of expreſſion in the preceptive and exhortative part of his Epiſtles) without any violence, or prejudice on either hand, be ſevered from the Context, and conſidered diſtinctly by themſelves. And (to avoid encumbrance by farther compariſon) ſo taking them, we may obſerve, that every ſingle word among them carries with it ſomething of notable emphaſis, and eſpecial ſignificancy. The firſt [*Giving thanks*] expreſſes the ſubſtance of a Duty, to which we are exhorted. The next (I mean, in order of conſtruction) [*to God*] denotes the Object, or Term to which it is directed. The following [*always*] determines the main Circumſtance of this and all other Duties, the Time of performance. The laſt [*for all things*] declares the adequate Matter of the Duty, and how far it ſhould extend. Theſe particulars I ſhall conſider ſeverally, and in order. *Vid.* Rom. 12. Epheſ. 6, &c.

I. Firſt then, concerning the Duty it ſelf, *to give thanks*, or rather, *to be thankfull*; (for εὐχαριστεῖν doth not onely ſignifie *gratias agere, reddere, dicere*, to *give, render*, or *declare thanks*, but alſo *gratias habere, gratè affectum eſſe*, to be *thankfully diſpoſed*, to entertain a gratefull affection, ſenſe, or memory: in which more comprehenſive notion I mean to conſider it, as including the whole Duty or Vertue of Gratitude due to Almighty God for all his benefits, favours and mercies:) I ſay, concerning this Duty it ſelf, (abſtractedly conſidered,) as it involves a reſpect to benefits or good things received; ſo in its employment about them it imports, requires, or ſuppoſes theſe following particulars.

1. It implies a right Apprehenſion of, and conſequently a conſiderate Attention unto Benefits conferred. For he that is either wholly ignorant of his obligations, or miſtakes them, or paſſes them over with a ſlight and ſuperficial view, can no-wiſe be grate-full. *Whoſo is wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, even they ſhall underſtand the loving-kindneſs of the Lord. Men ſhall fear, and ſhall declare the work of God; for they ſhall wiſely conſider of his doings. The works of the Lord are great, ſought out of all that have pleaſure therein. O taſte* (firſt, and then) *ſee that the Lord is good.* Pſal. 107. 43. Pſal 64. 9. Pſal. 111. 2. 34. 8.

This is the method that great Maſter of Thankſgiving preſcribes; firſt experimental notice, then wiſe conſideration, then gratefull ſenſe, then publick acknowledgment. And thoſe we find both by him, and by

the Prophet *Isaias* (in the very same words) reprehended, as wickedly ingratefull persons, who *regarded not the work of the Lord, nor considered the operation of his hands.* 'Tis part therefore of this Duty incumbent on us, to take notice of diligently, and carefully to consider the Divine Benefits; not to let them pass undiscerned, and unregarded by us, as persons either wofully blind, or stupidly drowzy, or totally unconcerned.

Psal. 28. 5. Isa. 5. 12.

'Tis a general fault, that the most common and frequent, the most obvious and conspicuous Favours of God, (like the ordinary *Phænomena* of Nature, which, as *Aristotle* observes, though in themselves most admirable, are yet least admired,) the constant rising of the Sun upon us, the descent of fruitfull Showrs, the recourse of temperate Seasons, the continuance of our Life, the enjoyment of Health, the providential dispensation of Wealth, and competent means of livelyhood, the daily Protection from incident dangers, the helps of improving Knowledge, obtaining Vertue, becoming happy, and such like most excellent Benefits, we commonly little mind or regard; and consequently seldom return the thanks due for them. Possibly some rare accidents of Providence, some extraordinary Judgment, some miraculous deliverance may rouze and awaken our attention: (as it is said of the *Israelites*, *When he slew them, then they sought him, and remembred that God was their Rock, and the high God their Redeemer:*) but such advertency is not the effect so much of Gratitude, as of curiosity, or of necessity: the notable rarity invites, or some powerfull impulse commands our notice. But the truly gratefull industriously design, and are studious to know throughly their obligations, that they may be able to render answerable returns for them.

Ps. 78. 34, 35.

Ἀχάριστος ὅστις εὖ παθὼν ἀμνημονεῖ.

2. This Duty requires a faithfull Retention of Benefits in memory, and consequently frequent Reflections upon them. For, he that is no longer affected with a Benefit than it incurs the sense, and suffers not it self to be disregarded, is far from being gratefull; nay, if we believe the Philosopher, is ingratefull in the worst kind, and highest degree. For, *Ingratus est*, (saith he) *qui beneficium accepisse se negat, quod accepit; ingratus est, qui dissimulat; ingratus, qui non reddit: ingratissimus omnium, qui oblitus est. He that falsly denies the reception of a Benefit, and he that dissembles it, and he that doth not repay it, is ingratefull; but most ingratefull of all is he that forgets it.* It is a sign the Benefit made no deep impression on his mind, since it left no discernible footstep there; that he hardly ever thought of making recompence, since he hath suffered himself to become altogether uncapable of doing it: neither is there any hope of his amending the past neglect; no shame, no repentance, no fair occasion can redeem him from Ingratitude, in whom the very remembrance of his obligation is extinguished.

Sen. 3. *de Benef. cap.* 1.

If to be sensible of a present good turn, deserved the title of Gratitude, all men certainly would be gratefull: the *Jews* questionless were so. When Almighty God, by his wonderfull power, in extraordinary ways, delivered them from the tyranny and oppression of their prevalent enemies; when he caused streams to gush forth from the bowels of a hard rock, to refresh their thirst; when bread descended from Heaven in showrs, and the winds were winged with flesh, to satisfie their greedy desires; then surely they were not altogether unsensible of the Divine goodness; then could they acknowledge his power, and be forward enough to engage themselves in promises of correspondent observance toward him for the future. But the mischief was, immediately after, as the

the *Pſalmiſt* complains, *They forgat his works, and the wonders he had ſhewed them: They remembred not his hand, nor the day when he delivered them from the enemy.* They *refuſed to obey, neither were mindfull of the wonders that God did among them*; as *Nehemiah* confeſſes in their behalf. *Of the Rock that begat them they were unmindfull, and forgot the God that formed them*; as it is in *Deuteronomy*. They diſtruſted his Promiſes, repined at his dealings, diſobeyed his Laws, and treacherouſly apoſtatized from his Covenant. Such were the fruits of their ingratefull forgetfulneſs; which therefore that people is ſo often charged with, and ſo ſharply reproved for by the Prophets.

Pſ. 78. 11. 42. Neh. 9. 17. Deut. 32. 18.

On the contrary, we find that great pattern of Gratitude, the Royal Prophet *David*, continually revolving in his thoughts, imprinting upon his fancy, ſtudying and meditating upon, recollecting and renewing in his memory the reſults of Divine favour. *I will remember*, ſaith he, *thy wonders of old*; *I will meditate of all thy works, and talk of thy doings*: and *I remember the days of old*; *I will meditate on all thy works, I muſe on the works of thy hands*: and, *Bleſs the Lord O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits*: and *my mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyfull lips, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night-watches, becauſe thou haſt been my help.* No place unfit, it ſeems, no time unſeaſonable, for the practice of this Duty; not the place deſigned for reſt, not the time due to ſleep, but, as *David* thought, more due to a wakeful contemplation of the Divine goodneſs. Whoſe vigilant Gratitude we ſhould ſtrive to imitate, devoting our moſt ſolitary and retired, our moſt ſad and ſerious thoughts (not the ſtudies only of our cloſet, but the conſultations alſo of our pillow) to the preſervation of thoſe bleſſed Idea's; that neither length of time may deface them in our fancy, nor other care thruſt them out thence.

Thy loving-kindneſs is ever before mine eyes. Pſal. 26. 3. & 77. 11, 12. Pſal. 143. 5. 103. 2. 63. 5, 6, 7.

It was a ſatyrical anſwer, (that of *Ariſtotle*,) and highly opprobrious to mankind; who being asked, Τί τάχιον γηράσκει; *What doth the ſooneſt grow old?* replied, Χάρις, *Thanks*: and ſo was that adagial verſe, Ἅμ' ἠλέηται, εἰς τέθνηκεν ἡ χάρις· *No ſooner the courteſie born, than the reſentment thereof dead.* Such reproachfull Aphoriſms we ſhould labour to confute, eſpecially as they are applicable to the Divine favours, by ſo maintaining and cheriſhing our thanks for them, that they neither decay with Age, nor prematurely die, nor be buried in oblivion; but may reſemble the pictures and poetical deſcriptions of the Graces, thoſe goodly Daughters of Heaven, ſmiling always with a never-fading ſerenity of countenance, and flouriſhing in an immortal youth.

The middle, we may obſerve, and the ſafeſt, and the faireſt, and the moſt conſpicuous places in Cities are uſually deputed for the erections of Statues and Monuments dedicated to the memory of worthy men, who have nobly deſerved of their Countries. In like manner ſhould we in the heart and centre of our Soul, in the beſt and higheſt apartments thereof, in the places moſt expoſed to ordinary obſervation, and moſt ſecure from the invaſions of worldly care, erect lively repreſentations of, and laſting memorials unto the Divine bounty; conſtantly attending to which we may be diſpoſed to Gratitude. Not one bleſſing, not the leaſt favourable paſſage of Providence ought to periſh with us, though long ſince paſt, and removed out of the ſphere of preſent ſenſe.

We muſt not in our Old age forget who formed us in the Womb, who brought us into the light, who ſuckled our Infancy, who educated our Childhood, who governed our Youth, who conducted our Manhood through the manifold hazzards, troubles and diſaſters of life.

Pſal 71. 6.

Nor

Nor in our Prosperity, our affluence of good things, our possession of
Deut. 6 12. 8. 11. *Canaan*, should we be unmindfull of him who relieved us in our straits, who supplied our wants, sustained our adversity, who redeemed us from *Egypt*, and led us through the wilderness. A succession of new and fresh Benefits should not (as among some Savages the manner is for the young to make away the old) supplant and expunge ancient ones, but make them rather more dear and venerable to us. Time should not weaken or diminish, but rather confirm and radicate in us the remembrance of God's goodness; to render it, as it doth gold and wine, more precious, and more strong. We have usually a memory more than enough tenacious of injuries and ill turns done us: let it never be said, to the disgrace of that noble faculty, that we can hardly forget the discourtesies of man, but not easily remember the favours of God. But farther,

3. This Duty implies a due esteem and valuation of Benefits; that the nature and quality, the measure and quantity, the circumstances and consequences of them be well expended; else the Gratitude is like to be none, or very defective. For we commensurate our thankfulness, not so much to the intrinsick excellency of things, as to our peculiar estimations of them. A *Cynick*, perhaps, would not return more thanks for a diamond, than for a pebble; nor more gratefully receive a talent of gold, than an ounce of copper; because he equally values, or rather alike contemns both.

Wherefore we find our (never-to-be-forgotten) example, the devout Thanksgiver *David*, continually declaring the great price he set upon the Divine favours; admiring and displaying their transcendent perfections, their wonderfull greatness, their boundless extension, their excessive multitude, their endless duration, their advantageous circumstances, (the excellent needfulness, convenience and seasonableness of them; together with the admirable freeness, wisdom and power of the Benefactour shining forth in and by them.)
Ps. 108. 3, 4. *I will praise thee, O Lord.* (saith he) *among the people, I will sing unto thee among the nations: For thy mercy is great unto the heavens, and thy faithfulness reacheth unto the*
Ps. 105. 5, 7 *clouds*: and, *Remember the marvellous works that he hath done, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth. He is the Lord our God, his judg-*
Ps. 36. 5, 6, 7. *ments are in all the earth*: and again, *Thy mercy, O Lord, is in the heavens, thy faithfulness reacheth unto the clouds. Thy righteousness is like the great mountains; thy judgments are a great deep: O Lord, thou preservest man and beast. How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God!* and,
Ps. 139. 17, 18. *How precious are thy thoughts unto me, O Lord! O how great is the sum of them! If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand*: and again, *His work is honourable and glorious, his righteousness endureth*
Ps 111. Psal. 145. 9. *for ever*: and, *The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all*
Psal. 68. 19. *his works*: and, *Blessed be the Lord, who daily loadeth us with his benefits.*

In such manner ought we diligently to survey, and judiciously to estimate the effects of Divine beneficence, examining every part, and descanting upon every circumstance thereof: like those that contemplate some rare beauty, or some excellent picture; some commending the exact proportions, some the gracefull features, some the lively colours discernible therein. There is not the least of the Divine favours, which, if we consider the condescensive tenderness, the clear intention, the undeserved frankness, the chearfull debonairity expressed therein, hath not dimensions larger than our comprehension, colours too fair,

and

and lineaments too comely for our weak ſight throughly to diſcern; requiring therefore our higheſt eſteem, and our utmoſt thanks.

'Tis, perhaps, ſomewhat dangerous to affix a determinate value upon any of God's Benefits: (for to value them ſeems to undervalue them, they being really ineſtimable:) what then is it to extenuate, to vilifie, to deſpiſe the greateſt? We ſhould eſteem them, as we meaſure the Heavens with our eye, as we compute the ſands upon the ſhore, as we would prize inexhauſtible mines of gold, and treaſures of pearl; that is, by confeſſing heartily their worth ſurpaſſes the ſtrength of our imagination to conceive, and of our ſpeech to utter; that they are immenſe, innumerable, unconceivable and unexpreſſible. But ſtill,

4. *Giving thanks* imports, that benefits be received with a willing mind, a hearty ſenſe, a vehement affection. The forementioned particulars are indeed neceſſary properties, inſeparable concomitants, or prerequiſite conditions to; but a chearfull and cordial acceptance of Benefits is the form (as it were) and ſoul, the life and ſpirit, the principal and moſt eſſential ingredient of this Duty.

It was not altogether unreaſonable, though it went for a Paradox, that dictate of the *Stoicks*, That *animus ſufficit animo*, and, That *qui libenter accepit, beneficium reddidit:* that he, who with a willing and well-affected mind receives a courteſie, hath fully diſcharged the duty of Gratitude; that other endeavours of return and compenſation are rather handſome acceſſions to it, than indiſpenſably requiſite to the completion thereof. For as in the Collation, 'tis not the gold or the ſilver, the food or the apparel, in which the Benefit conſiſts, but the will and benevolent intention of him that beſtows them; ſo reciprocally 'tis the good acceptance, the ſenſibleneſs of, and acquieſcence in the Benefactour's goodneſs, that conſtitutes the Gratitude; which who affords, though he be never capable of yielding other ſatisfaction, *voluntate voluntati ſatiſſecit*; and, *Regnum æquavit opes animo* ——. 'Tis ingenuity that conſtitutes (reſpectively) both a bountifull Giver, and a thankfull Receiver. A truly noble Benefactour purely aimeth at not any material reward, or advantage to himſelf; (it were trading this, not beneficence;) but the good, profit, and content of him to whom he diſpenſeth his favour: of which being aſſured, he reſts ſatisfied, and accounts himſelf royally recompenſed.

Quoties quod propoſuit quis conſequitur, capit operis ſui fructum. Qui beneficium dat, quid proponit ſibi? prodeſſe ei cui dat, & ſibi voluptati eſſe: Non ſibi invicem reddi voluit; aut non fuit beneficium, ſed negotiation. Beneficii proprium eſt, nihil de reditu cogitare. Senec.

Nec eſt dubium quin is qui liberalis benignuſque dicitur, officium, non fructum, ſequatur. Cic. *de Leg. I.*

Such a Benefactour is Almighty God, and ſuch a tribute he requires of us; a ready embracement of, and a joyfull complacency in his kindneſs; even ſuch as he expreſſed, who ſaid, *Becauſe thy loving-kindneſs is better than life, my lips ſhall praiſe thee:* and, *My ſoul ſhall be filled as with marrow and fatneſs, and my mouth ſhall praiſe thee with joyfull lips:* and, *I will praiſe thee with my whole heart; I will be glad and rejoyce in thee:* and, *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul; and all that is within me, praiſe his holy Name.* Pſal. 63. 3. & 104. 33. & 71. 22. & 63. 5. & 9 1, 2. & 103. 1.

No Holocauſt is ſo acceptable to God, as a Heart enflamed with the ſenſe of his Goodneſs. He loves not onely ἱλαρὸν δότην, (*a merry giver*) but ἱλαρὸν δέκτην, (*a chearfull receiver*) alſo. He would have us, as to deſire his favour with a greedy appetite, ſo to taſte it with a ſavoury reliſh. He deſigns not onely to *fill* our mouths with *food*, but *our hearts* alſo *with gladneſs.* 2 Cor. 9. 7. Acts 14. 17.

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We must not seem to grudge or repine, to murmur or disdain, that we are necessitated to be beholden to him; lest it happen to us as it did to them of whom 'tis said, *While the meat was yet in their mouths, the wrath of God came upon them, and slew the fattest of them.* Yea, 'tis our duty not to be contented only, but to be delighted, to be transported, to be ravished with the emanations of his love: to entertain them with such a disposition of mind, as the dry and parched ground imbibes the soft due and gentle showrs: as the chill and darksome air admits the benign influences of heavenly light; as the thirsty soul takes in the sweet and cooling stream. He that with a sullen look, a dead heart; a faint sense, a cold hand, embraces the gifts of Heaven, is really unthankfull, though with deluges of wine and oil he makes the altars to o'erflow, and clouds the sky with the steam of his sacrifices. But yet farther,

Psal. 78. 30, 31

5. This Duty requires due Acknowledgment of our oblation, significations of our notice, declarations of our esteem and good acceptance of favours conferr'd. 'Tis the worst and most detestable of ingratitudes, that which proceeds from pride and scorn: and such is he guilty of, who is either unwilling, or ashamed to confess himself obliged; who purposely dissembles a Benefit, or disavows the Benefactour; who refuses to render those most manifestly due, and most † easily discharged, those neither toilsome, nor expensive oblations of praise and acknowledgment. This part of our duty requires, that we offer to God, not costly Hecatombs, but the *calves* onely *of our lips*, (as the Prophet *Hosea* speaks;) not the fruit of our lands, but καρπὸν χειλέων onely, (as the Apostle to the *Hebrews* styles it,) *the fruit of our lips*, * *confessing to his name:* that we employ some few blasts of the breath he gave us, on the celebration of his goodness, and advancement of his repute. *I will praise the name of God with a song, and will magnifie him with thanksgiving. This shall please the Lord better than an oxe or bullock that hath horns and hoofs*, saith *David.*

† Οὐδὲ γὰρ βαρύ τι καὶ ἐπαχθὲς ἐπιζητεῖ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν μόνον τὰς τοσαύτας εὐεργεσίας, καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τούτων ὡσπῶ εὐχαριστίας ἀναφέρειν. Chrys. *Tom. I. pag.* 54.

Hos. 14. 2.

Heb. 13. 15.

* ὁμολογούντων.

Psal. 69. 30, 31.

And surely 'tis the least homage we in gratitude owe, and can pay to Almighty God, to avow our dependence upon and obligation to him for the good things we enjoy, to acknowledge that his favours do deserve thanks, to publish to the world our experience of his goodness, to proclaim solemnly with the voice of thanksgiving his most deserved praise; resembling him who abounds in such expressions as these: *I will sing of the mercies of the Lord for ever, with my mouth will I make known his faithfulness to all generations. I will publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works. I will speak of the glorious honour of thy Majesty, and of thy wondrous works. I have not hid thy righteousness in my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation: I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation.*

Psal. 89. 1. 26. 7. 145. 5. 40. 10.

Vid. Ps. 66. 5. *O come hither, and behold the works of God, &c.*

Thus if a gratefull affection live in our hearts, it will respire through our mouths, and discover it self in the motion of our lips. There will be a conspiracy and faithfull correspondence between our mind and our tongue: if the one be sensible, the other will not be silent; as if the spring works, the wheels will turn about, and the bell not fail to speak. Neither shall we content our selves in lonesome tunes, and private soliloquies, to whisper out the Divine praises; but shall loudly excite and provoke others to a melodious consonance with us. We shall, with the sweet Singer of *Israel*, cite and invoke Heaven and Earth; the celestial

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quire of Angels; the ſeveral eſtates and generations of Men, the numberleſs company of all the Creatures, to aſſiſt and joyn in conſort with us, in celebrating the worthy deeds, and magnifying the glorious name of our moſt mighty Creatour, of our moſt bountifull Benefactour.

Gratitude is of a fruitfull and diffuſive nature, of a free and communicative diſpoſition, of an open and ſociable temper: it will be imparting, diſcovering and propagating it ſelf; it affects light, company and liberty; it cannot endure to be ſmothered in privacy and obſcurity. Its beſt inſtrument therefore is Speech, that moſt natural proper and eaſie mean of converſation, of ſignifying our conceptions, of conveying, and, as it were transfunding our thoughts and our paſſions into each other. This therefore *glory of ours*, and beſt *organ* that we have, (as the Pſalmiſt ſeems to call it,) our Tongue, we ſhould in all reaſon devote to the honour, and conſecrate to the praiſe of him who made it, and who conſerves it ſtill in tune.

Ψυχὴ γὰρ οἶμαι ψυχῇ καὶ πνεῦμα πνεύματι συναπτόμενα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου σπορὰν, &c. Clem. Alexan. *Strom. I. pag.* 270.

Pſal. 57. 8.

And the farther to provoke us, we may conſider, that it hath been the manner, prompted by Nature, and authorized by general practice, for men of all nations, and all times, and all ways, by compoſed Hymns and panegyrical Elogies, to expreſs their gratitude for the gifts of Nature, and for the Benefits indulged by Providence; in their publick Sacrifices and ſolemn Feſtivities extolling the excellent qualities of their imaginary Deities; and reciting the famous atchievments of their Heroes, and ſuppoſed Benefactours: to whoſe favourable help and bleſſing, in their conceit, they owed the fruits of the earth, the comforts of life, the defence and patronage of their countries: being indeed miſtaken in the object, but not tranſgreſſing in the ſubſtance of the Duty; paying a due debt, though to falſe creditours. And I wiſh we were as ready to imitate them in the one, as we are, perhaps, prone to blame them for the other. For, certainly, acknowledgments of the Divine Goodneſs, and ſolemn teſtifications of our thankfull ſenſe thereof, (whatever the abuſed world may now imagine,) was always, is now, and ever will be the principal and moſt noble part of all Religion immediately addreſſed to God. But moreover,

6. This Duty requires endeavours of real Compenſation, and a ſatiſfactory Requital of Benefits, according to the ability and opportunity of the receiver: that we doe not onely verbally *dicere*, and *agnoſcere*; but really *agere*, and *referre gratias*: that to him who hath by his beneficence obliged us, we miniſter reciprocal aſſiſtence, comfort and relief, if he need them, and be capable to receive them; however, by evident teſtimonies to diſcover our ready diſpoſition to make ſuch real returns; and withall, to ſute our actions to his good liking, and in our carriage to comply with his reaſonable deſires. For, as *the earth which drinketh the rain often coming upon it, and* having been by great labour tilled, and manured with expence, *yieldeth* yet no * *meet herbage*, or *fruit agreeable to the expectation of him that dreſſeth it*, but is either wholly barren, or *produceth* onely *thorns and briars*, *is* (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* tells us) *to be reprobated, and nigh unto curſing*; that is, deſerves no farther care or culture to be employed on it, and is to be reputed deſperately worthleſs: ſo is he, (that we may apply an *Apodoſis* to the Apoſtle's compariſon) who, daily partaking the influences of Divine Providence and Bounty, affords no anſwerable return, to be accounted execrably unthankfull, and unworthy of any farther favour to be ſhewed toward him.

1 Sam. 12. 24. *Onely fear the Lord, and ſerve him in truth, with all your heart: for conſider how great things he hath done for you*

Heb. 6. 7, 8.

* εὔθετον βοτάνην.

Psal. 16. 2. 'Tis true, our *righteousness* (or *beneficence*, so the word there signifies) *doth not extend unto God*: His Benefits exceed all possibility of any proportionable requital: He doth not need, nor can ever immediately receive any advantage from us: we cannot enrich him with our gifts, who by unquestionable right, and in unalterable possession, is Lord and Master of all things that do actually, or can possibly exist; nor advance him by our weak commendations, who already enjoyeth the supreme pitch of glory; nor any-way contribute to his in it self compleat and indefectible Beatitude. Yet we may by apposite significations declare our willingness to serve and exalt him: we may by our obsequious demeanour highly please and content him: we may, by our charity and benignity to those whose good he tenders, yield (though not an adequate, yet) an acceptable return to his Benefits. *What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?* saith *David*, in way of counsel and deliberation: and thereupon resolves, *I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord: I will pay my vows unto the Lord.* Seasonable benedictions, officious addresses, and faithfull performances of vows, he intimates to bear some shadow at least, some resemblance of compensation. And so did his wise Son likewise, when he thus advised, *Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of thy encrease.*

Psal. 116. 12.

Vers. 13, 14.

Prov. 3. 9.

Almighty God though he really doth, and cannot otherwise doe, yet will not seem to bestow his favours altogether *gratis*, but to expect some competent return, some small use and income from them. He will assert his rightfull title, and be acknowledged the chief proprietary, by signal expressions of our fealty, and the payment of some, though inconsiderable, quit-rent, for our possessions derived from him: he will rather himself be seemingly indigent, than permit us to be really ingratefull. For, knowing well that our performance of duty and respect toward him greatly conduceth to our comfort and happiness, he requireth of us such demonstrations of them, as we conveniently are able to exhibit; he appoints services expressive of thankfulness, exacts tributes and customs, demands loans and benevolences, encourages and accepts free-will-offerings from us. *Thou shalt not appear empty before the Lord*, was a Statute to the *Jews*, qualified and moderated by certain measures: The First-fruits of their Lands, the First-born of their Cattle and of themselves, the tenths of their annual encrease, and a certain allotment from the Spoils acquired in wars, did God challenge to himself, as fitting recompences due for his bounty to and care over them.

Ἀκήρατος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ οὐσία καὶ ἀνενδεὴς ὤσα, οὐδειὸς ἑτέρου προσδεῖται· οἱ δὲ αἰνοῦντες αὐτον, αὐτοὶ λαμπρότεροι γίνονται. S. Chrys. in Psal. 144 p. 885. Savil.

Exod. 23 15.

Neither did the Gentiles conceive themselves exempted from the like obligation. For the ἀκροθίνια, the *top* or *chief of their Corn-heaps*, they were wont to consecrate unto him who had blessed their fields with encrease; and the ἀκρόλεια, *the first* and *best of the prey*, they dedicated to the adornment of his temple by whose favourable disposal they had obtained the victory. Neither would they sooner begin their meal, and partake of their necessary refreshment, than, by pouring forth their gratulatory libation, they had performed some homage to Heaven for it.

Hom. *Il.* η'. *ad finem.*

—— —— οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
Πρὶν πιέειν, πρὶν λεῖψαι ὑπερμενέι Κρονίωνι,

was the custom, it seems, in *Homer*'s time. I shall not insist upon their ἀναθήματα, their anniversary or their casual Sacrifices; but onely observe, (what, if seasonable, might by many sufficient testimonies be evinced,)

ced,) that those men (at least the most intelligent of them) were not so senseless as to imagine, that the Gods to whom they performed those services, and Devoted those oblations, did any-wise need, or were truly benefited by them; but that they esteemed it a comely thing, by the most significant means they could invent, to declare their gratefull sense of the Divine goodness and indulgence toward them.

Vid. Platonis Alcib. II. pag. 459. Οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ θεῖον θεὸν, ὥστε ὑπὸ δώρων ἥδεσθαι, οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτο κακὸν τοιοῦτον, &c.

And though we are, perhaps, disobliged now from the circumstantial manner, yet are we no-wise freed from (but rather more strongly engaged to) the substantial performance of this sort of Gratitude. We are to offer still, not dead *bulls and goats*, but (as S. *Paul* saith) *our own bodies, living sacrifices, holy and acceptable to God.* We are excused from material, but are yet bound to yield πνευματικὰς θυσίας, *spiritual sacrifices* unto God, as S. *Peter* tells us. We must burn incense still, that of frequent Devotion; and send up continually to Heaven θυσίαν τῆς αἰνέσεως, that *thank-offering of praise*, which the Apostle to the *Hebrews* mentions. We must consecrate the first-born of our Souls, (pure and holy Thoughts,) and the first-fruits of our strength, (our most active Endeavours,) to God's Service. We must slay our impure desires, mortifie our corrupt affections, and abandon our selfish respects for his sake. We must give him our hearts, and present our wills entirely to his disposal. We must vow to him, and pay the daily oblation of sincere Obedience. We must officiously attend his pleasure, and labour to content him by an innocent and unblemished conversation. With these things Almighty God is effectually gratified; he approves of and accepts these, as real testimonies of our Thankfulness, and competent returns of his Benefits.

Rom. 12 1.

1 Pet. 2. 5.

Heb. 13. 15.

Μία ἁμαυρὰ κνεωτάτη ἥδεται ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δεχὰν ἅπερ ἀρέσκει τῷ Θεῷ. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. *p.* 511.

Especially our Charity and Beneficence, our exhibiting love and respect to good men, (his faithful servants and near relations,) our affording help and succour to persons in need and distress, he accounts a suitable retaliation of his kindness, acknowledges to be an obligation laid upon himself, and hath by settled rules and indispensable promises obliged himself to requite them. For, *He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given, he will pay him again:* and, *God is not unrighteous, to forget your work, and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his Name, in that ye have ministred to the Saints, and do minister:* and, *To do good and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased*: and, *I desire fruit* (saith S. *Paul* to the *Philippians*) *that may abound to your account. But I have all, and abound; I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing to God.* And, *Inasmuch as ye have done it to* (that is, fed, and clothed, and comforted) *the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me*, saith our Saviour; manifestly declaring, that the good we doe, and the respect we shew unto good and needy men, God reckons it done unto himself.

Prov. 19. 17.

Heb. 6. 10.

Heb. 13. 16.

Phil. 4. 17, 18.

Matt. 25. 40.

And this point I shall conclude with the sayings of the wise *Hebrew* Philosopher *Ben-Sirach*, *He that keepeth the Law, bringeth offerings enough: He that taketh heed to the Commandment, offereth a peace-offering. He that requiteth a good turn, offereth fine flower: and he that giveth alms, sacrificeth praise. To depart from wickedness, is a thing pleasing to the Lord: and to forsake unrighteousness, is a propitiation.* To these I shall onely adde this one particular.

Ecclus 35. 1, 2, 3.

7. That true Gratitude for Benefits is always attended with the Esteem, Veneration and Love of the Benefactour. Beneficence is a Roy-

al and God-like thing, an argument of eminent Goodneſs and Power conſpiring; and neceſſarily therefore, as in them that perceive, and duly conſider it, it begets Reſpect and Reverence, ſo peculiarly in thoſe that feel its benign influence, it produces Love and Affection: like the heavenly Light, which to all that behold it appears glorious; but more powerfully warms thoſe that are directly ſubject to its rays, and is by them more vigorouſly reflected.

And as to thoſe that are immediately concerned therein, it imports more particular Regard and Good will; ſo, if they be duly ſenſible thereof, it engages them in mutual correſpondence, to an extraordinary Eſteem and Benevolence: ſuch as *David* upon this account profeſſes to have been in himſelf toward God, and frequently excites others to. *I will love thee, O Lord my ſtrength. I will call upon the Lord, who is worthy to be praiſed. The Lord liveth, and bleſſed be my rock; and let the God of my ſalvation be exalted. I love the Lord, becauſe he hath heard my voice, and my ſupplications.* And, (in the Goſpel) *Becauſe her ſins, being many, were forgiven, therefore ſhe loved much.* So true it is, that ſenſe of favour indulged is naturally productive of love.

Pſal 18. 1. Verſe 3. Verſe 46. Pſal 116. 1. Luk. 7. 47. Ἔστιν χάρις ἡδὺ χάριτι πιθανώτατα ἀεί. Soph.

Thus have I plainly and ſimply preſented you with what my meditations ſuggeſted concerning the Nature and Subſtance of this Duty, with the ſeveral branches ſprouting from the main ſtock thereof: I proceed now to that which will exceedingly enlarge the worth, and engage to the performance thereof.

II. The Object and Term to which it is to be directed; we are to give thanks *to God. To God*, I ſay; that is, *to Him* unto whom we are obliged, not for ſome ſmall and inconſiderable trifles, but for the moſt weighty and valuable Benefits: from whom we receive, not few or ſome, but all good things; what-ever is neceſſary for our ſuſtenance, convenient for our uſe, pleaſant for our enjoyment; not onely thoſe that come immediately from his hand, but what we obtain from others, who from him receive both the will and the power, the means and the opportunities of doing us good: to whom we owe, not onely what we ever did, or doe at preſent poſſeſs, or can hereafter hope for of good; but that we were, are, or ſhall ever be in capacity to receive any: to the Authour, Upholder and Preſerver of our being; without whoſe goodneſs we had never been, and without whoſe care we cannot ſubſiſt one moment.

To Him who is the Lord and true owner of all things we partake of; whoſe air we breathe, whoſe ground we tread on, whoſe food ſuſtains us; whoſe wholly we are our ſelves, both the Bodies we carry about us, (which is *the work of his hands*,) and the Soul we think with, which was breathed from his mouth.

To Him who hath created a whole World to ſerve us, a ſpacious, a beautifull, a ſtately World for us to inhabit, and to diſport in: who hath ſubjected ſo fair a territory to our dominion, and conſigned to our uſe ſo numerous a progeny of goodly creatures, to be managed, to be governed, to be enjoyed by us.

So that where-ever we direct our eyes, whether we reflect them inward upon our ſelves, we behold his Goodneſs to occupy and penetrate the very root and centre of our beings; or extend them abroad toward the things about us, we may perceive our ſelves encloſed wholly, and ſurrounded with his Benefits. At home we find a comely body framed by his curious artifice, various Organs fitly proportioned, ſituated and tempered for ſtrength, ornament and motion, actuated by a gentle heat,

and

and invigorated with lively ſpirits, diſpoſed to health, and qualified for a long endurance; ſubſervient to a Soul endued with divers Senſes, Faculties and Powers, apt to enquire after, purſue and perceive various delights and contents. To the ſatisfaction of which all extrinſecal things do miniſter matter and help; by his kind diſpoal, who furniſhes our Palats with variety of delicious fare, entertains our Eyes with pleaſant ſpectacles, raviſhes our Ears with harmonious ſounds, perfumes our Noſtrils with fragrant odours, chears our Spirits with comfortable gales, *fills our Hearts with food and gladneß*, ſupplies our manifold needs, and protects us from innumerable dangers.

To Him who hath inſpired us with immortal Minds, and impreſſed upon them perſpicuous characters of his own Divine Eſſence; hath made us, not in ſome ſuperficial lineaments, but in our moſt intimate conſtitution, to reſemble himſelf, and to partake of his moſt excellent Perfections; an extenſive Knowledge of truth, a vehement Complacency in good, a forward Capacity of being compleatly happy, (according to our degree, and within our ſphere.) To which bleſſed end by all ſutable means (of external miniſtry and interiour aſſiſtence) he faithfully conducts us; revealing to us the way, urging us in our proceſs, reclaiming us when we deviate; engaging us by his Commands, ſoliciting us by gentle Advices, encouraging us by gracious Promiſes; inſtructing us by his holy Word, and admoniſhing us by his loving Spirit.

To him who vouchſafes to grant us a free acceſs unto, a conſtant intercourſe and a familiar acquaintance with Himſelf; to eſteem and ſtyle us his *Friends* and *Children*; to invite us frequently, and entertain us kindly with thoſe moſt pleaſant delicacies of ſpiritual repaſt; yea, to viſit us often at our home, and (if we admit) to abide and dwell with us; indulging us the enjoyment of that Preſence, wherein the life of all joy and comfort conſiſts, and to behold the light of his all-chearing countenance.

Is there any thing more? Yes: *To Him* who, to redeem us from Miſery, and to advance our eſtate, hath infinitely debaſed Himſelf, and eclipſed the brightneſs of his glorious Majeſty; not diſdaining to aſſume us into a near affinity, yea, into a perfect union with himſelf; to inhabit our frail and mortal nature, to undergo the laws and conditions of Humanity, to appear in our ſhape, and converſe, as it were, upon equal terms with us, and at laſt to taſte the bitter Cup of a moſt painfull and diſgracefull Death for us.

Yea, *To Him* who not only deſcended from his Imperial Throne, became a Subject, and (which is more) a Servant for our ſake; but deſigned thereby to exalt us to a participation of his Royal dignity, his Divine nature, his eternal glory and bliſs; ſubmitting Crowns and Sceptres to our choice; Crowns that cannot fade, and Sceptres that can never be extorted from us.

Farther yet, *To him*, the excellent quality, the noble end, the moſt obliging manner of whoſe Beneficence doth ſurpaſs the matter thereof, and hugely augment the Benefits: who, not compelled by any neceſſity, not obliged by any law, (or previous compact) not induced by any extrinſick arguments, not inclined by our merits, not wearied with our importunities, not inſtigated by troubleſome paſſions of pity, ſhame, or fear, (as we are wont to be,) not flattered with promiſes of recompence, nor bribed with expectation of emoulment thence to accrue unto himſelf; but being abſolute Maſter of his own actions, onely both Law-

giver

giver and Counſellour to himſelf, all-ſufficient, and incapable of admitting any acceſſion to his perfect bliſsfulneſs; moſt willingly and freely, out of pure bounty and good will, is our friend and benefactour; preventing not only our deſires, but our knowledge; ſurpaſſing not our deſerts onely, but our wiſhes, yea, even our conceits, in the diſpenſation of his ineſtimable, and unrequitable benefits; having no other drift in the collation of them, beſide our real good and welfare, our profit and advantage, our pleaſure and content.

Tho Him who not lately began, or ſuddenly will ceaſe, that is either uncertain or mutable in his intentions, but from everlaſting deſigned, continues daily, and will (if we ſuffer him) to all eternity perſevere unmoveable in his reſolutions to doe us good.

To him whom no ingratitude, no undutifull carriage, no rebellious diſobedience of ours could for one minute wholly remove, or divert from his ſteddy purpoſe of caring for us: who regards us, though we do not attend to him; procures our welfare, though we neglect his concernments; employs his reſtleſs thought, extends his watchful eye, exerts his powerfull arm, is always mindfull, and always buſie to doe us good; watching over us, when we ſleep, and remembring us, when we forget our ſelves: in whom yet 'tis infinite condeſcenſion to think of us, who are placed ſo far beneath his thoughts; to value us, who art but duſt and dirt; not to deſpiſe and hate us, who are really ſo deſpicable and unworthy. For *though he dwelleth on high*, (ſaith the Pſalmiſt truly and emphatically,) *he humbleth himſelf to behold the things that are done in heaven and earth.*

Pſ. 113. 5, 6.

To Him that is as mercifull and gracious, as liberal and munificent toward us: that not onely beſtows on us more gifts, but pardons us more debts, and forgives us more ſins, than we live minutes: that with infinite patience endures, not only our manifold infirmities and imperfections, but our petulant follies, our obſtinate perverſeneſſes, our treacherous infidelities; overlooks our careleſs neglects, and our wilfull miſcarriages; puts up the exceedingly-many outragious affronts, injuries and contumelies continually offered to his Supreme Majeſty by us baſe worms, whom he hath always under his feet, and can cruſh to nothing at his pleaſure.

To Him yet who (as S. *James* ſaith) *giveth freely and upbraideth no man*: who calls us neither very frequently, nor over ſtrictly to accounts: who exacts of us no impoſſible, no very difficult, no greatly-burthenſome or coſtly returns; being ſatisfied with the chearfull acceptance of his favours, the hearty acknowledgments of his goodneſs, the ſincere performance of ſuch duties to which our own welfare, comfort and advantage (rightly apprehended) would otherwiſe abundantly diſpoſe us.

Jam. 1. 5.

To him, laſtly, whoſe Benefits to acknowledge is the greateſt benefit of all; to be enabled to thank whom deſerves our greateſt thanks; to be ſenſible of whoſe Beneficence, to meditate on whoſe Goodneſs, to admire whoſe Excellency, to celebrate whoſe Praiſe, is Heaven it ſelf and Paradiſe, the life of Angels, the quinteſſence of joy, the ſupreme degree of Felicity.

In a word, *To Him* whoſe Benefits are immenſely great, innumerably many, unexpreſſibly good and precious. For, *Who can utter the mighty acts of the Lord? who can ſhew forth all his praiſe?* ſaid he, who had employed often his moſt active thoughts, and his utmoſt endeavours thereupon, and was incomparably better able to doe it.

Pſal. 106. 2.

To

To this God, to this great, to this onely Benefactour of ours, we owe this moſt natural and eaſie, this moſt juſt and equal, this moſt ſweet and pleaſant Duty of giving Thanks. To whom if we wilfully refuſe, if we careleſly neglect to pay it, I ſhall onely ſay thus much, that we are not onely monſtrouſly ingratefull, and horribly wicked; but abominably fooliſh, and deplorably miſerable. I ſhall repeat this ſentence once again, and wiſh it may have its due effect upon us: To this great, to this onely Patron and Benefactour of ours, if we doe not in ſome meaſure diſcharge our due debt of Gratitude, for his ineſtimable Benefits and Mercies, we are to be adjudged not onely moſt prodigiouſly unthankfull, moſt deteſtably impious; but moſt wofully ſtupid alſo and ſenſeleſs, moſt deſperately wretched and unhappy.

I ſhould now proceed to conſider the Circumſtance of Time, determined in the word *Always*; and the Extenſion of the Matter, implied in thoſe words, *for all things:* and then to ſubjoyn ſome farther inducements, or arguments perſuaſive to the practice of this Duty. But the time (and, I fear, your patience,) failing, I ſhall reſerve them to ſome other opportunity.

SERMON IX.

The Duty of Thankſgiving.

EPHES. V. 20.

Giving thanks always for all things unto God.

HAving formerly diſcourſed upon theſe words, I obſerved in them Four Particulars conſiderable: 1. the ſubſtance of a Duty, to which we are exhorted, to *give thanks*; 2. the Term unto which it is directed, *to God*; 3. the Circumſtance of time, determined in that word, *always*; 4. the Extent of the Matter about which the Duty is employed, *for all things*. Concerning the Two former Particulars, wherein the Duty conſiſted, and wherefore eſpecially related unto God, I then repreſented what did occur to my meditation.

III. I proceed now to the Third, the Circumſtance of Time allotted to the performance of this Duty, expreſſed by that univerſal and unlimited term, *Always*.

Which yet is not ſo to be underſtood, as if thereby we were obliged in every inſtant (or ſingular point of time) actually to remember, to conſider, to be affected with, and to acknowledge the Divine Benefits: for the deliberate operations of our minds being ſometimes wholly interrupted by ſleep, otherwhile preoccupied by the indiſpenſable care of ſerving our natural neceſſities, and with attendance upon other reaſonable employments,) it were impoſſible to comply with an obligation to the performance of this Duty ſo interpreted. And thoſe Maxims of Law, *Impoſſibilium nulla eſt obligatio*, and, *Quæ rerum naturâ prohibentur*,

tur, nullâ lege confirmata sunt, (that is, *No law or precept can oblige to impossibilities,*) being evidently grounded upon natural equity, seem yet more valid in relation to his Laws, who is the Judge of all the world, and in his dispensations most transcendently just and equal.

We may therefore observe, that the *Hebrews* are wont (in way of *Synecdoche*, or grammatical *Hyperbole*) so to use words of this kind, that their universal importance ought to be restrained by the quality or circumstances of the matter about which they converse. As when our
Matt. 10. 22. Saviour saith, *Ye shall be hated by all men for my sake*; *All* is not to be taken for every singular person, (since there were some that loved our Saviour, and embraced the Evangelical Doctrine,) but for many, or
Psal. 14. 1. the most. And when *David* saith, *There is none that doeth good*; he seemeth onely to mean, that in the general corruption of his times there were few righteous persons to be found. And so *for ever* is often used, not for a perpetual and endless, but for a long and lasting duration; and *always*, not for a continual (unintermitted) state of being, or action, but for such a perseverance as agrees to the condition of the thing to which it is applied.

Exod. 28. 30. 'Tis (for instance) prescribed in *Exodus*, that *Aaron* should *bear the judgment of the children of Israel* (the *Urim* and *Thummim*) *upon his heart before the Lord continually*; that is, (not in absolute and rigorous acception continually, but) constantly ever when he went into the Holy place to discharge the Pontifical function, as the context declares.
Joh. 18. 20. And our Saviour in the Gospel saith of himself, Ἐγὼ πάντοτε ἐδίδαξα, *I always taught in the temple*; that is, very often, and ever when fit occasion was presented. And the Apostles, immediately after *Christ*'s as-
Luk. 24. 53. censions, ἦσαν διαπαντὸς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *were* (as S. *Luke* tells us) *continually in the temple, praising and blessing God*; that is, they resorted thither constantly at the usual times, or canonical hours of prayer. In like
1 Thess. 5. 16, 18 Eph. 6. 18. Luke 18. 1. 1 Thes. 5. 17. manner those injunctions (of neerest affinity) of *rejoycing*, of *giving thanks always*, and particularly of *praying without ceasing*, (as I have shewn more largely in another Discourse,) are to be taken in a sense so qualified, that the observance of them may be at least morally possible.

Thus far warrantably we may limit the extension, and mollifie the rigour of this seemingly-boundless term; but we can hardly allow any farther restriction, without destroying the natural signification, or diminishing the due emphasis thereof. As far therefore as 'tis possible for us, we must endeavour always to perform this duty of Gratitude to Almighty God: and consequently,

1. Hereby is required a Frequent performance thereof; that we doe often actually meditate upon, be sensible of, confess and celebrate the Divine Beneficence. For what is done but seldome or never (as we commonly say) cannot be understood done always, without a *Catachresis*, or abuse of words too enormous. As therefore no moment of our life wants sufficient matter, and every considerable portion of time ministers notable occasion of blessing God; as he allows himself no spacious intervals or discontinuances of doing us good: so ought we not to suffer any of those many days (vouchsafed by his goodness) to flow beside us, void of the signal expressions of our dutifull thankfulness to him; not to admit in our course of life any long vacations from this Duty. If God incessantly, and through every minute, demonstrates himself gracious unto us; we in all reason are obliged frequently and daily to declare our selves gra efull unto him.

So

So at least did *David*, (that most eminent example in this kind, and therefore most apposite to illustrate our Doctrine, and to enforce the practice thereof;) for, *Every day*, saith he, *I will bless thee; I will praise thy Nane for ever and ever. Every day.* The Heavenly bodies did not more constantly observe their course, than he his diurnal revolutions of praise: Every day in his Kalendar was as it were Festival, and consecrated to Thanksgiving. Neither did he adjudge it sufficient to devote some small parcels of each day to this service: for, *My tongue* (saith he) *shall speak of thy righteousness, and of thy praise all the day long:* and again, *My mouth shall shew forth thy righteousness, and thy salvation all the day, for I know not the numbers thereof.* The Benefits of God he apprehended so great and numerous, that no definite space of time would serve to consider and commemorate them. He resolves therefore otherwhere to bestow his whole life upon that employment: *While I live, I will praise the Lord; I will sing praises unto my God, while I have any being:* and, *I will bless the Lord at all times; his praise shall continually be in my mouth.* No man can reasonably pretend greater impediments, or oftner avocations from the practice of this duty, than he, upon whom the burthen of a royal estate, and the care of governing a populous nation were incumbent: yet could not they thrust out of his memory, nor extinguish in his heart the lively sense of Divine goodness; which (notwithstanding the company of other secular encumbrances) was always present to his mind, and like a spirit, (excluded from no place by any corporeal resistence,) did mingle with and penetrate all his thoughts, and affections, and actions. So that he seems to have approached very near to the compleat performance of this Duty, according to the extremity of a litteral interpretation; and to have been always without any intermission employed in giving thanks to God. The consideration (methinks) of so noble a pattern, adjoyned to the evident reasonableness of the Duty, should engage us to the frequent practice thereof.

Psal 145. 2.

Psal. 35. 28.

Psal 71. 8; 15, 24.

Psal 146. 2. & 104. 33. Psal. 34. 1, & Ps. 71. 6.

Εἰ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀνὴρ μυρίαις βαπτιζόμενος φροντίσι καὶ πανταχόθεν περιελκόμενος, τοσαυτάκις παρεκάλει τὸν Θεόν· τίνα ἂν ἔχοιμεν ἀπολογίαν ἢ συγγνώμην ἡμεῖς τοσαύτην σχολὴν ἄγοντες, καὶ μὴ συνεχῶς αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντες, &c. Chrys. *Tom. V. pag.* 76.

But if the consideration of this excellent example doe not, yet certainly that may both provoke us to emulation, and confound us with shame, of *Epictetus*, a Heathen man, whose words to this purpose seem very remarkable: Εἰ γὰρ νοῦν εἴχομεν, saith he in *Arrian's Dissert.*) ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, καὶ κοινῇ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ, ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ εὐφημεῖν, καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τὰς χάριτας; οὐκ ἔδει καὶ σκάπτοντας, καὶ ἀροῦντας, καὶ ἐσθίοντας ᾄδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν Θεόν; Μέγας ὁ Θεὸς, &c. that is, in our language, *If we understood our selves, what other thing should we doe, either publickly, or privately, than sing Hymns to, and speak well of God, and perform Thanks unto him? Ought we not, when we were digging, or plowing, or eating, to sing a* (sutable) *Hymn to him? Great is God, in that he hath bestowed on us those instruments wherewith we till the ground: Great is God, because he hath given us hands, a throat, a belly; that we grow insensibly, that sleeping we breathe. Thus* (proceeds he) *should we upon every occurrence celebrate God, and superadde of all the most excellent and most Divine Hymn, for that he hath given us the faculty of apprehending and using these things orderly. Wherefore since most men are blind and ignorant of this, should there not be some one, who should discharge this office, and who should for the rest utter this Hymn to God? And what can I, a lame (and decrepit)*

Lib. I cap. 17.

Πάντα τοίνυν τὸν βίον ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες, πάντη πάντοθεν παρεῖναι τὸν Θεὸν πεπεισμένοι γεωργοῦμεν αἰνοῦντες, πλέομεν ὑμνοῦντες κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐντέχνως ἀναστρεφόμεθα. Clem. Alex. *Strom. VII. p.* 517.

old man doe elſe, than celebrate God? Were I indeed a Nightingale, I would doe what belongs to a Nightingale; if a Swan, what becomes a Swan: but ſince now I am endued with Reaſon, I ought to praiſe God. This is my duty and concernment, and ſo I doe; neither will I deſert this employment, while it is in my power: and to the ſame ſong I exhort you all. Thus that worthy Philoſopher, not inſtructing us onely, and exhorting with pathetical diſcourſe, but by his practice inciting us to be continually expreſſing our Gratitude to God.

And although neither the admonition of Prophets, nor Precepts of Philoſophers, nor the examples of both, ſhould prevail; yet the precedents (methinks) of dumb and ſenſeleſs creatures ſhould animate us thereto; which never ceaſe to obey the law impoſed on them by their Maker, and without intermiſſion glorifie him. For, *The Heavens declare the glory of God, and the Firmament ſheweth his handy-work. Day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and Night unto night ſheweth knowledge. There is no ſpeech nor language, where their voice is not heard.* Pſal. 19. 1, 2, 3. 'Tis S. *Chryſoſtom*'s argumentation. Καὶ γὰρ αἶσχρὸν ἂν εἴη, ſaith he, τὸν λογικὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἁπάντων τιμιώτερον, ἐλαττον τῆς κτίσεως φέρειν κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀφημίας λόγον· ἐκ αἰσχεὸν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄτοπον, &c. *In Pſal. 144. 'Twere an ugly thing; that Man, endued with Reaſon, and the moſt honourable of all things viſible, ſhould in rendring thanks and praiſe be exceeded by other creatures: neither is it onely baſe, but abſurd. For how can it be otherwiſe, ſince other creatures every day and every hour ſend up a doxology to their Lord and Maker? For,* The Heavens declare the glory of God, *&c.*

If the buſie Heavens are always at leiſure, and the ſtupid Earth is perpetually active in manifeſting the wiſdom, power and goodneſs of their Creatour; how ſhamefull is it, that we (the flower of his creation, the moſt obliged, and moſt capable of doing it) ſhould commonly be either too buſie, or too idle to doe it; ſhould ſeldome or never be diſpoſed to contribute our endeavours to the advancement of his glory? But,

2. *Giving thanks always* may import our Appointing, and punctually Obſerving certain convenient times of performing this Duty; that is, of ſerious meditation upon, and affectionate acknowledgment of the Divine Bounty. We know that all perſons, who deſign with advantage to proſecute an orderly courſe of action, and would not lead a tumultuary life, are wont to diſtinguiſh their portions of time, aſſigning ſome to the neceſſary reflections of their body, others to the divertiſement of their minds, and a great part to the diſpatch of their ordinary buſineſs: otherwiſe (like S. *James* his *double-minded man*) they would be *unſtable in all their ways*; they would ever fluctuate in their reſolutions, and be uncertain when, and how, and to what they ſhould apply themſelves. And ſo, this main concernment of ours, this moſt excellent part of our duty, if we doe not depute ſome vacant ſeaſons for it, and obſerve ſome periodical recourſes thereof, we ſhall be tempted often to omit it; we ſhall be liſtleſs to doe it, apt to defer it, and eaſily diverted from it by the encroachments of other leſs-behoving affairs.

Jam. 1. 8.

The *Jews*, to preſerve them in the conſtant exerciſe of this Duty, had inſtituted by God a ſacrifice called תמיד (*Judge*,) rendred by the *Greek* Tranſlatours ἡ διαπαντὸς θυσία, *the continual ſacrifice*; to which the divine Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems to allude, when in theſe words he exhorts: Δι' αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀναφέρωμεν θυσίαν αἰνέσεως διὰπαντὸς τῷ Θεῷ· *By him therefore let us offer the ſacrifice of praiſe to God continually* (or the continual ſacrifice of praiſe,) *the fruit of our lips, giving thanks*

Dan. 8. 11.

Heb. 13. 15.

thanks to his Name. As that ſacrifice therefore, being offered conſtantly at a ſet time, was thence denominated *continual*: ſo perhaps may we, by conſtantly obſerving ſome fit returns of praiſe and thankſgiving, be ſaid *always* to *give thanks.*

In determining the ſeaſons and proportions of which, what other rule or ſtandard can we better conform to, than that of the Royal Prophet; I ſhall not urge his example ſo much; (according to which we ſhould be obliged to a greater frequency;) for, *Seven times a day* (ſaith he) *do I praiſe thee, becauſe of thy righteous judgments:* but rather alledge his general direction and opinion, propoſed to us in thoſe words of his; *It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to ſing praiſes unto thy Name, O thou Moſt high; to ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs every morning and thy faithfullneſs every night. It is a good thing*; that is, a ſeemly, a convenient, a commendable, a due performance: *every morning*: that is, when our ſpirits, being recreated with ſleep, are become more vigorous, our memories more freſh, our fancies more quick and active: *to ſhew forth thy loving-kindneſs*; that is, from a hearty ſenſe of our obligation, to acknowledge the free bounty of him, who, in purſuance of his former kindneſs, hath been pleaſed to accumulate new favours on us: to guard us by his watchfull care, when we were buried, as it were, in a ſenſeleſs ignorance, and total neglect of our own welfare; to raiſe us from that temporary death, and to confer a new life upon us, reſtoring us to our health, to our means of ſubſiſtence, to all the neceſſary ſupports, and the deſirable comforts of life: *every night* alſo; that is, when our ſpirits are exhauſted with action, and our minds tired with thoughtfulneſs; when we are become weary, not of doing onely, but almoſt of being; we ſhould conclude our toils, and wrap up our cares in the ſweet ſenſe, and gratefull memory of his goodneſs, who hath protected us ſo many hours from the manifold dangers, and more ſins, to which by our weakneſs, and our folly, and our bad inclinations, we are through every minute expoſed; and withall hath provided us ſo eaſie, and ſo delightfull a means of recovering our ſpent activity, of repairing our decayed ſtrength.

Pſal. 119 64.

Pſal 92. 1, 2
Pſal. 55. 17.

Thus if we conſtantly begin, and thus cloſe up, thus bound and circumſcribe our days, dedicating thoſe moſt remarkable periods of time to bleſſing God, and *making* (as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks) *the out-goings of the morning and evening to rejoyce* in him; (ſince beginning and ending doe in a manner comprehend the whole; and the morning and evening, in *Moſes* his computation and ſtyle, doe conſtitute a day;) we may (not incongruouſly) be ſuppoſed and ſaid to *give thanks always.* But yet farther, this may import,

Pſal. 65. 8.

3. A Vigilant attendance upon this Duty, ſuch as men beſtow on their employments, whereof though the actual proſecution ceaſes, yet the deſign continually proceeds. As we ſay, ſuch a one is writing a book, building a houſe, occupying a piece of land, though he be at that preſent peradventure ſleeping, or eating, or ſatisfying ſome other deſire; becauſe his deſign never ſleeps, and his purpoſe perſiſts uninterrupted. And thus it ſeems we are to underſtand our Saviour, and the Apoſtles, when they exhort us προσκαρτερεῖν, to *continue inſtant in prayer and thanksgiving*; and ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν πάσῃ προσκαρτερήσει to *watch with all perſeverance*; and γρηγορεῖν, to *wake in thanksgiving*; and μὴ παύεσθαι, *not to give over giving thanks:* and, to perform theſe duties ἀδιαλείπτως, *inceſſantly*, or *without giving off*; μὴ ἐκκακεῖν *not to grow worſe, faint*, or *faulter:* (which is, in that place, made equivalent to, and explica-

Rom. 12. 12.
Eph. 6. 18
Coloſſ 4. 2.
Eph. 1 16.
1 Theſſ 5. 17.
Luk. 18. 1.

tory of doing duty always.) Which expreſſions denote a moſt diligent attendance on theſe Duties: that we make them not a παρεργον, a diverſion or by-buſineſs of our lives, allowing onely a perfunctory and deſultorious endeavour on them; but eſteem them a weighty buſineſs, to be purſued with ſtedfaſt reſolution, and unwearied induſtry.

As our beings and powers did proceed from the Goodneſs, ſo the reſults of them naturally tend to the Glory of God; and the deliberations of our Will ought to conſpire with the inſtincts of our Nature; it ſhould be the principal deſign which our intention ſhould aim at, and our endeavour always drive on, to glorifie our Maker. Which doing, we may be reputed to diſcharge this Duty, and in ſome ſenſe ſaid *always* to *give thanks*. But farther,

4. This term [*always*] doth neceſſarily imply a Ready diſpoſition, or habitual inclination to give Thanks, ever permanent in us: that our
Pſal. 108. 1. *Hearts*, as *David*'s was, be *fixed* always (that is, fittingly prepared, and ſteddily reſolved) to thank and *praiſe* God; that our Affections be like tinder, though not always inflamed, yet eaſily inflamable by the ſenſe of his Goodneſs.)

Pſal. 37. 26. 'Tis ſaid of the righteous man, that *he is ever merciful, and lendeth*: not for that he doth ever actually diſpenſe alms, or furniſh his poor neighbour with ſupplies; but becauſe his mind is ever inclinable to doe it, when need requires. So a gratefull man doth *always give thanks*, by being diſpoſed to doe it upon all fit occaſions. 'Tis the habit that qualifies and denominates a man ſuch or ſuch in any kind or degree of morality. A good man is in Scripture frequently compared to a *Tree bringing forth fruit in due ſeaſon*; and the root thereof is this habitual diſpoſition, which being nouriſhed by the dew of heaven, and quickned by the benign influence of Divine grace, ſprouts forth opportunely, and yields a plentifull encreaſe of good fruit. Though we cannot always ſing, our organs may be always rightly tuned for praiſe; at leaſt they ſhould never be unſtrung, (and wholly out of kelter.

We ſhould maintain in our ſelves a conſtant good temper of mind, that no opportunity ſurpriſe, and find us unprepared to entertain worthily the effects of Divine favour: otherwiſe we ſhall as well loſe the benefit, as God the thanks and glory due to them. That we be always thus diſpoſed, is not impoſſible, and therefore requiſite. But moreover,

5. Laſtly, *Giving thanks always* imports, that we Readily embrace every opportunity of actually expreſſing our thankfulneſs. For ſo, what in ſome places of Scripture is injoyned to be done *continually*, and *without ceaſing*, is in others onely required to be done upon all opportunities. Which ſhews, that πάντοτε is to be expounded, not ſo much ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ, *at all times*, as ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, *in every ſeaſon*. So προσδυχόμενοι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν πνεύματι, *praying upon every opportunity in your ſpirit:* and, Ἀγρυπνεῖτε ἐν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ δεόμενοι, *Be watchfull, praying in every ſeaſon*. And this ſenſe ſeems probably to be chiefly intended by this Apoſtle, whenever he hath (as he hath often) this expreſſion, πάντοτε εὐχαριστεῖν, that we embrace every overture, or fit occaſion of giving thanks.

Ephes. 6. 18. Luk. 21. 36.

'Tis true, no time is unſeaſonable to doe it; every moment we receive favours, and therefore every minute we owe Thanks: yet there are ſome eſpecial ſeaſons, that do more importunately require them. We ſhould be like thoſe trees, that bear fruit (more or leſs) continually; but then more kindly, and more abundantly, when more powerfully cheriſhed by the heavenly warmth.

When

When any freſh, any rare, any remarkable Benefit happens to us; when proſperous ſucceſs attends our honeſt endeavours; when unexpected favours fall as it were of their own accord into our boſoms; (like the grain in the Golden age ſpringing up ἀπαρτε καὶ ἀνήροτε, without our care, or our toil, for our uſe and enjoyment;) when we are delivered from ſtraits in our apprehenſion inextricable, ſurmount difficulties ſeeming inſuperable, eſcape hazzards (as we ſuſpected) inevitable: Then is a ſpecial ſeaſon preſented us of offering up the ſacrifice of praiſe to the God of mercy, help and victory.

When we revolve in our minds (as we ſhould often doe) the favourrable paſſages of Providence, that in the whole courſe of our lives have befallen us: how in our extreme poverty and diſtreſs (when, perhaps no help appeared, and all hopes ſeemed to fail us) God hath raiſed us up friends, who have commiſerated, comforted and ſuccoured us; and not onely ſo, but hath changed our ſorrowfull condition into a ſtate of joy; hath (to uſe the Pſalmiſt's expreſſions) *turned our mourning into dancing*; hath *put off our ſackcloth, and girdeth us with gladneſs*; hath *conſidered our trouble, and known our ſoul in adverſity*; hath *ſet our feet in a large room*, and furniſhed us with plentifull means of ſubſiſtence: how in the various changes, and adventures, and travels of our life, upon ſea and land, at home and abroad, among friends and ſtrangers and enemies, he hath protected us from wants and dangers; from devouring diſeaſes, and the diſtemperatures of infectious air; from the aſſaults of bloudy thieves, and barbarous pirates; from the rage of fire, and fury of tempeſts; from diſaſtrous caſualties; from treacherous ſurpriſes; from open miſchiefs, that with a dreadfull face approached and threatned our deſtruction: Then moſt opportunely ſhould we with all thankfull exultation of mind admire and celebrate *our ſtrength, and our deliverer*; our faithfull *refuge in trouble*, and *the rock of our ſalvation*.

Pſal. 30. 11. Pſal. 31. 7, 8.

Alſo when the ordinary effects of Divine Providence doe in any advantageous manner preſent themſelves to our view; when we peruſe the volumes of ſtory, and therein obſerve the various events of humane action; eſpecially the ſeaſonable rewards of Vertue, the notable protections and deliverances of Innocence, and the unexpected puniſhments of malicious Wickedneſs: Then we ſhould with thankfull acclamations celebrate the Divine Goodneſs and Juſtice; joyning in conſort with that Heavenly quire, and ſaying, *Allelujah; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God: for true and righteous are his judgements*.

Apoc. 19. 1, 2.

Or, when we contemplate the wonderfull works of Nature, and, walking about at our leiſure, gaze upon this ample theatre of the world, conſidering the ſtately beauty, conſtant order, and ſumptuous furniture thereof; the glorious ſplendour, and uniform motion of the Heavens; the pleaſant fertility of the Earth; the curious figure and fragrant ſweetneſs of Plants; the exquiſite frame of Animals; and all other amazing miracles of Nature, wherein the glorious Attributes of God (eſpecially his tranſcendent Goodneſs) are moſt conſpicuouſly diſplayed; (ſo that by them not onely large acknowledgments, but even gratulatory Hymns, as it were, of praiſe have been extorted from the mouths of *Ariſtotle*, *Pliny*, *Galen*, and ſuch like men, never ſuſpected guilty of an exceſſive devotion:) Then ſhould our hearts be affected with thankfull ſenſe, and our lips break forth into his praiſe.

Yea, from every object of Senſe, from every event of Providence, from every common occurrence we may extract fit matter of Thankſ-

giving:

giving: as did our Saviour, when, considering the stupid infidelity of those proud people of *Chorazim*, *Bethsaida* and *Capernaum*, (who were not at all affected by his miraculous Works, nor moved to repentance by his pathetical Discourses,) and comparing it with the pious credulity of his meaner Disciples, he brake forth into that Divine ejaculation;
Luk. 10. 21. *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thoust hast concealed these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.* Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀποκριθεὶς Ἰησοῦς εἶπε, saith the Evangelical narration; *Upon that occasion Jesus thus spake:* he embraced that convenient opportunity of thankfully acknowledging God's wise and gracious dispensation. And frequent occasion is afforded us daily (were our minds sutably disposed) of doing the like.

But so much concerning the Time of performing this Duty.

IV. We proceed to the Matter thereof, *For all things:* S. *Chrysostome* (in his Commentary upon the 145. Psalm) having enumerated several particulars for which we are bound to thank God; "Because (I recite his words punctually rendred) "Because (saith he) he hath made us, "who before had no being, and made us such as we are; because he "upholds us being made, and takes care of us continually, both pub-"lickly and privately, secretly and openly, with and without our know-"ledge; for all visible things created for our sake, the ministery of them "afforded to us; the conformation of our Bodies, the nobleness of our "Souls; his daily Dispensations by miracles, by laws, by punishments; "his various and incomprehensible Providence; for the chief of all, "that he hath not spared his onely-begotten Son for our sake; the Be-"nefits conferred on us by Baptism, and the other holy Mysteries, (or "Sacraments;) the ineffable good things to be bestowed on us hereafter, "the Kingdom of heaven, the Resurrection, the enjoyment of perfect "Bliss; having, I say, in these words comprised the things for which we are obliged to thank and praise God, he thus despondently concludes: (Ἂν γὰρ ἕκαστόν τις τούτων καταλέγῃ, εἰς πέλαγος ἄφατον ἐμπεσεῖν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ ὄψεται πόσων ἐστὶν ὑπεύθυνος τῷ Θεῷ.) "If any one "shall endeavour to recount particularly every one of these things, he "will but plunge himself into an unexpressible deep of Benefits, and "then perceive for how unexpressibly and inconceivably many good "things he stands engaged to God. And to the like *Non plus* doth the
Psal. 139. 17, 18. devout Psalmist seem to be reduced, when he thus exclaims, *How precious are thy thoughts unto me, O God? how great is the summe of them?*
Ps. 36. 5, 6, 7. *If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand.*

I shall not therefore confound my self, by launching too far into this immense Ocean; nor strive minutely to compute the incomprehensible summe of the Divine Benefits: but onely observe, that in gross, according to our Apostle's calculation, all things, which how-ever happen to us, are ingredients thereof. No occurrence (great or small, common or particular, present or past, pleasant or sad, perpetual or transitory) is excluded from being the subject of our Thanksgiving: each one may prove beneficial to us; and we are with a chearfull contentedness, and a gratefull resentment, to receive them all from God's hand. But to observe some little distinction: I say,

1. We are to give thanks, not onely for great and notable Benefits, but for the least and most ordinary Favours of God: though indeed none of God's Favour's are in themselves small and inconsiderable. Men are wont to bless themselves, if they receive but a transient glance from a Prince's eye; a smile from a great personage; any slender intimation

mation of regard from him that is in capacity to doe them good: what is it then to receive the leaſt teſtimony of his good will, from whom alone every good thing can be expected; upon whoſe diſpoſal all happy ſucceſs of our wiſhes, our hopes and our endeavours do entirely depend? We repute him injuſt, who withholds the leaſt part of what is due from the true owner: and is not he ingratefull then, that omits to render thanks for the leaſt of Divine mercies?

There is one glory of the Sun, another of the Moon, another of the Stars, 1 Cor. 15. 41. ſaith S. *Paul.* Some works of God indeed excell in luſtre; yet all are glorious, all are to be diſcerned, all to be eſteemed, and thankfully entertained by us. The brightneſs of the one ſhould not wholly obſcure the other; if it doe, it argues the weakneſs of our ſenſe, the dulneſs of our ſpiritual faculty. For every beam of light that delights our eye, for every breath of air that chears our ſpirits, for every drop of pleaſant liquor that cools our thirſt, for every minute of comfortable repoſe, for every ſtep we ſafely take, for the happy iſſue of the leaſt undertaking, for eſcaping the vengeance due to an idle word, or a wanton thought, we owe a Hymn of praiſe to God. But,

2. We are to render thanks, not onely for new and preſent Benefits, but for all we have formerly, all that we may hereafter receive. We find *David* not onely frequently acknowledging the gracious diſpenſations of Providence toward him through the whole courſe of his life, but looking back in his thankfull Devotions as far as his very original being, and praiſing God for favours conferred on him beyond his memory, yea before his life. *I will praiſe thee,* ſaith he, *for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvellous are thy works, and that my ſoul knoweth right well. My ſubſtance was not hid from thee, when I was made in ſecret, and curiouſly wrought in the lower parts of the earth. Thine eyes did ſee my ſubſtance yet being imperfect, and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were faſhioned, whenas yet there was none of them.* Pſal. 139. 14, 15, 16. And S. *Paul,* yet farther reflecting his gratefull conſideration, bleſſes God for his favour commenced before the beginning of things. *Bleſſed* (ſaith he) *be God and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings in the heavenly places in Chriſt, according as he hath choſen us before the foundation of the world.* Epheſ. 1. 3, 4.

Neither doth the memory only of former, and the enjoyment of preſent, but the hope and foreſight alſo of future Bleſſings worthily claim our thanks. For, (ſaith S. *Peter*) *Bleſſed be God and the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt from the dead: to an inheritance incorruptible and undefiled, reſerved in heaven for you.* 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4. Beaſts onely, and men not much better than they, are affected with preſent good turns: but men of honeſt and generous temper reſent indifferently the obligations of all times. Senſe doth not confine their Gratitude, nor abſence remove, nor age wear it out. What once is done, is ever done to them; and what of courteſie is purpoſed, ſeems to them performed. But having before diſcourſed ſomewhat largely concerning the remembrance of Benefits, I leave this point. Furthermore,

3. We ſhould bleſs God, not onely for new, rare, extraordinary accidents of Providence, but for the common and daily benefits and indulgences thereof. Theſe Favours are uſually the greateſt, and moſt valuable in their own nature. (For what can be imagined of higher conſequence to us, than the preſervation of our Lives, and of our Eſtates,

Eſtates, by which they are comfortably maintained; than the continuance of our Bodies in good health, and our Minds in their right wits; than the knowledge of heavenly Truth, the encouragements to Vertue and Piety, the aſſiſtences of Divine Grace, and the Promiſes of eternal Bliſs continually exhibited to us?) Shall the commonneſs and continuance of theſe exceeding Favours, that they are not given us once onely, and tranſitorily, but continued (that is, given us ſo often as time hath inſtants,) and with an uninterrupted perſeverance renewed unto us; ſhall this abate and enervate our Gratitude, which in all reaſon ſhould mainly encreaſe and confirm it? But this point I alſo touched before, and therefore forbearing to inſiſt thereon, I proceed.

Quem verò aſtrorum ordines, quem dierum noctiúmque viciſſitudines, quem menſium temperatio, quémque ea quæ nobis gignuntur ad fruendum non gratum eſſe cogant; hunc hominem omnino numerare quî decet? Cic. *de Leg. II.*

4. We ſhould give thanks, not onely for private and particular, but for publick Benefits alſo, and for ſuch as befall others. *I exhort therefore* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *before all things, that ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions and thanksgivings be made for all men*: not *prayers* onely, for good things to be beſtowed on others; but *thanksgivings* alſo, for the Benefits received by others. (And ὑπὲρ πάντων in our Text, however otherwiſe commonly interpreted, may well admit this ſenſe alſo; and be taken indifferently, *pro omnibus*, *for all perſons*, and *propter omnia*, *for all things.*)

1 Tim. 2. 1.

We are all Citizens of the World, and concerned in its good conſtitution; and thence obliged thankfully to adore the mighty Upholder and wiſe Governour thereof, praiſing him for all the general Benefits liberally poured forth upon mankind. We partake in the commodities of Civil Society; and therefore ſhould heartily thank him, by whoſe gracious diſpoſal Order is maintained, Peace continued, Juſtice adminiſtred, Plenty provided, our Lives made ſafe and ſweet to us therein. We are Members of a Church, and highly intereſted in the proſperous eſtate and well-being thereof: when unity therefore is preſerved, and Charity abounds; when knowledg is encreaſed, and Vertue encouraged; when Piety flouriſhes, and truth triumphs therein; we are bound to render all poſſible thanks to the gracious Beſtower of thoſe ineſtimable Bleſſings.

Vid Chryſ. *in* 2 Cor. Or. 2.

We are much miſtaken in our account, if we either determine our own concernments, or meaſure this Duty, by the narrow rule of our private advantage: for ſubducting either the Benefits commonly indulged to mankind, or thoſe which accrue from the welfare of publick ſociety, what poſſibility will remain of ſubſiſtence, of ſafety, of content unto us? what but confuſion, want, violence and diſquiet?

As we are concerned with our utmoſt endeavours to promote, to wiſh and pray for, to delight and rejoyce in the publick good of mankind, the peace of our Country, the proſperity of *Sion*; ſo we are to bleſs and thank him, by whoſe gracious help and furtherance they are attained.

If we conſult all Hiſtory, (Sacred and civil,) we ſhall find it to contain hardly any thing elſe conſiderable, but the earneſt endeavours of good men for publick benefit, and their thankfull acknowledgments to the Divine goodneſs for it. *Moſes*, *David*, *Nehemiah*, *S. Paul*, all the Prophets, and all the Apoſtles, what other things memorable did they doe, but ſerve God in procuring publick Good, and bleſs God for conferring it?

Neither onely as we are combined with others in common intereſt, but without ſelfiſh reſpects, purely out of charity and humanity, and ingenuous pity, are we obliged to thank God for the Benefits he is pleaſed to impart to others. If upon theſe accounts we are commanded to

doe

doe good to all men; to *rejoyce with thoſe that rejoyce*; to *love even thoſe that hate us*, and *bleſs thoſe that curſe us*; 'tis (by fair conſequence) ſurely intended, that we ſhould alſo bleſs God for the good iſſue of our honeſt endeavours, or of our good wiſhes for them. Gal. 6 10. Rom. 12 15. Matt. 5. 44.

And verily could we become endowed with this excellent quality of delighting in others good, and heartily thanking God for it, we needed not to envy the wealth and ſplendour of the greateſt Princes, not the wiſdom of the profoundeſt Doctors, not the religion of the devouteſt Anchorets, no, nor the happineſs of the higheſt Angels: for upon this ſuppoſition, as the glory of all is God's, ſo the content in all would be ours. All the fruit they can perceive of their happy condition (of what kind ſoever) is to rejoyce in it themſelves, and to praiſe God for it: and this ſhould we then doe as well as they. My neighbour's good Succeſs is mine, if I equally triumph therein: his Riches are mine, if I delight to ſee him enjoy them: his health is mine, if it refreſh my ſpirits: his Vertue mine, if I by it am better'd, and have hearty complacence therein. By this means a man derives a confluence of all joy upon himſelf, and makes himſelf, as it were, the centre of all Felicity, enriches himſelf with the plenty, and ſatiates himſelf with the pleaſure of the whole world: reſerving to God the praiſe, he enjoys the ſatisfaction of all good that happens to any.

Thus we ſee *David* frequently thanking God, not for his Favour onely and mercy ſhewed particularly to himſelf, but for his common munificence toward all; for (to uſe his own phraſes) *his goodneſs to all, and his tender mercies over all his works*; for *executing judgment in behalf of the oppreſſed*; for *feeding the hungry*; for *looſening the priſoners*; for *opening the eyes of the blind*; for *raiſing them that are bowed down*; for *preſerving the ſtrangers*, and *relieving the fatherleſs and widow*; for *lifting up the meek*; *for loving, and caring for, and defending the righteous*; for *opening his hand, and ſatisfying the deſire of every living thing*; for *giving to the beaſt his food, and to the young ravens when they cry unto him*; in a word, for his goodneſs to every particular creature, not excluding the moſt contemptible, nor the moſt ſavage of all. And how affectionately doth S. *Paul* every-where thank God for the growth in grace and ſpiritual wiſdom, for the patience in affliction, and perſeverance in faith, of thoſe good Chriſtians he writes unto? So ſhould, with an unreſtrained exuberance, both our Charity to men, and our Gratitude to God abound. But moreover, Pſal. 145. 9. Pſal. 146. 7, 8, 9. Pſal 147. 6. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Pſal 5. 11. Pſal. 104. 28. & 145. 16. & 147. 9.

5. We are obliged to give thanks, not onely for pleaſant and proſperous occurrences of Providence, but for thoſe alſo which are adverſe to our deſire, and diſtaſtfull unto our natural ſenſe; for Poverty, Sickneſs, Diſgrace; for all the Sorrows and Troubles, the Diſaſters and Diſappointments that befall us. We are bound to pay thanks, not for our Food onely, but for our Phyſick alſo: (which though ingratefull to our palate, is profitable to our health:) We are obliged, in the School of Providence, not onely for the good Inſtructions, but for the ſeaſonable Corrections alſo vouchſafed unto us, (whereby though our ſenſes are offended, our manners are bettered.) What-ever proceeds from good purpoſe, and tends to a happy end, that is graciouſly deſigned, and effectually conduces to our good; is a fit ſubject of Thankſgiving: and ſuch may all Adverſities prove unto us. They proceed uſually from love and kind intention toward us: for, *Whom God loveth, he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth*: Heb. 12. 6.

Τὸν Θεὸν ὁμοίως ἀνυμνεῖν χρὴ, κὰν κολάζοντα, κὰν ἀνιέντα κολάσεως· ἀμφότερα γὰρ κηδεμονίας, ἀμφότερα ἀγαθότητος, &c. Chryſoſt. *in Pſal* 148.

Ps. 119. 75. *ceiveth:* and, *I know, O Lord,* (saith *David*) *that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfulneſs haſt afflicted me: in faithfulneſs,* that is, with a ſincere intention of doing me good.

God throughly knows our conſtitution, what is noxious to our health, and what may remedy our diſtempers; and therefore accordingly diſpoſeth to us

——*pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque* ——;

inſtead of pleaſant hony, he ſometimes preſcribes wholeſome wormwood for us. We are our ſelves greatly ignorant of what is conducible to our real good, and, were the choice of our condition wholly permitted to us, ſhould make very fooliſh, very disadvantageous elections.

We ſhould (be ſure) all of us embrace a rich and plentifull Eſtate: when as, God knows, that would make us ſlothfull and luxurious, ſwell us with pride and haughty thoughts, encumber us with anxious cares, and expoſe us to dangerous temptations; would render us forgetfull of our ſelves, and neglectfull of him. Therefore he wiſely diſpoſeth Poverty unto us; Poverty the mother of Sobriety, the nurſe of Induſtry, the miſtreſs of Wiſdom; which will make us underſtand our ſelves, and our dependence on him, and force us to have recourſe unto his help. And is there not reaſon we ſhould be thankfull for the means by which we are delivered from thoſe deſperate miſchiefs, and obtain theſe excellent advantages?

We ſhould all (certainly) chuſe) the Favour and Applauſe of men: but this, God alſo knows, would corrupt our minds with vain conceit, would intoxicate our fancies with ſpurious pleaſure, would tempt us to aſcribe immoderately to our ſelves, and ſacrilegiouſly to deprive God of his due honour. Therefore he adviſedly ſuffers us to incurr the Diſgrace and Diſpleaſure, the Hatred and Contempt of men; that ſo we may place our glory onely in the hopes of his Favour, and may purſue more earneſtly the pure delights of a good Conſcience. And doth not this part of Divine Providence highly merit our thanks?

We would all climb into high Places not conſidering the precipices on which they ſtand, nor the vertiginouſneſs of our own brains: but God keeps us ſafe in the humble valleys, allotting to us employments which we are more capable to manage.

We ſhould perhaps inſolently abuſe Power, were it committed to us: we ſhould employ great Parts on unweildy Projects, as many doe, to the diſturbance of others, and their own ruine: vaſt Knowledge would cauſe us to overvalue our ſelves, and contemn others: enjoying continual Health, we ſhould not perceive the benefit thereof, nor be mindfull of him that gave it. A ſutable mediocrity therefore of theſe things the Divine Goodneſs allotteth unto us, that we may neither ſtarve for want, nor ſurfeit with plenty.

In fine, the advantages ariſing from Afflictions are ſo many, and ſo great, that (had I time, and were it ſeaſonable to inſiſt largely on this ſubject) it were eaſie to demonſtrate, that we have great reaſon, not onely to be contented with, but to rejoyce in, and to be very thankfull for all the croſſes and vexations we meet with: to receive them chearfully at God's hand, as the medicines of our Soul, and the condiments of our fortune; as the arguments of his Good will, and the inſtruments of Vertue; as ſolid grounds of Hope, and comfortable preſages of future Joy unto us.

6. Laſtly, we are obliged to thank God, not onely for Corporeal and temporal Benefits, but alſo (and that principally) for Spiritual and eternal Bleſſings. We are apt, as to deſire more vehemently, to rejoyce more

more heartily in the fruition, and more paſſionately to bewail the loſs of temporal good things; ſo more ſincerely and ſeriouſly to expreſs our gratitude for the reception of them, than for others relating to our ſpiritual good, to our everlaſting welfare. Wherein we misjudge and misbehave our ſelves extremely. For, as much as the reaſonable Soul (that goodly image of the Divine Eſſence, breathed from the mouth of God) doth in dignity of nature, and purity of ſubſtance, excell this feculent lump of organized clay, our Body; as the bliſsfull raviſhments of Spirit ſurpaſs the dull ſatisfactions of Senſe; as the bottomleſs depth of Eternity exceeds that ſhallow ſurface of Time, which terminates this tranſitory life: in ſuch proportion ſhould our appetite unto, our complacence in, our gratitude for ſpiritual Bleſſings tranſcend the affections (reſpectively) engaged about theſe corporeal accommodations.

Conſider that injunction of our Saviour to his Diſciples; *in this rejoyce, not, that the ſpirits are ſubject unto you: but rather rejoyce, becauſe your names are written in heaven. Rejoyce not*, that is, be not at all affected with this (although in it ſelf very rare accompliſhment, eminent privilege, glorious power of working that indeed greateſt of miracles, ſubjecting Devils; that is, baffling the ſhrewdeſt craft, and ſubduing the ſtrongeſt force in nature,) in compariſon of that delight, which the conſideration of the Divine Favour in order to your eternal Felicity doth afford. Luk. 10. 20.

We are, 'tis true, greatly indebted to God for our Creation, for that he hath extracted us from nothing, and placed us in ſo lofty a rank among his creatures; for the excellent faculties of Soul and Body, wherewith he hath endued us; and for many moſt admirable prerogatives of our outward Eſtate: but much more for our Redemption, and the wonderfull circumſtances of unexpreſſible love and grace therein declared; for his deſcending to a conjunction with our Nature, and elevating us to a participation of his; for dignifying us with more illuſtrious titles, and inſtating us in a ſure capacity of a much ſuperiour Happineſs. Our daily Food deſerves well a Grace to be ſaid before and after it: but how much more that conſtant proviſion of Heavenly Manna, the Evangelical Verity; thoſe ſavoury delicacies of Devotion, whereby our Souls are nouriſhed to eternal life? 'Tis a laudable cuſtom, when we are demanded concerning our health, to anſwer, *Well, I thank God*: but much more reaſon have we to ſay ſo, if our Conſcience can atteſt concerning that ſound conſtitution of Mind, whereby we are diſpoſed vigorouſly to perform thoſe vertuous functions, due from reaſonable nature, and conformable to the Divine Law. If for the proſperous ſucceſs of our worldly attempts; for avoiding dangers, that threatned corporal pain and damage to us; for defeating the adverſaries of our ſecular quiet, we make *Te Deum laudamus* our Ἐπινίκιον, (our ſong for victory:) how much more for the happy progreſs of our Spiritual affairs; (affairs of incomparably-higheſt conſequence;) for eſcaping thoſe dreadfull hazzards of utter ruine, of endleſs torture; for vanquiſhing Sin and Hell, thoſe irreconcileable enemies to our everlaſting peace; are we obliged to utter triumphal *Anthymns* of joy and thankfulneſs?

This is the order obſerved by the Pſalmiſt: inciting his *Soul* to *bleſs God* for *all his benefits*, he begins with the conſideration of God's mercy in pardoning his Sins; then proceeds to his goodneſs in beſtowing temporal Favours. *Who forgiveth all thy ſins*, leads the van; *Who ſatisfieth thy mouth with good things*, brings up the rere in the enumeration and acknowledgment of God's Benefits. That our minds are illuſtrated Pſ. 103. 1, &c.

with the knowledge of God and his glorious Attributes, of *Christ* and his bleſſed Goſpel, of that ſtreight path which conducteth to true Happineſs; that by Divine aſſiſtence we are enabled to elude the allurements, to withſtand the violence of temptation, to aſſwage immoderate deſires, to bridle exorbitant paſſions, to correct vitious inclinations of mind; requires more our hearty thanks, than for that we were able by our natural wit to penetrate the abſtruſeſt myſteries; or to ſubjugate Empires by our bodily ſtrength. The forgiveneſs of our Sins doth more oblige us to a gratefull acknowledgement of the Divine Goodneſs, than ſhould God enrich us with all the treaſures contained in the bowels of the Earth, or bottom of the Ocean. One glimpſe of his favourable countenance ſhould more enflame our affections, than being inveſted with all the imaginable ſplendour of worldly glory.

Of theſe ineſtimable Benefits, and all the advantageous circumſtances wherewith they are attended, we ought to maintain in our hearts conſtant reſentments; to excite our thankfulneſs, to kindle our love, to quicken our obedience, by the frequent contemplation of them.

Thus have I (though, I confeſs, much more ſlightly than ſo worthy a ſubject did require) proſecuted the ſeveral particulars obſervable in theſe words. I ſhould conclude with certain Inducements perſuaſive to the practice of this Duty; whereof I have in the tenour both of the former and preſent Diſcourſe inſinuated divers, and could propound many more: but (in compliance with the time) I ſhall content my ſelf briefly to conſider onely theſe three very obvious ones.

I. Firſt therefore, We may conſider, that there is no diſpoſition whatever more deeply radicated in the original conſtitution of all Souls endued with any kind of perception or paſſion, than being ſenſible of Benefits received; being kindly affected with love and reſpect toward them that exhibit them; being ready with ſutable expreſſions to acknowledge them, and to endeavour competent recompences for them. The worſt of men, the moſt devoid of all not onely piety, but humanity and common ingenuity, the moſt barbarous and moſt wicked, (whom neither ſenſe of equity nor reſpect to law, no promiſe of reward or fear of vengeance can any-wiſe engage to doe things juſt and fitting, or reſtrain from enormous actions,) retain notwithſtanding ſomething of this natural inclination, and are uſually ſenſible of good turns done unto them. Experience teaches us thus much; and ſo doth that ſure oracle of our Saviour: *If* (ſaith he) *you doe good to thoſe who doe good to you, what thanks is it? for even ſinners* (that is, men of apparently leud and diſſolute converſation) *doe the ſame.* Luk. 6. 33.

Yea even Beaſts, and thoſe not onely the moſt gentle and ſociable of them, (the officious Dog, the tractable Horſe, the docile Elephant,) but the wildeſt alſo and fierceſt of them (the untameable Lion, the cruel Tiger, and ravenous Bear, as ſtories tell us, and experience atteſts) bear ſome kindneſs, ſhew ſome gratefull affection to thoſe that provide for them. *Vid.* Gell. *lib. V. c.* 14.

Neither wild beaſts onely, but even inanimate creatures ſeem not altogether inſenſible of Benefits, and lively repreſent unto us a natural abhorrence of Ingratitude. The Rivers openly diſcharge into the ſea thoſe waters, which by indiſcernible conduits they derive thence: the Heavens remit in bountifull ſhowrs what from the Earth they had exhaled in vapour: and the Earth by a fruitfull encreaſe repays the culture beſtowed thereon; if not, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* doth pronounce,) it deſerves *curſing* and *reprobation*. So monſtrous a thing, Heb. 6. 8.

and

and universally abominable to nature, is all ingratitude. And how execrable a prodigy is it then toward God, from whom alone we receive what-ever we enjoy, what-ever we can expect of good?

The Second Obligation to this Duty is most just and equal. For, (as * he said well) *Beneficium qui dare nescit, injustè petit*; *He injustly requires* (much more injustly receives) *a benefit, who is not minded to requite it.* In all reason we are indebted for what is freely given, as well as for what is lent unto us. For the freeness of the giver, his not exacting security, nor expressing conditions of return, doth not diminish, but rather encrease the debt. He that gives, indeed, according to humane (or political) law, (which, in order to preservation of publick peace, requires onely a punctual performance of contracts,) transfers his right, and alienates his possession: but according to that more noble and perfect rule of ingenuity, (the Law which God and Angels and good men chiefly observe, and govern themselves by,) what is given is but committed to the faith, deposited in the hand, treasured up in the custody of him that receives it: and what more palpable iniquity is there, than to betray the trust, or to detain the pledge, not of some inconsiderable trifle, but of inestimable good will? *Exceptâ Macedonum gente*, (saith *Seneca*) *non est ulla data adversus ingratum actio: In no nation* (*excepting the* Macedonians) *an action could be preferred against ingratefull persons, as so.* (Though *Xenophon*, no mean Author, reports, that among the *Persians* also there were judgments assigned, and punishments appointed for Ingratitude.) However, in the court of Heaven, and at the Tribunal of Conscience, no offender is more constantly arraigned, none more surely condemned, none more severely punished, than the ingratefull man.

II. * Laberius.

Καλὸν ὃ σῶσαι κεῖμήν χάριν. *De Benef. lib. 8. cap 6.*

Since therefore we have received all from the Divine bounty; if God should in requital exact, that we sacrifice our lives to the Testimony of his Truth; that we employ our utmost pains, expend our whole estate, adventure our health, and prostitute all our earthly contents to his service; since he did but revoke his own, 'twere great injustice to refuse compliance with his demands: how much more, when he onely expects from us and requires some few acknowledgments of our obligation to him, some little portions of our substance, for the relief of them that need, some easie observances of his most reasonable commands?

Thirdly, This is a most sweet and delightfull Duty. *Praise the Lord* (saith the most experienced Psalmist) *for the Lord is good; sing praises to his Name, for it is pleasant*: and otherwhere, *Praise the Lord, for it is good to sing praises to our God; for it is pleasant, and praise is comely.* The performance of this Duty, as it especially proceeds from good humour, and a chearfull disposition of mind; so it feeds and foments them; both root and fruit thereof are hugely sweet and sapid. Whence S. *James*; *If any man be afflicted, let him pray*; *is any merry, let him sing Psalms.* (*Psalms*, the proper matter of which is praise and thanksgiving.)

III. Psal. 135 3. Psal. 147. 1. *Vid.* Psal. 9. 1. Jam. 5. 13.

Other Duties of Devotion have something laborious in them, something disgustfull to our sense. Prayer minds us of our wants and imperfections; Confession induces a sad remembrance of our misdeeds and bad deserts: but thanksgiving includes nothing uneasie or unpleasant; nothing but the memory and sense of exceeding Goodness.

All Love is sweet; but that especially which arises, not from a bare apprehension onely of the objects worth and dignity, but from a feeling of its singular beneficence and usefulness unto us. And what thought can

can enter into the heart of man more comfortable and delicious than this, That the great Master of all things, the most wise and mighty King of Heaven and earth hath entertained a gracious regard, hath expressed a real kindness towards us? that we are in capacity to honour, to please, to present an acceptable sacrifice to him, who can render us perfectly happy? that we are admitted to the practice of that wherein the supreme joy of Paradise, and the perfection of Angelical bliss consists? For Praise and Thanksgiving are the most delectable business of Heaven; and God grant they may be our greatest delight, our most frequent employment upon earth.

Vid. Psal. 69. 30, 31. Psal. 50 13, 14, 23.

To these I might adde such farther considerations. That this Duty is of all most acceptable to God, and most profitable to us. That Gratitude for Benefits procures more, disposing God to bestow, and qualifying us to receive them. That the serious performance of this Duty efficaciously promotes, and facilitates the practice of other Duties; since the more we are sensible of our obligations to God, the more ready we shall be to please him, by obedience to his Commandments. What S. *Chrysostom* saith of Prayer, It is impossible that he who with competent promptitude of mind doth constantly apply himself thereto, should ever sin, is most especially true of this part of Devotion: for how can we at the same time be sensible of God's Goodness to us, and willingly offend him? That the memory of past Benefits, and sense of present, confirms our Faith, and nourishes our Hope of future. That the circumstances of the Divine Beneficence mightily strengthen the obligation to this Duty; especially his absolute freeness in giving, and our total unworthiness to receive; our very Ingratitude it self affording strong inducements to Gratitude. That giving thanks hath *de facto* been always the principal part of all Religion; (whether instituted by Divine Command, or prompted by natural Reason, or propagated by general Tradition;) the Ethnick devotion consisting (as it were totally) in the praise of their gods, and acknowledgment of their Benefits; the *Jewish* more than half in Eucharistical oblations, and in solemn commemorations of providential favours; and that of the ancient Christians so far forth, that by-standers could hardly discern any other thing in their religious practice, than that they sang Hymns to *Christ*, and by mutual sacraments obliged themselves to abstain from all villany. But I will rather wholly omit the prosecution of these pregnant Arguments, than be farther offensive to your patience.

Vid. divinis. Chrysost. *locum Tom. V. pag.* 76.

Plin. *Epist.*

Now the Blessed Fountain of all Goodness and Mercy inspire our hearts with his heavenly Grace, and thereby enable us, rightly to apprehend, diligently to consider, faithfully to remember, worthily to esteem, to be heartily affected with, to render all due acknowledgment, praise, love, and thankfull obedience for all his (infinitely-great and innumerably-many) Favours, Mercies and Benefits freely conferr'd upon us: and let us say with David, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who onely doeth wondrous things: and blessed be his glorious Name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen.*

Psal. 72. 18, 19.

Psal 106. 48.

SER-

SERMON X.

A Sermon on the King's Happy Return.

1 TIM. II. 1, 2.

1. *I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men:*
2. *For Kings, and for all that are in authority.*

SAint *Paul* in his preceding discourse having insinuated directions to his Scholar and Spiritual Son, *Timothy*, concerning the discharge of his office, of instructing men in their Duty according to the Evangelical Doctrine; (the main design whereof he teacheth to consist, not (as some men conceited) in fond stories, or *vain speculations*, but in practice of substantial Duties, holding a *sincere Faith*, maintaining a *good Conscience*, performing offices of *pure* and *hearty Charity*;) in pursuance of such general Duty, and as a principal instance thereof, he doth here *first of all exhort* or, doth *exhort that first of all* all kinds of Devotion should be offered to God, as for *all men* generally, so particularly for *Kings* and *Magistrates*. From whence we may collect two particulars. 1. That the making of *Prayers for Kings* is a Christian Duty of great importance. (S. *Paul* judging fit to *exhort* thereto πρῶτον πάντων, *before all other things*; or, to *exhort that before all things* it should be performed.) 2. That it is incumbent on the Pastours of the Church, (such as S. *Timothy* was,) to take special care, that this Duty should be performed in the Church; both publickly in the Congregations, and privately in the Retirements of each Christian: according to what the Apostle, after the proposing divers enforcements of this Duty, subsumeth in the 8. verse, *I will therefore, that men pray every-where, lifting up holy hands, without wrath or doubting.*

1 Tim. 1. 3.

Verse 6.

Verse 5, 19.

Παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι —

The First of these particulars, That it is a Duty of great importance *to pray for Kings*, I shall insist upon: it being indeed now very fit and seasonable to urge the practice of it, when it is perhaps commonly not much considered, or not well observed; and when there is most need of it, in regard to the effects and consequences which may proceed from the conscionable discharge of it.

My endeavour therefore shall be to press it by divers Considerations, discovering our obligation thereto, and serving to induce us to its observance: some whereof shall be general, or common to all times; some particular, or suitable to the present circumstances of things.

I. The Apostle exhorteth Christians to *pray for Kings* with all sorts of Prayer: with δεήσεις, or *deprecations*, for averting evils from them; with προσευχαὶ, or *petitions*, for obtaining good things to them, with ἐντεύξεις, or *occasional intercessions*, for needfull gifts and graces to be collated

Aug. *Ep.* 59. Beza, Grotius, *&c.* collated on them: as, after S. *Auſtin*, Interpreters in expounding S. *Paul*'s words, commonly diſtinguiſh; how accurately, I ſhall not diſcuſs; it ſufficing, that aſſuredly the Apoſtle meaneth, under this variety of expreſſion, to comprehend all kinds of Prayer. And to this I ſay we are obliged upon divers accounts.

1. Common Charity ſhould diſpoſe us to pray for Kings. This Chriſtian diſpoſition inclineth to univerſal benevolence and beneficence; according to that Apoſtolical precept, *as we have opportunity, let us doe good unto all men:* it conſequently will excite us to pray for all men; ſeeing this is a way of exerting good will, and exerciſing beneficence, which any man at any time, if he hath the will and heart, may have opportunity and ability to purſue.

Gal. 6. 10.

No man indeed otherwiſe can benefit all; few men otherwiſe can benefit many; ſome men otherwiſe can benefit none: but in this way any man is able to benefit all, or unconfinedly to oblige mankind, deriving on any ſomewhat of God's immenſe beneficence. By performing this good office, at the expence of a few good wiſhes addreſſed to the Sovereign Goodneſs, the pooreſt may prove benefactours to the richeſt, the meaneſt to the higheſt, the weakeſt to the mightieſt of men: ſo we may benefit even thoſe who are moſt remote from us, moſt ſtrangers and quite unknown to us. Our Prayers can reach the utmoſt ends of the earth; and by them our Charity may embrace all the world.

And from them ſurely *Kings* muſt not be excluded. For if becauſe all men are our Fellow-creatures, and brethren by the ſame Heavenly Father, becauſe all men are allied to us by cognation and ſimilitude of nature, becauſe all men are the objects of God's particular favour and care; if becauſe all men are partakers of the common Redemption, by the undertakings of him who is the common Mediatour and Saviour of all men; and becauſe all men, according to the gracious intent and deſire of God, are deſigned for a conſortſhip in the ſame bleſſed Inheritance; (which enforcements S. *Paul* in the context doth intimate;) if, in fine, becauſe all men doe need Prayers, and are capable of benefit from them, we ſhould be charitably diſpoſed to pray for them: then muſt we alſo pray for *Kings*, who even in their perſonal capacity, as men, doe ſhare in all thoſe conditions. Thus may we conceive S. *Paul* here to argue: *For all men*, ſaith he, *for Kings*; that is, conſequently *for Kings*, or, particularly *for Kings*; to pray for whom, at leaſt no leſs than for other men, univerſal Charity ſhould diſpoſe us.

1 Tim. 2. 4, 5, 6.

Indeed, even on this account we may ſay, eſpecially *for Kings*; the law of general Charity with peculiar advantage being applicable to them: for that law commonly is expreſſed with reference to our neighbour, that is, to perſons with whom we have to doe, who come under our particular notice, who by any intercourſe are approximated to us; and ſuch are *Kings* eſpecially. For whereas the greateſt part of men (by reaſon of their diſtance from us, from the obſcurity of their condition, or for want of opportunity to converſe with them) muſt needs ſlip beſide us, ſo that we cannot employ any diſtinct thought or affection toward them: it is not ſo with Kings, who by their eminent and illuſtrious Station become very obſervable by us; with whom we have frequent tranſactions, and mutual concerns; who therefore in the ſtricteſt acception are our neighbours, whom we are charged to love as our ſelves; to whom conſequently we muſt perform this moſt charitable office of Praying for them.

2. To

2. To impreſs which conſideration, we may reflect, that commonly we have onely this way granted us of exerciſing our Charity toward Princes; they being ſituated aloft above the reach of private beneficence: ſo that we cannot enrich them, or relieve them by our alms; we cannot help to exalt or prefer them to a better ſtate; we can hardly come to impart good advice, ſeaſonable conſolation, or wholeſome reproof to them; we cannot profit or pleaſe them by familiar converſation. For as in divers other reſpects they reſemble the Divinity; ſo in this they are like it, that we may ſay to them, as the Pſalmiſt to God, *thou art my Lord; my goodneſs extendeth not to thee.* Pſal. 16. 2. Yet this caſe may be reſerved, wherein the pooreſt Soul may benefit the greateſt Prince, imparting the richeſt and choiceſt goods to him: He may be indebted for his ſafety, for the proſperity of his affairs, for God's mercy and favour toward him, to the Prayers of his meaneſt vaſſal. And thus to oblige Princes, methinks, we ſhould be very deſirous; we ſhould be glad to uſe ſuch an advantage, we ſhould be ambitious of ſuch an honour.

Privatorum iſta copia eſt, inter ſe eſſe munificos. Auſon. *ad* Gratian. *Abſit, Auguſte, & iſtud Sancta Divinitas omen avertat, ut tu à quoquam mortalium expectes vicem beneficii.* Mamerc. *ad* Julian.

3. We are bound to pray for Kings out of charity to the Publick; becauſe their Good is a general Good, and the Communities of men (both Church and State) are greatly concerned in the Bleſſings by Prayer derived on them.

The Safety of a Prince is a great part of the common welfare; the Commonwealth, as it were, living and breathing in him: his fall, like that of a tall Cedar, (to which he is compared,) ſhaking the earth, and diſcompoſing the State; putting things out of courſe, and drawing them into new chanels; tranſlating the adminiſtration of affairs into untried hands, and an uncertain condition. Hence, *Let the King live*, (which our Tranſlatours render, *God ſave the King*,) was an uſual form of ſalutation, or prayer: and, *O King live for ever*, was a cuſtomary addreſs to Princes, whereto the beſt men did conform, even in application to none of the beſt Princes; as *Nehemiah* to King *Artaxerxes*, and *Daniel* to King *Darius*. Hence not onely good King *David* is called *the light of Iſrael*; (*Thou ſhalt not*, ſaid *Abiſhai*, *any more go out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Iſrael*;) but even the wicked and perverſe King *Zedekiah* is by the Prophet *Jeremiah* himſelf (who had been ſo miſuſed by him) ſtyled *the breath of our noſtrils*. (*The breath*, ſaith he, *of our noſtrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits.*) Hence not onely the fall of good King *Joſiah* was ſo grievouſly lamented; but a ſolemn mourning was due to that of *Saul*; and *Ye daughters of Jeruſalem, weep for Saul*, was a ſtrain becoming the mouth of his great Succeſſour King *David*. Hence the Primitive Chriſtians, who could not be conſtrained to ſwear by the *Genius* of *Cæſar*, did not yet, in compliance with the uſual practice, ſcruple to ſwear by their *health*, or *ſafety*; that is, to expreſs their wiſhing it, with appeal to God's teſtimony of their ſincerity therein; as *Joſeph* may be conceived to have ſworn * *by the life of Pharaoh*, Hence well might the people tell King *David*, *Thou art worth ten thouſand of us*; ſeeing the publick was ſo much intereſted in his ſafety, and had ſuffered more in the loſs of him, than if a myriad of others had miſcarried.

Iſa. 2. 13.

1 King. 1. 25. 2 King. 11. 12. 2 Chr. 23. 11. 1 King. 1. 31. Dan. 2. 4. & 3. 9 & 5. 10. & 6. 6. Neh. 2. 3. Dan. 6. 21. 2 Sam. 21. 17. 2 King. 24. 19. Jer. 32. 3. Lam. 4. 20.

Zech. 12. 11. 2 Chr. 35. 24. 2 Sam. 1. 12, 24.

Sed & juramus, ſicut non per genios Cæſarum, ità per ſalutem eorum, quæ eſt auguſtior omnibus geniis. Tert. *Apol. c.* 32.

* Gen. 42. 15, 16. 2 Sam. 18. 3.

This Honour likewiſe of a Prince is the glory of his people; ſeeing it is founded on qualities or deeds tending to their advantage; ſeeing it can hardly be ſuppoſed that he ſhould acquire honour without their aid and concurrence, or that he ſhould retain it without their ſupport

and their ſatisfaction. And as the chief grace and beauty of a body is
Prov. 4. 9. in the head, and the faireſt ornaments of the whole are placed there; ſo is any Commonwealth moſt dignified and beautified by the reputation of its Prince.

The Wealth and Power of a Prince are the ſupports and ſecurities of a State: he thereby being enabled to uphold and defend its ſafety, its order, its peace; to protect his people from foreign injuries and invaſi-
Pſ. 72. 4 — ons; to ſecure them from inteſtine broils and factions; to repreſs outrages and oppreſſions annoying them.

The Proſperity of a Prince is inſeparable from the proſperity of his people; they ever partaking of his fortunes, and thriving or ſuffering with him. For as when the Sun ſhineth brightly, there is a clear day, and fair weather over the world: ſo when a Prince is not overclouded with adverſity, or diſaſtrous occurrences, the publick State muſt be ſerene, and a pleaſant ſtate of things will appear. Then is the Ship in a good condition, when the Pilot in open Sea, with full ſails and a brisk gale, chearfully ſteereth on toward his deſigned port.

Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à Principe, atque, ut ità dicam, ſequaces ſumus. Huic enim chari, huic probati eſſe cupimus; quod fruſtrà ſperaverint diſſimiles. Eóque obſequii continuatione pervenimus, ut propè omnes homines unius moribus vivamus Plin. Paneg. *Vita Principis cenſura eſt, eáque perpetua, ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur; nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt, quàm exemplo* Ibid.

* Eccles 10. 2.

Eſpecially the Piety and Goodneſs of a Prince is of vaſt conſequence, and yieldeth infinite benefit to his Country. For, *Vita Principis Cenſura eſt*, The life of a Prince is a calling of other mens lives to an account. His * Example hath an unſpeakable influence on the manners of his people, who are apt in all his garb, and every faſhion to imitate him. His Practice is more powerfull than his Commands, and often doth controll them. His Authority hath the great ſtroke in encouraging Vertue, and checking Vice, if it bendeth that way; the diſpenſation of honours and rewards, with the infliction of ignominies and corrections, being in his hand, and paſſing from it according to his inclinations. His Power is the ſhield of innocence, the fence of right, the ſhelter of weakneſs and ſimplicity againſt violences and frauds. His very Look (a ſmile or a frown of his countenance) is ſufficient to advance goodneſs, and ſuppreſs wickedneſs; according to that of *Solomon*, *A King ſitting in the throne of judgment ſcattereth away all evil with his eyes.* His Goodneſs pleaſing God procureth his favour, and therewith deduceth from Heaven all kinds of bleſſings on his people. And if thoſe politick Aphoriſms of the *Wiſe man* be true,
Prov. 20 8. Prov. 14. 3 4. & 16. 12. 2 Sam. 7. 16. Prov. 11 10, 11. That *righteouſneſs exalteth a nation, and eſtabliſheth a throne*; That *when it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoyceth*; and *the ſame by the bleſſing of the upright is exalted*: then upon his inclinations to Vertue the advancement and ſtability of publick welfare do mainly depend. So for inſtance, how did Piety flouriſh in the times of *David*, who
2 Sam. 7 9. (Pſal. 72. 7.) loved, favoured and practiſed it? and what abundance of proſperity did attend it? What ſhowrs of bleſſings (what peace, what wealth, what credit and glory) did God then pour down upon *Iſrael*? How did the goodneſs of that Prince tranſmit favours and mercies on his Country till a long time after his deceaſe? How often did God profeſs *for his ſervant David's ſake* to preſerve *Judah* from deſtruction? ſo that even in the days of *Hezekiah*, when the King of *Aſſyria* did invade that Country, God by the mouth of *Iſaiah* declared, *I will defend this city to ſave it for mine own ſake, and for my ſervant David's ſake.*

(2 Sam. 7. 16. 1 King. 11. 13 Jer. 33 21 Pſal. 89 29. & 132. 10—. Iſa. 37. 35. (1 King 11. 32, 34)

We may indeed obſerve, that, according to the repreſentation of things in Holy Scripture, there is a kind of moral connexion, or a communication of merit and guilt, between Prince and people; ſo that mutually

tually each of them is rewarded for the Vertues, each is punished for the Vices of the other. As for the iniquities of a people, God withdraweth from their Prince the free communications of his Grace and of his Favour, (suffering him to incurre sin, or to fall into misfortune, which was the case of that incomparably-good King *Josiah*, and hath been the fate of divers excellent Princes, whom God hath snatched away from people unworthy of them, or involved with such a people in common calamities; according to the rule propounded in the Law, of God's dealing with the *Israelites* in the case of their disobedience; and according to that of *Samuel*, *If ye shall doe wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your King*:) so reciprocally, for the misdemeanours of Princes, (or in them, and by them,) God doth chastise their people. For what confusions in *Israel* did the offences of *Solomon* create? what mischiefs did issue thereon from *Jeroboam*'s wicked behaviour? How did the sins of *Manasseh* stick to his Country, since that even after that notable Reformation wrought by *Josiah*, it is said, *Notwithstanding the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations wherewith Manasses had provoked him*? And how sorely, by a tedious three years famine, did God avenge *Saul*'s cruelty toward the *Gibeonites*?

2 King 23. 25. Isa. 3. 1, &c. Deut. 28. 6. 1 Sam. 12. 25. (Prov. 28 2) 1 King. 11. 33. 1 King. 15 30. 2 King 17. 21. 2 King 23. 26. 2 Sam. 21. 1.

Nor are onely the sins of bad Princes affixed to people conspiring with them in impiety; for even of King *Hezekiah* it is said, *But Hezekiah rendred not again according to the benefit done unto him; for his heart was lifted up: therefore there was wrath upon him, and upon Judah and Jerusalem.* So the pride and ingratitude of an excellent Prince were avenged on his Subjects. And when good King *David* (God averting his Grace from him) did fall into that arrogant transgression of counting his forces, that, as *Joab* prudently foretold, became *a cause of trespass to Israel*: and *God* (saith the Text) *was displeased with this thing, therefore he smote Israel.*

(Jer. 32. 32) 2 Chr. 32. 25. 1 Chr. 21. 3, 7.

David indeed seems to apprehend some iniquity in this proceeding, expostulating thus, *Is it not I that commanded the people to be numbred? even I it is that have sinned, and done evil indeed: but as for these sheep, what have they done?* But God had no regard to his plea, nor returned any answer to it: for indeed God's wrath began with the people, and their King's sin was but a judgment executed on them: for, *The anger* (it is said) *of the Lord was kindled against Israel*, (by their sin surely, which is the onely incentive of Divine wrath,) *and he moved David against them, to say, Goe number Israel and Judah.*

1 Chr. 21. 17. 2 Sam. 24. 1

So indeed it is, that Princes are bad, that they incurre great errours, or commit notable trespasses, is commonly imputable to the fault of Subjects; and is a just judgment by Divine Providence laid on them, as for other provocations, so especially for their want of Devotion, and neglecting duly to pray for them. For if they constantly with hearty sincerity and earnest fervency would in their behalf sue to God, who *fashioneth all the hearts of men*, who especially holdeth *the hearts of Kings in his hand, and turneth them whithersoever he will*; we reasonably might presume, that God by his Grace would direct them into the right way, and incline their hearts to goodness; that he would accomplish his own word in the Prophet, *I will make thy officers peace, and thine exactours righteousness*; that we might have occasion to pay thanksgivings like that of *Ezra*, *Blessed be the Lord God of our fathers, who hath put such things as this in the King's heart, to beautifie the house of the Lord, which is in Jerusalem.*

Psal 33. 15. Prov. 21 1. Isa 60 17. Ezr. 7. 27.

We are apt to impute the ill management of things, and the bad ſucceſs waiting on it, unto Princes, being in appearance the immediate Agents and Inſtruments of it: but we commonly doe therein miſtake, not conſidering that our ſelves are moſt guilty, and blamable for it; that it is an impious people, which maketh an unhappy Prince; that their offences doe pervert his counſels, and blaſt his undertakings; that their prophaneneſs and indevotion doe incenſe God's diſpleaſure, and cauſe him to deſert Princes, withdrawing his gracious conduct from them, and permitting them to be miſs-led by temptation, by ill advice, by their own infirmities, luſts and paſſions, into courſes fit to puniſh a naughty people. So theſe were the cauſes of *Moſes* his *ſpeaking unadviſedly with his lips*, and that *it went ill with him for their ſakes:* of *Aaron*'s forming the molten calf; of *David*'s numbring the people; of *Joſiah*'s unadviſed enterpriſe againſt *Pharaoh Neco*; of *Zedekiah*'s rebellion againſt the *Aſſyrians*, (notwithſtanding the ſtrong diſſuaſions of the Prophet *Jeremy*;) concerning which it is ſaid, *For through the anger of the Lord it came to paſs in Jeruſalem and Judah, untill he had caſt them out from his preſence, that Zedekiah rebelled againſt the King of Babylon.*

Pſal. 106. 32, 33. Exod. 32. Deut. 9. 2 King 24. 20.

Conſidering which things, it is apparent, that Prayer for our Prince is a great office of Charity to the Publick; and that in praying for his Safety, for his Honour, for his Wealth, for his Proſperity, for his Vertue, we doe in effect pray for the ſame Benefits reſpectively to our Country; that in praying for his Welfare, we doe in conſequence pray for the good of all our neighbours, our friends, our relations, our families, whoſe good is wrapped in his welfare, doth flow from it, doth hang upon it.

We are bound, and it is a very noble piece of Charity, to love our Country, ſincerely to deſire and earneſtly to further its happineſs, and therefore to pray for it; according to the advice and practice of the Pſalmiſt, *O pray for the peace of Jeruſalem; they ſhall proſper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and proſperity within thy palaces.* We are obliged more eſpecially upon the higheſt accounts, with deareſt affection to love the Church, (our Heavenly Commonwealth, the Society of our Spiritual Brethren,) moſt ardently to tender its good and ſeek its advantages; and therefore moſt urgently to ſue for God's favour toward it: being ready to ſay after *David*, *Doe good, O God, in thy good pleaſure to Sion, build the walls of Jeruſalem. Ariſe, O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion, for the time to favour her, yea the ſet time is come.* Now theſe duties we cannot more eaſily, more compendiouſly, or more effectually diſcharge, than by earneſtly praying for our Prince; ſeeing that if we doe by our Prayers procure God's favour to him, we doe certainly draw it on the State, and the Church. If God, moved by our devout importunities, ſhall pleaſe to guard his perſon from dangers, and to *grant him a long life*; to endue his Heart with Grace, with the love and fear of himſelf, with a zeal of furthering publick good, of favouring piety, of diſcountenancing ſin; if God ſhall vouchſafe to inſpire him with Wiſdom, and to guide his counſels, to bleſs his proceedings, and to crown his undertakings with good ſucceſs: then aſſuredly we have much promoted the publick intereſt: then infallibly, together with theſe, all other bleſſings ſhall deſcend on us, all good will flouriſh in our land. This was the ancient practice of Chriſtians, and directed to this end. For, * *We* (ſaith *Lactantius* to *Conſtantine*) *with daily prayers doe ſupplicate God, that he would*

Pſal. 122. 6. (128. 5.) Pſal. 122. 7. Pſal. 51. 18. Pſal. 102. 13, 16. (Iſa 61. 1--) Pſal. 21. 4.

* *Cui nos quotidianis precibus ſupplicamus, ut te imprimis, quem rerum cuſtodem voluit eſſe, cuſtodiat; deinde inſpiret tibi voluntatem, quâ ſemper in amore Divini nominis perſeveres; quod eſt omnibus ſalutare, & tibi ad felicitatem, & nobis ad quietem.* Lact. 7. 26.

would first of all keep thee, whom he hath willed to be the keeper of things; then that he would inspire into thee a will, whereby thou mayest ever persevere in the love of God's name; which is salutary to all, both to thee for thy happiness, and to us for our quiet.

4. Wherefore consequently our own interest, and Charity to our selves should dispose us to pray for our Prince. We being nearly concerned in his welfare, as parts of the publick, and as enjoying many private advantages thereby; we cannot but partake of his good, we cannot but suffer with him. We cannot live quietly if our Prince is disturbed; we cannot live happily, if he be unfortunate; we can hardly live vertuously, if Divine Grace doe not incline him to favour us therein, or at least restrain him from hindring us. This is S. *Paul's* own consideration: *I exhort you*, saith he, *to make prayers for Kings —— that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* Upon such an account God did command the *Jews* to pray for the welfare of that Heathen State, under which they lived in Captivity: *And seek*, said he, *the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace.* And for the like cause the Christians of old deemed themselves bound to pray for the Gentile Magistrates; according to that of *Tertullian*, *We pray for you, because with you the Empire is shaken: and the other members of it being shaken, assuredly even we, how far soever we may be thought from troubles, are found in some place of the fall.* Farther,

Nescio an plus moribus conferat Princeps, qui bonos esse patitur, quàm qui cogit. Plin. *Panegyr.*

Jer. 29. 7.

Vobiscum enim concutitur imperium: concussis etiam cæteris membris ejus, utique & nos, licèt extranei à turbis æstimemur, in aliquo loco casûs invenimur. Tert. *Apol. c.* 32.

5. Let us consider, that Subjects are obliged in gratitude and ingenuity, yea in equity and justice, to pray for their Princes. For

They are most nearly related to us, and allied by the most sacred bands; being constituted by God, in his own room, the Parents and Guardians of their Country; being also avowed and accepted for such by solemn Vows, and most holy Sacraments of Allegeance: whence unto them as such we owe an humble piety, a very respectfull affection, a most dutifull observance; the which we cannot better express or exercise, than in our heartiest Prayers for their welfare.

Quem sciens (Christianus) à Deo suo constitui, necesse est, ut & ipsum diligat; & revereatur, & honoret, & salvum velit. — Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

Jurant per Deum, & per Christum, & per Spiritum S. & per Majestatem Imperatoris, quæ secundùm Deum generi humano diligenda est, & colenda. Veget. 2. 5.

They by God are destined to be the Protectours of the Church, the Patrons of Religion, the Fosterers and Cherishers of Truth, of Vertue, of Piety: for of the Church in the Evangelical times it was prophesied, *Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers; Thou shalt suck the breasts of Kings; Kings shall minister to thee:* wherefore to them, not onely as men and citizens, but peculiarly as Christians, we owe the highest duty; and consequently we must pay the best Devotion for them.

Isa. 49. 23. & 60. 16, 10.

To them we stand indebted for the greatest Benefits of common life: they necessarily doe take much care, they undergoe great trouble, they are exposed to many hazzards for our advantage; that *under their shadow* we may enjoy safety and quiet, we may reap the fruits of our industry, we may possess the comforts and conveniencies of our life, with security from rapine, from contention, from solicitude, from the continual fears of wrong and outrage.

Lam 4. 20.

To their industry and vigilancy under God we owe the fair administration of Justice, the protection of Right and Innocence, the preservation of Order and Peace, the encouragement of Goodness, and correction

of

Rom. 13. 6. of Wickedneſs: for they, as the Apoſtle telleth us, *are God's Miniſters, attending continually on theſe very things.* They indeed ſo attend, as to deny themſelves, as to foregoe much of their own eaſe, their pleaſure, their ſatisfaction; being frequently perplexed with cares, continually enſlaved to buſineſs, and ſubject to various inconveniences, rendring their life to conſiderate Spectatours very little deſirable.

As therefore, according to our Lord's obſervation, they are uſually ſtyled *Benefactours*, ſo they really are; even the worſt of them (ſuch as *Claudius*, or *Nero*, of whom our Apoſtles ſpeak) in conſiderable meaſure; at leaſt in compariſon of Anarchy: and conſidering the miſchiefs iſſuing from want of Government. Οὐ κολακεία ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα· *The matter is not flattery*; (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtom*, himſelf of all men fartheſt from a flatterer;) *but according to the reaſon of the caſe* we muſt eſteem our ſelves much obliged to them for the pains they ſuſtain in our behalf, and for the benefits we receive from them. For he indeed muſt be a very bad Governour, to whom that Speech of the Oratour *Tertullus* may not without glozing be accommodated; *Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietneſs, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence, we accept it always, and in all places, moſt noble Felix, with all thankfulneſs.*

Luk. 22. 25.

Οὐ κολακεία ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου γίνεται λόγον. Chryſ. *in* 1 Tim. 2. 1.

Act. 24 2. 3.

However, what *Seneca* ſaith of Philoſophers, that *they of all men are moſt obliged, and moſt gratefull to Kings and Magiſtrates, becauſe from their care they enjoy the leiſure, quiet and ſecurity of contemplating and practiſing the beſt things; upon which account*, ſaith he, *they could not but reverence the authors of ſo great a good, as Parents*; that is, or ſhould be far more true of Chriſtians. *That leiſure* (to uſe his words) *which is ſpent with God*, and *which rendreth us like to God*; the liberty of ſtudying Divine truth, and of ſerving God with ſecurity and quiet; are ineſtimable benefits, for the which they are indebted to the protection of Magiſtrates: Therefore in all reaſon a gratefull retribution of good will, and of all good offices, particularly of our Prayers, is to be payed to them. *Is it not very abſurd*, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome, that they ſhould labour and venture for us, and we not pray for them?*

Nulli adverſus Magiſtratus ac Reges gratiores ſunt; nec immeritò, nullis enim plus præſtant, quàm quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Itaque hi quibus ad propoſitum bene vivendi confert ſecuritas publica, neceſſe eſt auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant ——— Sen. *Ep.* 73.

Quanti æſtimamus hoc otium, quod inter Deos agitur, quod Deos facit? Ibid.

Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον αὐτοὺς, &c. Chryſ. *ubi ſupra.*

6. Whereas we are by Divine command frequently injoyned to fear and reverence, to honour, to obey Kings, we ſhould look on Prayer for them as a principal branch, and the neglect thereof as a notable breach of thoſe duties. For

1 Pet. 2. 13, 17. Rom. 13. 1. Tit. 3. 1 Prov. 24. 21.

As to *Honour* and *Reverence*, it is plain, that no exteriour ſignification, in ceremonious unveiling or cringing to them, can ſo demonſtrate it, as doth the wiſhing them well in our hearts, and from thence framing particular addreſſes to the Divine Majeſty for their welfare. Than which practice there can be no ſure argument, that we hold them in great account and conſideration. And how indeed can we much honour them, for whom we doe not vouchſafe ſo much as to offer our good wiſhes, or to mention them in our interceſſions unto him, who requireth us to make them for all men, and particularly for thoſe for whom we are concerned? Doth not this omiſſion evidently place them in the loweſt rank, beneath the meaneſt of our friends and relations? doth it not imply a very ſlender regard had to them?

And

And as for *Obedience*, Prayer for Princes is clearly an inſtance thereof; ſeeing it may be ſuppoſed, that all Princes doe require it from their Subjects. Not onely Chriſtian Princes, who believe God the ſole Diſpenſer of all good things, and the great efficacy of Devotion in procuring them from him, may be deemed to exact this beneficial office from us; but even Heathens and Infidels, from their dimme notion of a Sovereign Providence, (which hath ever been common in the world,) have made an account of this practice: as we may ſee by that Decree of the *Perſian* King in *Ezra*, charging his Officers to furniſh the *Jewiſh* Elders with ſacrifices, *that*, ſaid he, *they may offer ſacrifices of ſweet ſavour unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King, and of his Sons.* And that ſuch was the practice of the *Romans* even in their Heatheniſh State, doth appear from thoſe words of *Pliny*; *We have*, ſaith he, *been wont to make vows for the eternity of the Empire, and for the welfare of the Citizens, yea for the welfare of the Princes, and in their behalf for the eternity of the Empire.* Ezr. 6. 10. *Nuncupare vota & pro æternitate Imperii, & pro ſalute Civium, imo pro ſalute Principum, ac propter illos pro æternitate Imperii, ſolebamus.* Plin. *Paneg.*

Not onely pious Princes with a ſerious deſire will expect this Duty from us; but even profane ones in policy will demand it, as a decent teſtimony of reſpect to them, and a proper means of upholding their State: that they may ſeem to have place in the moſt ſerious regards and ſolemn performances of their Subjects. So that to neglect this Duty, is ever a violation of our due obedience, and a kind of diſloyalty to them. Again,

7. The Praying for Princes is a ſervice peculiarly honourable, and very acceptable to God; which he will interpret as a great reſpect done to himſelf; for that thereby we honour his image and character in them, yielding in his preſence this ſpecial reſpect to them as his Repreſentatives; for that thereby we avow his Government of the world by them as his Miniſters and Deputies; for that thereby we acknowledge all Power derived from him, and depending on his pleaſure; we aſcribe to him an Authority paramount above all earthly Potentates; we imply our perſuaſion, that he alone is abſolute Sovereign of the world, *the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*, ſo that Princes are nothing otherwiſe than in ſubordination to him, can doe nothing without his ſuccour, doe owe to him all their power, their ſafety, their proſperity and welfare; for that, in fine, thereby, diſclaiming all other confidences *in any ſon of man*, we ſignifie our entire ſubmiſſion to God's will, and ſole confidence in his Providence. This ſervice therefore is a very gratefull kind of adoring our Almighty Lord; and as ſuch S. *Paul* recommendeth it in the words immediately ſubjoyned to our Text, *For this* (ſaith he) *is good, and acceptable in the ſight of God, our Saviour.* *Deo vel privatus, vel militans ſervit, cùm fideliter eum diligit, qui Deo regnat autore.* Veget. 2. 5. 1 Tim. 6. 15. *Temperans Majeſtatem Cæſaris infra Deum, magis illum commendo Deo.* Tert. *Apol.* c. 33. Pſal. 146. 3. & 118. 8, 9. 1 Tim. 2. 3.

8. Let us conſider, that whereas wiſdom guiding our Piety and Charity, will eſpecially incline us to place our Devotion there where it will be moſt needfull and uſefull, we therefore chiefly muſt pray for Kings, becauſe they doe moſt need our Prayers.

Their Office is moſt high, and hard to diſcharge well or happily: wherefore they need extraordinary ſupplies of Gifts and Graces from the Divine bounty.

Their Affairs are of greateſt weight and importance, requiring anſwerable skill, and ſtrength to ſteer and weild them: wherefore they need from the Fountain of wiſdom and power ſpecial communications of light, of courage, of ability to conduct, to ſupport, to fortifie them in their managements; they need that God ſhould *uphold them* πνεύματι- Pſal. 51. 12.

τι ἡγεμονικῷ, with *that Princely Spirit*, for which King *David* prayed.

They often are to deliberate about matters of dark and uncertain consequence; they are to judge in cases of dubious and intricate nature; the which to resolve prudently, or to determine uprightly, no humane wisdom sufficiently can enable; wherefore they need *the spirit of counsel*, and *the spirit of judgment*, from the sole dispenser of them, the great *Counsellour* and most *righteous Judge*. The wisest and ablest of them hath reason to pray with *Solomon*, *Give thy servant an understanding heart, to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad: for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?* That so what the *Wise man* saith may be verified, *A divine sentence is in the lips of the King, his mouth transgresseth not in judgment:* and that of the wise woman, *As an Angel of God, so is my Lord the King to discern good and bad.*

Isa. 11. 2. & 28. 6. — 9. 6. — Psal. 7. 11. — 1 King. 3. 9. — Sap. 9. 4. — (Psal. 72. 1.) — Prov. 16. 10. — 2 Sam. 14. 17.

They commonly are engaged in enterprises of greatest difficulty, insuperable by the might or industry of man; in regard to which we may say with *Hannah*, *By strength shall no man prevail*; with the *Preacher*, *the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong*; with the *Psalmist*, *There is no King saved by the multitude of an hoast*: wherefore they need aid and succour from the Almighty, to carry them through, and bless their designs with success.

1 Sam. 2. 9. — Eccles 9. 11. — Psal. 33. 16.

They are most exposed to Dangers and Disasters; (standing like high towers, most obnoxious to the winds and tempests of fortune;) having usually many envious ill-willers, many disaffected malecontents, many both open enemies and close insidiatours; from whose force or treachery no humane providence can sufficiently guard them: they doe therefore need the protection of the ever-vigilant *Keeper of Israel*, to secure them: for, *Except the Lord keepeth the city, the watchman waketh but in vain*; Except the Lord preserve the King, his guards, his armies surround him to no purpose.

Psal. 21. 4. & 91. 1. — & 127. 1. — Psal. 33. 16.

They have the natural Infirmities of other men, and far beyond other men are subject to external Temptations. The malicious Spirit (as in the case of *Job*, of *David*, of *Ahab*, of *Joshua* the High Priest is expressed) is ever waiting for occasion, ever craving permission of God to seduce and pervert them; success therein being extremely conducible to his villainous designs. The World continually doth assault them with all its advantages; with all its baits of pleasure, with all its inticements to pride and vanity, to oppression and injustice, to sloth, to luxury, to exorbitant self-will and self-conceit, to every sort of vicious practice. Their eminency of state, their affluence of wealth, their uncontrollable power, their exemption from common restraints, their continual distractions and encumbrances by varieties of care and business, their multitude of obsequious followers, and scarcity of faithfull friends, to advise, or reprove them, their having no obstacles before them to check their wills, to cross their humours, to curb their lusts and passions, are so many dangerous snares unto them: wherefore they doe need plentifull measures of Grace, and mighty assistences from God, to preserve them from the worst errours and sins; into which otherwise 'tis almost a miracle if they are not plunged.

Zech. 3. 1. — Eccles 8. 4.

And being they are so liable to sin, they must consequently stand often in need of God's mercy to bear with them, and to pardon them.

Ὁ πλεῖστα παράττων, πλεῖστ' ἁμαρτάνει βροτῶν.

They therefore upon so many accounts needing special help and grace from Heaven, doe most need Prayers to derive it thence for them.

All Princes indeed doe need them. Good Princes need many Prayers for God's help, to uphold and confirm them in their Vertue: Bad Princes

ces need deprecations of God's wrath and judgment toward them, for offending his Majesty; together with supplications for God's grace to convert and reform them: the most desperate and incorrigible need Prayers, that God would over-rule and restrain them from doing mischief to themseles and others. All Princes having many avocations, and temptations, hindring them to pray enough for themselves, doe need supplemental aids from the Devotions of others.

Wherefore if we love Them, if we love our Country, if we love our Selves, if we tender the interests of Truth, of Piety, of common Good, we, considering their case, and manifold need of Prayers, will not fail earnestly to sue for them; that God would afford needfull assistence to them in the administration of their high Office, in the improvement of their great talents, in the conduct and management of their arduous Affairs; that he graciously would direct them in their perplexed Counsels, would back them in their difficult Undertakings, would protect their Persons from dangers, would keep their Hearts from the prevalency of temptations, would pardon their Failings and Trespasses. Again,

9. Whereas God hath declared, that he hath special regard to Princes, and a more than ordinary care over them, because they have a peculiar relation to him, as his Representatives, the *Ministers of his Kingdom*, the main instruments of his Providence, whereby he conveyeth his favours, and dispenseth his justice to men; because also the good of mankind, which he especially tendereth, is mainly concerned in their welfare; whereas, I say, *it is he that giveth salvation unto Kings*; that *giveth great deliverance to his King, and sheweth mercy to his anointed*; that hath *the King's heart and his breath*, and *all his ways in his hand*: even upon this account our Prayers for them are the more required. For it is a method of God, and an established rule of Divine Providence, not to dispense special Blessings without particular Conditions, and the concurrence of our Duty in observance of what he prescribeth in respect to them. Seeing then He hath enjoyned, that in order to our obtaining those great benefits, which issue from his special care over Princes, we should pray for it, and seek it from his hands; the omission of this duty will intercept it, or bereave us of its advantages; nor in that case may we expect any blessings of that kind. As without praying for our selves, we must not expect private favours from Heaven; so without praying for our Prince, we cannot well hope for publick blessings. For, as a profane person (who in effect disavoweth God, by not regarding to seek his favour and aid) is not qualified to receive any good from him: so a profane Nation (which disclaimeth God's Government of the world, by not invoking his Benediction on those who moderate it under him) is not well capable of common benefits. It is upon all accounts true which *Ezra* said, *The hand of our God is upon all them for good that seek him: but his power and his wrath is against all them that forsake him.* If therefore we desire that our Prince should not lose God's special regard, if we would not forfeit the benefitst hereof to our selves, we must conspire in hearty Prayers for him.

Sap. 6. 4.

Psal. 144. 10. & 21. 1. Psal. 18. 50. (63. 11.) 2 Sam. 22. 51. Prov. 21. 1. Dan. 5. 23.

Ezr. 8. 22. *Liv.* 5. 51. *Hor.* Od. 3. 6.

10. To engage and encourage us in which practice, we may farther consider, that such Prayers, offered duly, (with frequency and constancy, with sincerity and zeal,) doe always turn to good account, and never want good effect: the which if it be not always easily discernible, yet it is certainly real; if it be not perfect as we may desire, yet it is competent, as expediency requireth, or as the condition of things will bear.

There may be impediments to a full ſucceſs of the beſt Prayers; they may not ever prevail to render Princes compleatly good, or extremely proſperous: for ſome concurrence of their own will is requiſite to produce their Vertue, God rarely working with irreſiſtible power, or fatal efficacy; and the ſtate of things, or capacities of perſons, are not always fitly ſuted for proſperity. Yet are not ſuch Prayers ever wholly vain or fruitleſs: for God never preſcribeth means unavailable to the end; he never would have commanded us particularly to pray for Kings, if he did not mean to beſtow a good iſſue to that practice.

And, ſurely, he that hath promiſed to hear all requeſts with faith and ſincerity, and inceſſant earneſtneſs preſented to him, cannot fail to hear thoſe which are of ſuch conſequence, which are ſo agreeable to his will, which doe include ſo much honeſty and charity. In this caſe, ſurely, we may have ſome confidence, according to that of S. *John*, *This is the confidence we have in him, that if we ask any thing according to his will, he heareth us.*

1 Joh. 5. 14.

As the good Biſhop, obſerving S. *Auſtin*'s Mother, with what conſtancy and paſſionateneſs ſhe did pray for her Son, being then ingaged in ways of errour and vanity, did encourage her, ſaying, *It is impoſſible that a Son of thoſe devotions ſhould periſh:* ſo may we hopefully preſume, and encourage our ſelves, that a Prince will not miſcarry, for whoſe welfare many good people doe earneſtly ſolicit; *Fieri non poteſt, ut Princeps iſtarum lacrymarum pereat.*

Fieri non poteſt, ut filius iſtarum lacrymarum pereat. Aug, *Conf.* 4. 12.

You know in general the mighty efficacy of Prayer, what pregnant aſſurances there are, and how wonderfull inſtances thereof occurre in Holy Scripture, both in relation to publick and private bleſſings: How it is often promiſed, that *All things, whatſoever we ſhall ask in prayer, believing, we ſhall receive*; and that *whoever asketh receiveth, and he that ſeeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it ſhall be opened* How the prayer of *Abraham* did heal *Abimelech*, and his family of barrenneſs; how the prayers of *Moſes* did quench the fire, and cure the bitings of the fiery Serpents; how the prayer of *Joſhua* did arreſt the Sun; how the prayer of *Hannah* did procure *Samuel* to her, as his name doth import; how *Elias* his prayers did open and ſhut the heavens; how the ſame Holy Prophet's prayer did reduce a departed Soul; and that of *Eliſha* did effect the ſame, and that of another Prophet did reſtore *Jeroboam*'s withered hand; how the prayers of God's people frequently did *raiſe them up Saviours*, and *when they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, he delivered them out of their diſtreſſes*; how the prayers of * *Aſa* diſcomfited a million of *Arabians*, and thoſe of *Jehoſhaphat* deſtroyed a numerous army of his enemies by their own hands, and thoſe of *Hezekiah* brought down an Angel from heaven to cut off the *Aſſyrians*, and thoſe of *Manaſſes* reſtored him to his Kingdom, and thoſe of *Eſther* ſaved her people from the brink of ruine, and thoſe of *Nehemiah* inclined a Pagan King's heart to favour his pious deſign for re-edifying *Jeruſalem*, and thoſe of *Daniel* obtainined ſtrange viſions and diſcoveries; how † *Noah*, *Job*, *Daniel*, *Moſes* and *Samuel* are repreſented as powerfull interceſſours with God, and conſequently it is intimated, that the great things atchieved by them were chiefly done by the force of their prayers.

Jam. 5. 16.

Matt. 21. 22. Matt. 7. 8.

Gen 20. 17. Num. 11. 2, & 21. 7 — (Pſ 106. 30. O T.) Joſh. 10. 12 1 Sam. 1. 10. — Luk. 4. 25. Jam. 5. 17, 18 1 King 17. 21, 22 2 Kin 4. 33. — 1 King. 13 6 Deut. 4 29. — Neh. 9 27. Pſal. 106. 44 & 107. 6, 13, 19, 28 Jud. 3. 15. & 4 2. & 6. 7 & 10 12. * 2 Chr. 14. 11 — 2 Chr 20. 3, — 12, 23. 2 Chr 32. 20, 21. 2 Chron. 33. Jer. 15. 1.

12, 13. Eſth. 4. 16 Neh. 1. 11. & 2. 4. Dan. chap. 2. 4. 5. 7 8 9. 10. 11. 12. † Ezek. 14. 14.

And ſeeing Prayers in ſo many caſes are ſo effectual, and work ſuch miracles; what may we hope from them in this, wherein God ſo expreſly and particularly directeth us to uſe them? If our Prayers can ſo much

much avail to our personal and private advantage, if they may be very helpfull to our friends; how much shall the Devotions of many good men, all levelled at one mark, and aiming at a publick most considerable good, be prevalent with the Divine goodness? However, if God be not moved by Prayers to convert a Prince from all sin, to make him doe all the good he might, to bless him in all matters; yet he may thence be induced to restrain him from much evil, to keep him from being worse, or from doing worse than otherwise would be; he may dispose him to doe many things well, or better than of himself he would doe; he may preserve him from many disasters otherwise incident to him: which will be considerable effects of Prayer.

11. I shall adde but one general Consideration more, which is this, That Prayer is the onely allowable way of redressing our case, if we doe suffer by, or for Princes.

Are they bad, or doe they misdemean themselves in their administration of government and justice? we may not by any violent or rough way attempt to reclaim them; for they are not accountable to us, or liable to our correction. *Where the word of a King is, there is power: and who shall say to him, What doest thou?* was the *Preacher*'s doctrine. Eccles 8. 4.

Doe they oppress us, or abuse us? doe they treat us harshly, or cruelly persecute us? we must not kick against them, or strive to right ourselves by resistence. For, *Against a King* (saith the *Wise man*) *there is no rising up:* and *Who* (said *David*) *can stretch out his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?* and, *They* (saith S. *Paul*) *that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.* Prov. 30. 31. 1 Sam. 26. 9. Rom. 13. 2.

We must not so much as ease our stomach, or discharge our passion, by railing or inveighing against them. For, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people*, is a Divine law; and, to * *blaspheme*, or revile *dignities*, is by S. *Peter* and S. *Jude* reprehended as a notable crime. Exod. 22. 28. Act. 23. 5. * 2 Pet. 2. 10. Jude 8.

We must not be bold or free in taxing their actions. For *Is it fit*, saith *Elihu*, *to say to a King, Thou are wicked, and to Princes, Ye are ungodly?* and, to *reproach the footsteps of God's Anointed*, is implied to be an impious practice. Job 34. 18. Psal. 89 51.

We must forbear even complaining and murmuring against them. For, *Murmurers* are condemned as no mean sort of offenders; and the *Jews* in the wilderness were sorely punished for such behaviour. Jude 16.

We must not (according to the *Preacher*'s advice) so much as *curse them in our thoughts*; or not entertain ill conceits, and ill wishes in our minds toward them. Eccles 10. 20. (Isa. 8. 21.)

To doe these things is not onely high presumption in regard to them, (inconsistent with the dutifull affection and respect which we owe to them,) but it is flat impiety toward God, and an invasion of his Authority; who alone is *King of Kings*, and hath reserved to himself the prerogative of judging, of rebuking, of punishing Kings, when he findeth cause.

These were the misdemeanours of those in the Late Times, who in stead of Praying for their Sovereign, did clamour and rail at him, did asperse him with foul Imputations, did accuse his proceedings, did raise Tumults, and levy War against him, pretending by rude force to reduce him unto his Duty; so usurping on their Prince, or rather on God himself, assuming his right, and taking his work out of his hands; discovering also therein great profaneness of mind, and distrust of God's Providence, as if God, being implored by Prayer, could not,

or would not, had it been needfull, without such irregular courses, have redressed those evils in Church or State, which they pretended to feel, or fear.

Nothing therefore in such cases is left to us for our remedy or ease, but having recourse to God himself, and seeking relief from his hand in his good time, by converting our Prince, or directing him into a good course; however comforting our selves in the conscience of submitting to God's will.

Absit enim ut indignè feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus, aut ultionem à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo exspectamus. Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

This is the onely method S. *Paul* did prescribe, even when *Nero*, a most vile, flagitious man, a sorry and naughty Governour as could be, a monstrous Tyrant, and most bloudy Persecutour, (the very inventer of Persecution,) did sway the Empire. He did not advise Christians to stand upon their guard, to contrive plots, to provide arms, to raise mutinies and insurrections against him; but to offer suplications, prayers and intercessions for him, as the best means of their security and comfort. And this was the course of the Primitive Christians, during their hard condition under the domination of Heathen Princes, impugners of their Religion: *Prayers and Tears were* then the onely *Arms of the Church*; whereby they long defended it from ruine, and at last advanced it to most glorious prosperity.

Qui non dicam Regum, sed omnium hominum, & vel bestiarum sordidissimus, dignus exstitit qui persecutionem in Christianos primus inciperet. Sulp Serv. 2. 40.

Ità nos magìs oramus pro salute Imperatoris, ab eo eam postulantes qui præstare potest. Et utique ex disciplina patientiæ Divinæ agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cùm tanta hominum multitudo, pars penè major civitatis cujusque, in silentio & modestia agimus. Tert. *ad Scap.* 2.

Fundendo sanguinem, & patiendo magìs quàm faciendo contumelias, Christi fundata est Ecclesia; persecutionibus crevit, &c. Hier. *Ep.* 62.

Indeed, if, not assuming the liberty to find fault with Princes, we would practise the duty of seeking God for his blessing on their proceedings; if, forbearing to scan and censure Acts of State, we would earnestly implore God's direction of them; if, leaving to conceive disgusts, and vent complaints about the state of things, we would assiduously petition God for the settlement of them in good order; if, instead of being shrewd Politicians, or smart Judges in such matters, we would be devout Oratours and humble Solicitours at the Throne of grace; our endeavours surely would find much better effect toward publick advantage: we certainly might doe more good in our closets by a few hearty wishes uttered there, than by all our tattling or jangling Politicks in corners.

There are great contrivances to settle things; every one hath his model of State, or method of Policy, to communicate for ordering the State; each is zealous for his own conceit, and apt to be displeased with those who dissent from him: but it is, as the fairest and justest, so the surest and likeliest way of reducing things to a firm composure, (without more a-doe, letting the world alone to move on its own hinges, and not impertinently troubling our selves or others with the conduct of it,) simply to request of Almighty God, the Sovereign Governour and sole disposer of things, that he would lead his own Vicegerents in the management of the charge by himself committed to them. *Be carefull for nothing; but in every thing, by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known to God,* is a rule very applicable to this case.

Phil. 4. 6.

As God's Providence is the onely sure ground of our confidence, or hope for the preservation of Church and State, or for the restitution of things into a stable quiet: so it is onely our hearty Prayers, joyned with a conscientious observance of God's Laws, whereby we can incline Providence to favour us. By them alone we may hope to save things from sinking into disorder, we may assuage the factions, we may defeat the machinations against the publick welfare. 12. See-

12. Seeing then we have so many good arguments and motives inducing to pray for Kings, it is no wonder, that to back them, we may also alledge the practice of the Church, continually in all times performing this duty in its most Sacred Offices, especially in the celebration of the Holy Communion. *Const. Apost.* 8, 13. 2 57.

S. *Paul* indeed, when he saith, *I exhort first of all, that prayers be made*, doth chiefly impose this Duty on *Timothy*, or supposeth it incumbent on the Pastours of the Church, to take special care, that Prayers be made for this purpose, and offered up in the Church joyntly by all Christians: and accordingly, the ancient Christians, as *Tertullian* doth assure us, did *always pray for all the Emperours, that God would grant them a long life, a secure reign, a safe family, valiant armies, a faithfull senate, a loyal people, a quiet world, and what-ever they as Men, or as Emperours, could wish.* Thus (addeth he) even for their Persecutours, and in the very pangs of their sufferings, they did not fail to practise. Likewise of the Church in his time S. *Chrysostome* telleth us, that *all Communicants did know how every day, both at even and morning, they did make supplication for all the world, and for the Emperour, and for all that are in authority.*

1 Tim. 2. 8.

Polycarp. *ad Philip. c.* 12.

Precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quæcunque hominis & Cæsaris vota sunt. Tert. *Apol. cap.* 30.

Hoc agite, boni Præsules, extorquete animam Deo supplicantem pro Imperatore. Ibid.

Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ καὶ ἐν ὄρθρῳ· πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐν ὑπερο-χῇ ὄντων, ποιέμεθα τὴν δέησιν.

Chrys. *in* 1 *Tim.* 2. 1.

And in the *Greek* Liturgies, (the composure whereof is fathered on S. *Chrysostome*,) there are divers Prayers interspersed for the Emperours, couched in terms very pregnant and respectfull.

If the Offices of the *Roman* Church, and of the Churches truckling under it, in latter times, shall seem more defective or sparing in this point of service; the reason may be, for that a superlative regard to the *Solar* or *Pontifical* Authority (as Pope *Innocent* III. distinguished) did obscure their devotion for the *Lunar* or *Regal* Majesty. But our Church hath been abundantly carefull, that we should in most ample manner discharge this Duty; having in each of her Holy Offices directed us to pray for our King in expressions most full, hearty and lively.

She hath indeed been charged as somewhat lavish or over liberal of her Devotions in this case. But it is a good fault, and we little need fear over-doing in observance of a Precept so very reasonable, and so important; supposing that we have a due care to joyn our heart with the Church's words, and to the frequency of Prayers for our Prince doe confer a sutable fervency. If we be not dead, or merely formal, we can hardly be too copious in this kind of Devotion; reiteration of words can doe no harm, being accompanied with renovation of our desires. Our Text it self will bear us out in such a practice; the Apostle therein by variety of expression appearing solicitous, that abundance of Prayers for Kings should be offered in Church, and no sort of them omitted.

There are so many General Inducements to this Duty at all times; and there are beside divers Particular Reasons enforcing it now, in the present state and posture of things.

Times of trouble, of danger, of fear, of darkness and perplexity, of distraction and distress, of guilt, and deserved wrath, are most seasonable for recourse to the Divine help and mercy in Prayer.

Psal. 145. 18 —— & 18. 6. & 77. 2. & 86. 7. & 118. 5. & 142. 1. — & 107. 6. — Jam. 5. 13. 2 Chr. 6. 36.

Inops Senatus auxilii humani ad deos populum ac vota vertit. Liv. 3. 7. & 5. 16.

And

And are not ours such? are they not much like to those of which the Psal 82. 5. *Psalmist* saith, *They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course?* or like those Luk. 21. 25, 26. (2 King. 19. 3.) of which our Lord spake, when there was *upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; mens hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which were coming on the earth?*

Are not the days gloomy, so that no humane providence can see far, no wisdom can descry the issue of things?

Is it not a very unsettled world, wherein all the publick frames are Psal. 107. 27. shaken almost off the hinges, and the minds of men extremely discomposed with various passions; with fear, suspicion, anger, discontent and impatience? How from dissentions in Opinion doe violent factions and feuds rage; the hearts of men boiling with fierce animosities, and being exasperated against one another, beyond any hopes or visible means of reconcilement?

Are not the fences of Discipline cast down? is there any conscience made of violating Laws? is not the dread of Authority exceedingly abated, and all Government overborn by unbridled licentiousness?

Psal. 129 5. & 83. 5. — How many Adversaries are there, *bearing ill will to our Sion?* how many turbulent, malicious, crafty spirits, eagerly bent, and watching for occasion to subvert the Church, to disturb the State, to introduce confusion in all things? how many *Edomites*, who say of *Jerusalem*, Psal. 137. 7. (both Ecclesiastical and Civil,) *Down with it, down with it even to the ground?*

Have we not great reason to be fearfull of God's just displeasure, and that heavy judgments will be poured on us for our manifold hainous provocations, and crying sins; for the prodigious growth of Atheism, Infidelity and Profaneness; for the rife practice of all Impieties, Iniquities and Impurities, with most impudent boldness, or rather with outrageous insolence; for the extreme Dissoluteness in manners, the gross Neglect or contempt of all Duties, the great Stupidity and coldness of people generally as to all concerns of Religion; for the want of Religious Awe toward God, of Charity toward our neighbour, of Respect to our Superiours, of Sobriety in our conversation; for our Ingratitude for many great Mercies, and Incorrigibleness under many sore Chastisements, our Insensibleness of many plain Warnings, loudly calling us to repentance?

Is not all the world about us in combustion, cruel Wars raging everywhere, and Christendom weltring in bloud? and although at present, by God's mercy, we are free, who knows but that soon, by God's justice, the neighbouring flames may catch our houses?

In fine, is not our case palpably such, that for any good composure or re-instatement of things in good order, for upholding Truth and sound Doctrine, for reducing Charity and Peace, for reviving the spirit of Piety, and bringing Vertue again into request, for preserving State and Church from ruine, we can have no confidence or reasonable hope, Isa. 43. 11. Hos 13. 4. Jer. 14 8. but in the good Providence and mercifull succour of Almighty God; *beside whom there is no Saviour*; who alone is *the hope of Israel, and Saviour thereof in time of trouble?* we now having great cause to pray Matt 8. 25. with our Lord's Disciples in the storm, *Lord, save us, we perish.*

Upon such Considerations, and others whereof I suppose you are sufficiently apprehensive, we now especially are obliged earnestly to pray for our King, that God in mercy would preserve his Royal Person, and inspire his Mind with Light, and endue his Heart with Grace, and in all

all things bleſs him to us, to be *a repairer of our breaches, and a reſtorer of paths to dwell in*; ſo that *under him we may lead a quiet life in all godlineſs and honeſty.* Iſa 58. 12.

I have done with the Firſt Duty, (*Prayer for Kings,*) upon which I have the rather ſo largely inſiſted, becauſe it is very ſeaſonable to our preſent condition.

II. The Other (*Thanksgiving*) I ſhall but touch, and need not perhaps to doe more. For,

1. As to general Inducements, they are the ſame, or very like to thoſe which are for Prayer; it being plain, that what-ever we are concerned to pray for, when we want it, that we are bound to thank God for, when he vouchſafeth to beſtow it. And if common Charity ſhould diſpoſe us to reſent the Good of Princes with complacence; if their welfare be a publick benefit; if our ſelves are intereſted in it, and partake great advantages thereby; if in equity and ingenuity we are bound to ſeek it; then, ſurely, we are much engaged to thank God, the bountifull donour of it, for his goodneſs in conferring it.

2. As for particular Motives, ſuting the preſent Occaſion, I need not by information or impreſſion of them farther to ſtretch your patience; ſeeing you cannot be ignorant or inſenſible of the grand Benefits by the Divine Goodneſs beſtowed on our King, and on our ſelves, which this day we are bound with all gratefull acknowledgment to commemorate. Wherefore inſtead of reciting trite ſtories, and urging obvious reaſons, (which a ſmall recollection will ſuggeſt to you,) I ſhall onely requeſt you to joyn with me in the practice of the Duty, and in acclamation of praiſe to God. Even ſo

Bleſſed be God, who hath given to us ſo Gracious and Benign a Prince, (the experiments of whoſe Clemency and Goodneſs no hiſtory can parallel,) to ſit on the throne of his Bleſſed Father, and renowned Anceſtours. 1 King. 1. 48.

Bleſſed be God, who hath protected him in ſo many encounters, hath ſaved him from ſo many dangers and ſnares, hath delivered him from ſo great troubles. Pſal. 18. 46.-- 89. 22, 23.

Bleſſed be God, who in ſo wonderfull a manner, by ſuch miraculous trains of Providence, did reduce him to his Country, and re-inſtate him in the poſſeſſion of his Rights; thereby vindicating his own juſt Providence, *declaring his ſalvation, and openly ſhewing his righteouſneſs in the ſight of all people.* Pſal 98. 2.

Bleſſed be God, who in Him, and with Him did reſtore to us our ancient good conſtitution of Government, our Laws and Liberties, our Peace and Quiet; reſcuing us from lawleſs Uſurpations and tyrannical Yoaks, from the inſultings of Errour and Iniquity, from horrible Diſtractions and Confuſions.

Ever bleſſed be God, who hath *turned the captivity of Sion*; hath raiſed our Church from the duſt, and re-eſtabliſhed the ſound Doctrine, the decent Order, the wholeſome Diſcipline thereof; hath reſtored true Religion with its ſupports, advantages and encouragements. Pſal. 126. 1. (Iſ. 30. 20.—)

Bleſſed be the Lord, who hath granted us to continue theſe ſixteen years in the peaceable fruition of thoſe Bleſſings.

Praiſed be God, who hath not caſt out our prayer, nor turned his mercy from us. Pſal. 66. 20.

Praiſed be God, who *hath turned our heavineſs into joy, hath put off our ſackcloath, and girded us with gladneſs.* 30. 11.

Let

145. 21. *Let our mouth speak the praise of the Lord; and let all flesh bless his holy Name for ever and ever.*

18. 46. *The Lord liveth, and blessed be our Rock; and let the God of our salvation be exalted.*

Ps. 72 18, 19. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who onely doeth wondrous things; and blessed be his glorious Name for ever; and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen and Amen.*

Psal. 106. 48. & 41. 13. & 89. 52. & 68. 34. —— 1 Chron. 16. 8 —— 36. *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel from everlasting to everlasting: and let all the people say, Amen. Praise ye the Lord.*

SERMON XI.

A Sermon on the Gunpowder Treason

On Novemb. 5. 1673.

PSAL. LXIV. 9, 10.

And all men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God; for they shall wisely consider of his doing.

The righteous shall be glad in the Lord, and shall trust in him; and all the upright in heart shall glory.

IF we should search about for a Case parallel to that which we doe now commemorate, we should, perhaps, hardly find one more patly such, than is that which is implied in this Psalm: and if we would know the Duties incumbent on us in reference to such an Occasion, we could scarce better learn them other-where than in our Text.

With attention perusing the Psalm, we may therein observe, That its great Author was apprehensive of a desperate Plot by a confederacy of wicked and spitefull enemies, with great craft and secrecy, contrived against his safety. Psal. 64. 5. *They*, saith he, *encourage themselves in an evil matter; they commune of laying snares privily; they say, Who shall see them?* That for preventing the blow threatned by this design, (whereof he had some glimpse, or some presumption, grounded upon the knowledge of their implacable and active malice,) he doth implore Psal. 64. 2. Divine protection: *Hide me*, saith he, *from the secret counsell of the wicked, from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity.* That he did confide in God's mercy and justice for the seasonable defeating, for the fit Vers. 7. avenging their machination: *God*, saith he, *shall shoot at them with an arrow; suddenly shall they be wounded.* That they should themselves become the detectours of their crime, and the instruments of the exemplary punishment due thereto: Vers. 8 *They*, addeth he, *shall make their own tongue to fall upon themselves: all that see them shall flee away.*

Such was the Case; the which unto what passage in the history it doth relate, or whether it belongeth to any we have recorded, it may not be easie to determine. Expositours commonly doe refer it to the designs of *Saul* upon *David*'s life. But this seeming purely conjecture,

cture, not founded upon any expreſs words, or pregnant intimations in the Text, I ſhall leave that inquiry in its own uncertainty. It ſufficeth to make good its pertinency, that there was ſuch a miſchievous conſpiracy, deeply projected againſt *David*; (a very great perſonage, in whoſe ſafety the publick ſtate of God's people was principally concerned; he being then King of *Iſrael*, at leaſt in deſignation, and therefore in the precedent Pſalm, endited in *Saul*'s time, is ſo ſtyled;) from the peril whereof he by the ſpecial Providence of God was reſcued, with the notable diſappointment and grievous confuſion of thoſe who managed it. The which Caſe (at leaſt in kind, if not in degree) beareth a plain reſemblance to that which lieth before us. Pſal. 63. 11.

And the Duties which upon that occaſion are ſignified to concern people then, doe no leſs now ſort to us; the which, as they lie couched in our Text, are theſe: 1. *wiſely* to *conſider God*'s *doing*; 2. to *fear*; 3. to *declare God*'s *work*; 4. to *be glad in the Lord*; 5. to *truſt in God*; 6. to *glory*. Of which the Firſt Three are repreſented as more generally concerning men; the others as appertaining more peculiarly to righteous and upright perſons.

Theſe Duties it ſhall be my endeavour ſomewhat to explain and preſs, in a manner applicable to the preſent caſe. I call them Duties; and to warrant the doing ſo, it is requiſite to conſider, that all theſe particulars may be underſtood in a double manner, either as declarative of event, or as directive of practice upon ſuch emergences.

When God doth ſo interpoſe his hand, as ſignally to check and confound miſchievous enterpriſes; it will be apt to ſtir up in the minds of men an apprehenſion of God's ſpecial Providence, to ſtrike into their hearts a dread of his Power and Juſtice, to wring from their mouths ſutable declarations and acknowledgments; and particularly then good men will be affected with pious joy, they will be encouraged to confide in God, they will be moved to glory, or to expreſs a triumphant ſatisfaction in God's proceedings. Theſe events naturally doe reſult from ſuch providential occurrences; for production of theſe events ſuch occurrences are purpoſely deſigned; and accordingly (where men are not by prophane opinions or affections much indiſpoſed) they doe commonly follow.

But yet they are not propoſed ſimply as Events, but alſo as matters of Duty: for men are obliged readily to admit ſuch impreſſions upon their minds, hearts and lives, from the ſpecial works of Providence; they are bound not to croſs thoſe natural tendencies, not to fruſtrate thoſe wiſe intents of God, aiming at the production of ſuch good diſpoſitions and good practices: whence if thoſe effects doe not ariſe, as often notoriouſly they doe not in ſome perſons, men thereby doe incurre much guilt and blame.

It is indeed ordinary to repreſent matter of duty in this way, expreſſing thoſe practices conſequent in effect, which in obligation ſhould follow, according to God's purpoſe, and the nature of cauſes ordered by him. As when, for inſtance, God in the Law had preſcribed Duty, and threatned ſore puniſhment on the diſobedient, it is ſubjoyned, *And all the people ſhall hear, and fear, and doe no more preſumptuouſly*: the meaning is, that ſuch exemplary puniſhment is in its nature apt, and its deſign tendeth to produce ſuch effects, although not ever, queſtionleſs, with due ſucceſs, ſo as to prevent all tranſgreſſion of thoſe laws. Deut. 17. 13. & 13. 11. & 19. 20.

So alſo, *when* (ſaith the Prophet) *thy judgments are in the land, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs*: the ſenſe is, that Divine Iſa. 26. 9.

judgments in themselves are instructive of Duty, it is their drift to inform men therein, and men ought to learn that lesson from them; although in effect divers there be, whom no judgments can make wiser or better; such as those of whom in the same Prophet it is said, *The people turneth not unto him that smiteth them*; and in another, *In vain have I smitten your children, they received no correction.* As therefore frequently otherwhere, so also here this kind of expression may be taken chiefly to import Duty. To begin then with the First of these Duties.

Isa. 9. 13. Jer. 2. 30. & 5. 3. Neh. 9. 29.

ומעשהו השכילו συνῆκαν τὰ ποιήματα.

I. We are upon such occasions obliged *wisely to consider* (or, as the *Greek* rendreth it, συνιέναι, *to understand*, or *to perceive*, as our Old Translation hath it) *God's doing.* This I put in the first place, as previous in nature, and influential upon the rest: whence (although in the *Hebrew* it be knit to the rest, as they all are to one another, by the conjunctive particle, *ve*, *and*, yet) we doe translate it causally, *for they shall wisely consider*, *for they shall perceive*; because indeed without duly considering and rightly understanding such occurrences to proceed from God, none of the other acts can, or will be performed: attentive consideration is needfull to beget knowledge and persuasion, these to breed affection and practice.

There are many who, in such cases, are no-wise apprehensive of God's special Providence, or affected with it; because they doe not consider, or doe not consider wisely and intelligently.

Some are very inobservant and careless in regard to things of this nature; so drowzy and heedless, as not to attend to what-ever passeth, or to mind what God acteth in the world: such as those of whom the Prophet saith, *The harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe, and wine are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his hands:* that is, their minds are so amused by wanton divertisements, their hearts are so immersed in sensual enjoyments, as no-wise to observe the most notable occurrences of Providence.

Isa. 5. 12. Psal. 28. 5. & 10. 4.

Others, (although they doe ken and regard what is done, as matter of news, or story, entertaining curiosity and talk; yet) out of sloth or stupidity, doe little consider it, or study whence it springeth; contenting themselves with none, or with any superficial account, which fancy or appearance suggesteth: like beasts, they doe take in things obvious to their sense, and perhaps stand gazing on them; but doe not make any carefull reflection, or inquiry into their original causes and reasons; taking (as a dog, when he biteth the stone flung at him, or as a child that is angry with the log he falleth on) what-ever appeareth next, to be the principal cause: such as the Psalmist again toucheth, when he saith, *A brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand this*: and as he doth acknowledge himself on one occasion to have been; *So foolish was I, and ignorant; I was as a beast before thee.*

Psal. 92. 6. & 73. 22.

Others pretend to consider much, and seem very inquisitive; yet (being misguided by vain prejudices or foul affections) doe not consider wisely, or well understand these matters; the result of their care and study about them being to father them on wrong causes, ascribing them to the mere conduct and agency of visible causes, hurried by a necessary swinge, or rolling on by a casual fluctuation of things; not descrying God's hand in them, but profanely discharging and disclaiming it: such as those in the Psalms, who so reflected on Providence, as to *say*; *How doth God know? and is there knowledge in the Most high? The Lord doth not see, neither doth the God of Jacob regard it:* such as hath been the brood of *Epicurean* and profane considerations in all times, who have

Psal. 73. 11. & 94. 7. & 10. 11.

have earnestly plodded, and strained their wits to exclude God from any inspection or influence upon our affairs.

Some indeed there have been so very dull and stupid, or so perverse and profane, as not to discern God's Hand, when it was *made bare*, *raised up*, and *stretched out* in the atchievement of most prodigious works; not to read Providence, when set forth in the largest and fairest print: such as those of whom 'tis said in the Psalm, **Our fathers understood not thy wonders in Egypt*; and those of whom 'tis observed in the Gospel, ‖*Though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not* such as the mutinous people, who, although they beheld † *the earth swallowing up Corah with his complices*, and *a fire from the Lord consuming the men that offered incense*; yet presently did fall a-charging *Moses* and *Aaron*, saying, *Ye have killed the people of the Lord.* No wonder then, if many doe not perceive the same Hand, when it is wrapp'd up in a complication with inferiour causes; when it is not lifted up so high, or so far extended in miraculous performances.

Isa. 52. 10. Exod. 14. 8. Deut. 26 8. Isa. 26. 11. **Lord, when thy hand is lifted up, they will not see*, &c. * Psal. 106 7. ‖Joh. 12. 37. † Num. 16. 32, 35, 41.

The special Providence of God in events here effected or ordered by him, is indeed commonly not discernible without good judgment and great care; it is not commonly impressed upon events in characters so big and clear, as to be legible to every eye, or to any eye not endued with a sharp perspicacy, not applying an industrious heedfulness: the tracts thereof are too fine and subtile to be described by a dimme sight, with a transient glance, or upon a gross view: it is seldome so very conspicuous, that persons incredulous, or any-wise indisposed to admit it, can easily be convinced thereof, or constrained to acknowledge it: it is often (upon many accounts, from many causes) very obscure, and not easily discernible to the most sagacious, most watchfull, most willing observers. For, the instruments of Providence being free agents, acting with unaccountable variety, nothing can happen which may not be imputed to them, with some colourable pretence. Divine and humane influences are so twisted and knit together, that it is hard to sever them. The manner of Divine efficacy is so very soft and gentle, that we cannot easily trace its footsteps. God designeth not commonly to exert his hand in a notorious way, but often purposely doth conceal it. Whereas also it is not fit to charge upon God's special hand of Providence any event, wherein special ends of wisdom or goodness doe not shine; it is often hard to discover such ends, which usually are wrapp'd in perplexities; because God acteth variously, (according to the circumstances of things, and the disposition, capacity or state of objects,) so as to doe the same thing for different ends, and different things for the same end: because there are different ends, unto which Providence in various order and measure hath regard, which our short and narrow prospect cannot reach: because God, in prosecution of his ends, is not wont to proceed in the most direct and compendious way; but windeth about in a large circuit, enfolding many concurrent and subordinate designs: because the expediency of things to be permitted or performed doth not consist in single acts or events, but in many conspiring to one common end: because we cannot apprehend the consequences, nor balance the conveniences of things in order to good ends: because we are apt to measure things by their congruity to our opinions, expectations and affections: because many proceedings of God depend upon grounds inaccessible to our apprehension; such as his own secret Decrees, the knowledge of mens thoughts, close purposes, clandestine designs, true qualifications and merits; his prescience of contingent events, and

what the result will be from the combination of numberless causes: because sometimes he doth act in methods of wisdom, and by rules of justice, surpassing our capacity to know, either from the meanness of our nature, or the feebleness of our reason, or the fitness of our state and circumstances here: because also the Divine administration of affairs hath no compleat determination or final issue here; that being reserved to the great day of reckoning and judgment. It is farther also expedient that many occurrences should be puzzling to us, to quash our presumption, to exercise our faith, to quicken our industry, to engage us upon adoring that wisdom which we cannot comprehend. Upon such accounts, for such causes, (which time will not give me leave to explain and exemplifie) the special Providence of God is often cloudy, is seldome so clear, that without great heed and consideration we can perceive it. But however to doe so is plainly our duty; and therefore possible.

For our Reason was not given us to be idle upon so important occasions; or that we should be as brute Spectatours of what God doeth. He, surely, in the Governance of his noblest creature here discovereth his Being, and displayeth his Attributes: we therefore carefully should observe it. He thereby (and no otherwise in a publick way) doth continually *speak*, and signifie to us his mind: and fit it is, that we his subjects should hear, should attend to the least intimations of his pleasure. To him thence glory should accrue, the which who but we can render? and that we may render it, we must know the grounds of it. In fine, for the support of God's Kingdom, for upholding the reverence due to his administration of justice among us, it is requisite, that by apparent dispensation of recompences Duty should be encouraged, and disobedience checked: very foolish therefore we must be, if we regard not such dispensations.

Psal. 50. 1. & 60. 6. & 62. 11.

So Reason dictateth, and Holy Scripture more plainly declareth our obligation to consider and perceive God's doings. To doe so is recommended to us as a singular point of wisdom: *Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, they shall understand the loving-kindness of the Lord.* *Let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth. Who is wise? and he shall understand these things; prudent? and he shall know them. For the ways of the Lord are right*, &c. We are vehemently provoked thereto: *Understand, ye brutish among the people; and, ye fools, when will ye be wise?* They are reproved for neglect and defailance, *who doe not regard the work of the Lord, nor the operation of his hand.* The not discerning Providence is reproached as a piece of shamefull folly; *A brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand:* and of wofull pravity; * *O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the skie; but how is it that ye cannot discern this time?* To contemplate and study Providence is the practice of Good men. *I will meditate on all thy works*, saith the Psalmist, chiefly respecting works of this kind: and, *The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.* It is a fit matter of Devotion, warranted by the practice of good men, to implore God's manifestation of his Justice and Power this way. *O Lord God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thy self; lift up thy self, thou Judge of the earth.* It is God's manner hereby to notifie himself. *The Lord is known by the judgment that he executeth.* He for this very purpose doth interpose his Hand, *that men may know that it is his Hand, and that the Lord hath done*

Psal. 107. 43.
Jer. 9 24.
Hos. 14. 9.
Psal. 94 8.
Psal. 28, 5. & 10. 4.
Isa 5. 12
Psal. 92. 6.
(Isa 26. 11.) *Lord, when thy hand is lifted up they will not see.*
* Luk 12. 56.
Matt 16. 3.
Psal 77 12. & 143. 5.
Psal 111. 2 94. 1, 2
Psal. 9. 16.
Psal. 109. 27.

done it; that (as it is in *Esay*) *they may see, and know, and consider and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy one of Israel hath created it.* He manageth things so, that men may be brought to know, may be induced to acknowledge his authority, and his equity in the management thereof; that *they may know that he whose Name is Jehovah, is the most High over all the earth*; that *they may say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily there is a God that judgeth the earth.* In fine, the knowledge of God's special Providence is frequently represented as a mean of nourishing our faith and hope in him, as a ground of thankfulness and praise to him, as an incentive of the best affections (of holy joy, and humble fear, and hearty love) toward him: wherefore we ought to seek it, and we may attain it.

Isa. 41. 20. (Ezek. 7. 27.)

God thereby doth support and encourage good men.
He doth thereby convince and confound ill men. *Psal.* 9. 19, 20.
He thereby doth instruct all men. *Isa* 26. 9.
Psal. 59. 13. & 83. 18. & 67. 2.
Psal. 58. 11.

There are consequently some distinctive marks or characters, by which we may perceive God's Hand: and such may these be which follow, (drawn from the special nature, manner, adjuncts and consequences of events:) upon which may be grounded Rules declarative of special Providence, such as commonly will hold: although sometimes they may admit exceptions, and should be warily applied.

1. The wonderfull Strangeness of Events, compared with the ordinary course of things, or the natural influence of causes: when effects are performed by no visible means; or by means disproportionate, unsuitable, repugnant to the effect. Sometimes great exploits are atchieved, mighty forces are discomfited, huge structures are demolished, designs backed with all advantages of wit and strength are confounded none knows how, by no considerable means that appear; Nature rising up in arms against them; panick fears seising on the abetters of them; dissentions and treacheries springing up among the actours; sudden deaths snatching away the principal instruments of them. As, when *the stars in their courses fought against Sisera:* when the winds and skies became auxiliaries to *Theodosius*: when, *the Lord thundred with a great thunder upon the Philistines, and discomfited them, and they were smitten before Israel:* when *the Lord made the hoast of Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, of horses of a great hoast;* —— whence *they arose and fled:* when *the children of Ammon and Moab stood up against the inhabitants of mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy them; and when they had made an end of the inhabitans of Seir, every one helped to destroy another*: when *the Angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians* 185000 *men; and when they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses*: when the mighty power of *Antiochus* was, as it is said, to be *broken without hands:* and when, as it is foretold, *a stone cut out of the mountain without hands, should break in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold.* Such Events doe speak God to be their cause, by his invisible efficacy supplying the defect of apparent means.

Judg. 5. 20. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 5. 26. 1 Sam. 7. 10. 2 Sam. 22 14, 15. 2 King. 7. 6. Psal. 53. 5. & 48. 6. 2 Chr. 20. 23. 2 King. 19. 35. Dan. 8. 25. & 2. 45.

So likewise, when by weak forces great feats are accomplished, and impotency triumpheth over might: when (as the Prophet saith) * *the captives of the mighty are taken away, and the prey of the terrible is delivered*: when *One man* (as is promised) *doth chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight:* when ‖ a stripling, furnished onely with faith and a pebble, shall knock down a monstrous Giant, armed with a helmet of brass and a coat of mail, with a huge target, sword and spear: when successes arrive like those recorded in Scripture under the conduct

Vid. Artabani Orat. *apud* Herod. *Polymn. pag.* 246. Hom. *Il.* π' 688.
* Isa. 49. 25.

Josh. 23. 10. Lev. 26. 8. Deut 32. 30. ‖ 1 Sam. 17. 5, 40.

conduct of *Joshua*, *Gideon*, *Jonathan*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*; wherein very small forces, by uncouth means, did subdue formidable powers: This doth argue that God doth interpose, † *with whom* (as it is said) *it is all one to save by many, or by few, and those that have no power*; whose *power is perfected in weakness*; who *breaketh the arm of the wicked*, and *weakneth the strength of the mighty*, and *delivereth the poor from him that is too strong from him.*

Judg. 7. 7. 1 Sam 14. 6 — 2 Chron. 14. 11 — & 20, 12. 17. † 2 Chron. 14. 11. 1 Sam. 14 6. 2 Cor. 12 9. Job 12. 21. & 38. 15. Psal 10 15 & 37 17. & 35. 10. (Psal 76. 5.)

Also when great policy and craft doe effect nothing, but are blasted of themselves, or baffled by simplicity: when cunningly-laid designs are soon thwarted and overturned: when most perspicacious and profound counsellours are so blinded, or so infatuated, as to mistake in plain cases, to oversee things most obvious and palpable: when profane, malicious, subtle, treacherous Politicians (such as *Abimelech*, *Achitophel*, *Aman*, *Sejanus*, *Stilico*, *Borgia*, with many like occurring in story) are not onely supplanted in their wicked contrivances, but dismally chastised for them: These occurrences doe more than insinuate Divine wisdome to intervene, countermining and confounding such devices. For he it is who (as the Scripture telleth us) *maketh the Diviners mad; turneth wise men backward, and maketh their knowledge foolish; disappointeth the devices of the crafty; so that their hands cannot perform their enterprize; taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and turneth down the counsell of the froward headlong.*

Hom. Od. ψ. vers. 11. 2 Sam. 15. 31. Ruffinus, S. Paul, d' Ancre, de Luna, &c. Isa. 44. 25. Job 5. 12, 13. (Ps. 33. 10) Συλῶ πολυπλόκων ἐξέσησεν.

When-ever a just cause, or honest design, without any support or succour of worldly means, (without authority, power, wit, learning, eloquence,) doth against all opposition of violence and art prevail: this signifieth him to yield a special countenance and aid thereto, who (to depress humane pride, and advance his own glory) *hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world, to confound the things that are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, and things that are not: to bring to nought things that are*: (that are with us in most request and esteem.)

1 Cor. 1. 27, 28.

Again, when plots, with extreme caution and secrecy contrived in darkness, are by improbable means, by unaccountable accidents disclosed and brought to light: *a bird of the air* (as the *Wise man* speaketh) *telling the matter; the stones in the wall* (as it is in the Prophet) *crying out* Treason. The King cannot sleep; to divert him the Chronicle is called for; *Mordecai*'s service is there pitched on; and inquiry is made concerning his recompence; honour is decreed him: so doth *Aman*'s cruel device come out. Pity seiseth on a pitiless heart toward one among a huge number of innocents devoted to slaughter; that he may be saved, a Letter must be sent: in that, words inserted suggesting the manner of execution; that carried to the wise King, who presently smelleth it out: so This day's Plot was discovered. Such events, whence can they well proceed, but from the all-piercing and ever-watchfull care of him, *whose eyes* (as *Elihu* said) *are upon the ways of man, and he seeth all his goings? There is no darkness, nor shadow of death, where the workers of iniquity shall hide themselves*: For *Hell is naked before him, and destruction hath no covering.*

Eccles 10. 20 Hab. 2. 11. (Ps 121. 4) Job 24 21. Job 34 22. Job 26. 6. Psal. 132 2, &c. Heb. 4. 13. Am. 9. 2.

Also, when ill men by their perverse wiliness doe notably befool and ensnare themselves, laying trains to blow up their own designs, involving themselves in that ruine and mischief into which they studied to draw others; as when *Saul*, exposing *David*'s life to hazzard, encreaseth

1 Sam. 18 25.

seth his honour; when the *Persian* Nobles, incensing the King against *Daniel*, doe occasion his growth in favour, with their own destruction; when *Aman*, by contriving to destroy God's people, doth advance them, and rearing a gallows for *Mordecai*, doth prepare it for himself: when it happeneth according to those passages in the Psalms, *the wicked are taken in the devices that they imagined*; *In the net which they hid is their own foot taken*; *He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made*; *His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealings shall come upon his own pate*: These are pregnant evidences of God's just and wise Providence: for, *The Lord is known by the judgment that he executeth; the wicked is snared in the work of his own hand.*

Dan. 6. 24. Psal. 10. 2. & 9. 15. & 35. 8. & 140. 5. Psal. 7. 15. & 57. 6. Psal. 7. 16. 5. 10. Psal. 9. 2.

All such occurrences, containing in them somewhat, if not downrightly miraculous, yet very admirable, in like manner deflecting from the stream of humane affairs, as miracles doe surmount the course of nature, most reasonably may, most justly should be ascribed to the special operation of him, who *onely doeth wonderfull things.*

Psal. 72. 18. & 86. 10.

2. Another character of special Providence is, the Seasonableness, and Suddenness of Events. When that which in it self is not ordinary, nor could well be expected, doth fall out happily, in the nick of an exigency, for the relief of innocence, the encouragement of goodness, the support of a good cause, the furtherance of any good purpose; (so that there is occasion to acknowledge with the Prophet, *Thou didst terrible things, that we looked not for*: This is a shrewd indication, that God's Hand is then concerned; not onely the event being notable, but the connexion thereof with circumstances of need being more admirable.

Isa. 64. 3.

Thus in time of distress and despondency, when a man is utterly forlorn, and destitute of all visible relief, when (as the Psalmist speaketh) *refuge faileth him, and no man careth for his soul*; if then * εὔκαιρος βοήθεια, *an opportune succour* doth arrive; he is then unreasonable, and ingratefull if he doth not avow a special Providence, and thankfully ascribe that event unto him who is *our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble*; ‖ *a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat*; † *the hope of Israel, and the Saviour thereof in time of trouble.* This is that, for which in the * 107. *Psalm* the Divine Goodness is so magnificently celebrated; this is the burthen of that pathetical rapture, wherein we by repeated wishes and exhortations are instigated to bless God; his wonderfully relieving the children of men in their need and distress: this is that, which God himself in the Prophet representeth as a most satisfactory demonstration of his Providence. *When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst*; *I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Jacob will not forsake them: I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys*, &c. *That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the Hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy one of Israel hath created it.*

Psal. 142. 4. (Psal. 44. 25. & 108. 12.) * Heb. 4. 16. Psal. 46. 1. & 9. 9. & 44. 24 — & 37. 39. & 27. 5. & 69. 14. — & 18. 6. ‖ Isa. 25. 4. & 33. 2. † Jer. 14. 8. Job 33. 18. * Psal. 107. 8, 15, 21, 31. Isa. 41. 17, &c.

So also, when pestilent enterprises (managed by close fraud, or by impetuous violence) are brought to a head, and come near to the point of being executed; the sudden detection, or seasonable obstruction of them, doe argue the ever vigilant Eye, and the all-powerfull Hand to be engaged. God ever doth see those deceitfull workers of iniquity, laying their mischief in the dark; he is always present at their cabals, and clandestine meetings, wherein they brood upon it. He often doth suffer it to grow on to a pitch of maturity, till it be throughly formed,

till

till it be ready to be hatched, and break forth in its mischievous effects; then in a trice he snappeth and crusheth it to nothing. God beholdeth violent men sitting out in their unjust attempts, he letteth them proceed on in a full career, untill they reach the edge of their design; then instantly he checketh, putteth in a spoak, he stoppeth, he tumbleth them down, or turneth them backward. Thus was *Amon*'s plot dashed, when he had procured a Royal Decree, when he had fixed a time, when he had issued forth letters to destroy God's people. Thus was *Pharoah* overwhelmed, when he had just overtaken the children of *Israel.* Thus were the designs of *Abimilech*, of *Absalom*, of *Adonijah*, of *Sanballat* nipped. Thus when *Sennacherib* with an unmatchable hoast had encamped against *Jerusalem*, and had to appearance swallowed it; God did *put a hook into his nose, and turned him back into his own land.* Thus when *Antiochus* was marching on furiously, to accomplish his threat of turning *Jerusalem* into a charnel, a noisome disease did intercept his progress. Thus when the profane *Caligula* did mean to discharge his bloudy rage on the *Jews*, for refusing to worship him, a domestick sword did presently give vent to his revengefull breath. Thus also, when *Julian* had by his policy and his authority projected to overthrow our Religion, his plot soon was quashed, and his life snapped away by an unknown hand. Thus, *when-ever the enemy doth come in like a floud*, (threatning immediately to overflow, and overturn all things,) *the Spirit of the Lord doth lift up a standard against him*; that is, God's secret efficacy doth suddenly restrain and repress his outrage. This usually is the method of Divine Providence. God could prevent the * beginnings of wicked designs; he could supplant them in their first onsets; he could any-where sufflaminate and subvert them: but he rather winketh for a time, and suffereth the designers to go on, till they are || mounted to the top of confidence, and good people are cast on the brink of ruine; then † ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, surprisingly, unexpectedly he striketh in with effectual succour: so declaring how vain the presumption is of impious undertakers; how needfull and sure his protection is over innocent people; how much reason the one hath to dread him, and the other to confide in him. Then is God seen, then his care and power will be acknowledged, when he snatcheth us from the jaws of danger, when *our Soul doth scape as a bird out of the snare of the fowler.*

Esth. 3.
Exod. 14.
2 King. 19. 28.
2 Mac. 9. 4.
Josep. 18. 12.
Chrysost. *in Babylam, Orat.* 2.
Naz *Orat.* 4.
Isa. 59. 19.
(Job 38. 11.)
* Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκ προοιμίων, μηδὲ εὐθέως, ἔθος αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον, &c. *Vi.* Chrys. *ad Olymp.*
|| ὅταν κορυφωθῇ, ὅταν αὐξηθῇ, &c Ibid.
† *Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit.*
Psal 124. 7.

3. Another character of special Providence is, the great Utility and Beneficialness of Occurrences, especially in regard to the publick state of things, and to great personages, in whose welfare the publick is much concerned. To entitle every petty chance that arriveth to special Providence, may signifie lightness; to father on God the mischiefs issuing from our sin and folly, may savour of profaneness: but to ascribe every || grand and beneficial event unto his good Hand, hath ever been reputed wisdom and justice. * *It hath been* (saith *Balbus* in *Cicero*) *a common opinion among the ancients, that what-ever did bring great benefit to mankind, was never done without Divine goodness toward men.* And well might they deem so, seeing to doe so is most agreeable to his nature, and appertaining to his charge; and may appear to be so by good argumentation *à priori.* For, that God doth govern our affairs, may be deduced from his essential Attributes; and, consequently, that he doth in especial manner order these things, which are the most proper and worthy objects of his governance. God indeed doth not disregard any thing; he watcheth over the least things by his general and ordinary Providence; so that nothing in

|| *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt.* Cic. 2. *de N. D*
* *Quicquid magnam utilitatem generi adferret humano, id non sine Divina bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur.* Cic. *de Nat. Deor. lib.* 2.

in nature may deviate from its course, or transgress the bounds prescribed to it. He thereby *cloatheth the grass of the field: He provideth for the raven his food, and the young lions seek their meat from him*; without his care * *a sparrow doth not fall to the ground*; by it *all the hairs of our head are numbred.* But his more special hand of Providence is chiefly employed in managing affairs of great moment and benefit to mankind; and peculiarly those which concern his people, who doe profess to worship and serve him; whose welfare he tendreth with more than ordinary care and affection. He therefore hath a main stroke in all revolutions and changes of State: he presideth in all great counsels and undertakings; in the waging of war, in the settlement of peace; in the dispensation of victory and good success. He is peculiarly interested in the protection of Princes, the chief *Ministers of his Kingdom*; and in preservation of his people, the choice object of his care, from violent invasions, and treacherous surprises; so as to prevent disasters incident, or to deliver from them. *It is he that* (as the Psalmist saith) *doth give salvation unto Kings; who delivereth David his servant from the hurtfull sword.* It is he that continually * *keepeth Israel without ever sleeping, or slumbring*; who is *the hope of Israel, and the Saviour thereof*; who *is in the midst of her, that she shall not be moved*; who hath declared, that *he will help her, and that right early*; that *he will not cast off his people, nor forsake his inheritance*; that *no weapon formed against* his Church *shall prosper*; that *salvation belongeth to the Lord, and his blessing is upon his people.* When therefore any remarkable event, highly conducing to the publick good of Church or State, (supporting them in a good condition, or rescuing them from imminent danger,) doth appear, it is most reasonable and most just, to ascribe the accomplishment thereof to God's Hand. When any pernicious enterprize, levelled against the safety of Prince and people, is disappointed, it is fit we should profess and say, *The righteous Lord hath hewen the snares of the ungodly in pieces.*

Matt. 6. 30. Psal 104. 14. & 147. 9. Job 38. 39. Psal. 104 21. * Matt 10. 29, 30.

Dan. 4. 25. Psal 75. 7. Psal 46 9 Prov. 21. 31. 1 Chron. 29. 11. Sap 6. 4.

Psal. 144 10. Eccles 10 20. Psal 18. 50. & 21 1. & 33. 16. * Psal 121. 4. Jer. 14. 8. Psal 46. 5. Psal. 94. 14. Isa. 54. 17. Psal. 3. 8.

Psal. 129 4. (O. T.)

4. Another like mark of special Providence is, the Righteousness of the case, or the Advantage springing from Events unto the maintenance of Right, the vindication of Innocence, the defence of Truth, the encouragement of Piety and Vertue. God naturally is the Judge of right, the Guardian of innocence, the Patron of truth, and Promoter of goodness. *The Lord is a refuge to the oppressed: He is a Father of the fatherless, and a Judge of the widow: He will maintain the cause of the afflicted, and the right of the poor:* * *He executeth righteousness, and judgment for all that are oppressed: He blesseth the righteous, and compasseth him with favour as with a shield: He preserveth the souls of the righteous, and delivereth them out of the hand of the ungodly: All his paths are mercy and truth, unto such as keep his covenant and his testimonies.* When-ever therefore Right is oppressed, or perillously invaded; when Innocence is grosly abused, or sorely beset; when Piety is fiercely opposed, or cunningly undermined; when good men for the profession of Truth, or the practice of Vertue, are persecuted: or grievously threatned with mischief: then may we presume that God is not unconcerned, nor will prove backward to reach forth his succour. And when accordingly we find that signal aid or deliverance doe then arrive; it is most reasonable to suppose, that God particularly hath ingaged himself, and exerted his power in their behalf. For, seeing it is his proper and peculiar work, seeing it most becometh and behoveth him to appear in such cases, affording his helpfull countenance; when he doth it, we

Psal 9 9. & 68. 5 & 10. 14. Job 36. 15. Psal. 140 12. * Psal 103. 6. & 9. 8. Psal. 5. 12 Psal 97 10. & 37. 22. — Psal. 25. 10. 146. 6.

Isa. 66. 14. should be ready to acknowledge it. In such a case, *The hand of the Lord shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies*, saith the Prophet.

Ps. 69, 13.— & 102. 1, 2. & 140 6. & 60. 10. & 56. 1.— Jam. 5. 16. Psal. 56. 9. Psal. 34. 15. & 91. 15. & 145. 18. 5. Another character is, the Correspondence of Events to the Prayers and Desires of good men. For seeing it is the duty, and constant practice of good men, in all exigencies to implore God's help; seeing such Prayers have, as S. *James* telleth us, a mighty energy, it being God's property, by them to be moved to impart his powerfull assistence; seeing God most plainly and frequently hath declared, and obliged himself by promise, that he will hear them, so as to perform what-ever is expedient in their behalf; seeing we have many notable experiments recorded in Scripture (as those of *Asa*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Elias*, *Daniel*, and the like) of Prayers bringing down wonderfull effects from Heaven, with which the testimonies of all times, and the daily experience of good men doe consPire; seeing the presumption of such efficacy is the main ground and encouragement of Devotion: we have great reason, when-ever Events are answerable to such Prayers, to ascribe the performance of them to God's Hand: great reason we have in such cases to cry out with *David*, *Now know I that the Lord saveth his anointed; he will hear him from his Holy heaven, with the saving strength of his right hand*: just cause have we, according to his pattern, thankfully to acknowledge God's favour in answering our petitions; *The King* (saith he) *shall joy in thy strength, O Lord, and in thy salvation how greatly shall he rejoyce? For thou hast given him his heart's desire, and hast not withholden the requests of his lips.*

2 Chron. 14. 11. & 20. 9. & 32. 20. 2 King. 19 15 1 King. 17. 1, &c. Πόσαι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ φάλαγγες, ὅσας ἐπελθούσας μόνον ἡμεῖς, καὶ Θεὸς βουληθεὶς κατεφθείρατο; Naz. Or. 4. *How many myriads and squadrons of men were there, whom we onely praying, and God willing, discomfited?* saith Nazianzene *in reference to the defeating of* Julian's *design.*

Psal. 20. 6. Psal. 21. 1, 2. Psal. 30. 2 & 66. 17 — & 118. 5.

6. Again, The proceedings of God (especially in way of judgment, or of dispensing rewards and punishments) discover their original by their Kind and countenance, which usually doe bear a near resemblance, or some significant correspondence to the actions upon which they are grounded. *Punishments* (saith a Father) *are the forced offsprings of willing faults:* and answerably, Rewards are the children of good deeds: and God, who formeth both, doth commonly order it so, that the children in their complexion and features shall resemble their parents. So that the deserts of men shall often be legible in the recompences conferred, or inflicted on them: not according to the natural result of their practice, but with a comely reference thereto; apt to raise in them a sense of God's Hand, and to wring from them an acknowledgment of his Equity in so dealing with them. So when humble Modesty is advanced to honour, and ambitious Confidence is thrown into disgrace; when Liberality is blessed with encrease, and Avarice is cursed with decay of estate; when Craft incurreth disappointment, and Simplicity findeth good success; when haughty Might is shattered, and helpless Innocence is preserved; when the Calumnious tongue is blistered, the *Flattering lips are cut off*, the Blasphemous throat is torn out; when bloudy Oppressours have *bloud given them to drink*, and come to welter in their own gore; an accident which almost continually doth happen;) when Treacherous men by their own confidents, or by themselves are betrayed; when Retaliations of vengeance are ministred, extorting confessions like to that of *Adoni-bezek*, *As I have done, so God hath requited me;* deserving such exprobrations, as that of *Samuel* to *Agag*, *as thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless*

Ἐκείνων καλῶν ἀκέσια ἔκγονα. Damasc.

Τῆς κολάσεως ὁ τρόπος ἁμαρτίας τρόπον μιμεῖται. Chrys. ἀνδρ. 19.

Pſal. 12. 3. Rev. 16. 6.

Judg 1. 7.

1 Sam. 15. 33.

childless among women; grounding such reflections as that concerning *Antiochus*, *Thus the murtherer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously, as he entreated other men, so died he a miserable death*: By such Occurrences the finger of God doth point out and indicate it self; they speak themselves immediately to come from that just God, who doth ἀνταποδιδόναι, render to men answerably to their doings; who payeth men their due, sometimes in value, often *in specie*, according to the strictest way of reckoning. *He* (as the Prophet saith) *is great in counsel, and mighty in work: for his eyes are open to all the ways of the sons of men, to give every one according to his ways, and according to the fruits of his doings.* This indeed is a sort of administration most conformable to God's exact justice, and most conducible to his holy designs of instructing and correcting offenders. He therefore hath declared it to be his way. *It is* (saith the Prophet, directing his speech to the instruments of Divine vengeance upon *Babylon*) *the vengeance of the Lord: take vengeance upon her; as she hath done, doe unto her.* And, *The day of the Lord* (saith another Prophet concerning the like judgment upon *Edom*) *is near upon all the heathen: (as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee*; (*thy reward shall return upon thine own head.* Thereby doth God mean to declare himself the Judge, and Governour of men: For, *I will*, saith he in *Ezekiel*, *doe unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them*; *and they shall know that I am the Lord.* Farther,

2 Macc. 9. 28.
Luk 14. 12. Rom. 12 19.
Jer. 32. 19.
Psal. 62. 12
Jer. 50 15. 51. 49.
Obad. 15.
Ezek. 35. 15.
Ezek. 7. 27. Job 34 11.

7. Another argument of special Providence is, the Harmonious conspiracy of various Accidents to one end or effect. If that one thing should hit advantageously to the production of some considerable Event, it may with some plausibility be attributed to Fortune, or common Providence: yet that divers things, having no dependence, or coherence one with the other, in divers places, through several times, should all joyn their forces to compass it, cannot well otherwise than be ascribed to God's special Care wisely directing, to his own Hand powerfully wielding those concurrent instruments to one good purpose. For it is beside the nature, it is beyond the reach of Fortune, to range various causes in such order. Blind Fortune cannot apprehend or catch the seasons and junctures of things, which arise from the motions of causes in their nature indifferent and arbitrary: to it therefore no such event can reasonably be imputed. So to the bringing about our Lord's Passion, (that great Event, which is so particularly assigned to God's Hand,) we may observe the monstrous Treachery of *Judas*, the strange Malignity of the *Jewish* Rulers, the prodigious Levity of the people, the wonderfull Easiness of *Pilate*, with other notable accidents, to have jumped in order thereto. So also that a malicious Traitour should conceive kindness toward any, that he should be mistaken in the object of his favour, that he should express his mind in a way subject to deliberate examination, in terms apt to breed suspicion where the Plot was laid; that the Counsellours should despise it, and yet not smother it; that the King instantly, by a light darted into his mind, should descry it: these things so happily meeting, may argue God (who mouldeth the hearts, who guideth the hands, who enlightneth the minds of men) to have been engaged in the detection of This day's black Conspiracy.

— ἃ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ μάρτυρον ἔφασαν κολασθέντα, τῶν ὑπερμεγάλα δικαιοπάτη ψήφῳ. Euseb. *lib. I. de Vit. Const. de Maximino (sub finem.)* — *Is oculos qui everat Christianis, ipse visu orbatus.*

Such are some characters of special Providence: each of which singly appearing in any occurrence, would in a considerate man breed an opinion thereof; each of them being very congruous to the supposition of

it; no such appearances being otherwise so clearly explicable, as by assigning the Divine Hand for their principal cause. But the connexion of them all in one Event (when divers odde accidents doe befall at a seasonable time, according to exigency for the publick benefit, the preservation of Princes, the security of God's people, the protection of right, the maintenance of truth and piety, according to the wishes and prayers of good men, with proper retribution and vengeance upon the wretched designers of mischief; such a complication, I say, of these marks in one Event) may throughly suffice to raise a firm persuasion, to force a confident acknowledgment concerning God's Providence, in any considerate and ingenuous person: it readily will dispose such persons upon any such occasion to say, *This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.*

Vid Diod. Sic. *lib.* 15. *p* 482.

Psal. 118. 23.

Εἰ μὴ σημεῖα ἢ θαύματα, ἀλλ' ἐοικότα σημείοις παραδείγματα, διδάγματα δὲ τῆς Θεοῦ προνοίας, καὶ ἀνθιλήψεως ἀρέτα. Chrys. *ad Olymp. Ep.* 1.

Notwithstanding therefore any obscurity or intricacy that sometime may appear in the course of Providence, notwithstanding any general exceptions that may by perverse incredulity be alledged against the conduct of things, there are good marks observable, whereby (if we are not very blockish, drowzy, supine, lazy, or froward; if we will consider wisely, with industrious attention and care, with minds puré from vain prejudices, and corrupt affections) we may discern and understand God's doing. Which to doe is the First Duty specified in my Text: upon which having insisted so largely, I shall (hoping you will favour me with a little patience) briefly touch the rest.

II. It is the Duty of us all, upon such remarkable occurrences of Providence, to *fear* God: *All men*, 'tis said, *shall fear*. It is our Duty in such cases to be affected with all sorts of fear; with a fear of awfull dread, with a fear of hearty reverence, with a fear of sober caution; yea, sometimes with a fear of dejecting consternation. When God doth appear *clad with his robes of vengeance and zeal*, denouncing and discharging judgment; when he representeth himself *fearfull in praises, terrible in his doings toward the children of men, working terrible things in righteousness*; it should strike into our hearts a dread of his glorious Majesty, of his mighty Power, of his severe Justice, of *his glorious and fearfull Name*: it should instill into our minds a reverence of his excellent Wisdom, his exceeding Goodness, his perfect Holiness: it should breed in our Souls a solicitous care of displeasing and provoking him: it should cause us in our hearts to shake and tremble before him. Then is that of the Psalmist to be put in practice, *Let all the earth fear the Lord, let all inhabitants of the world stand in awe of him. Tremble thou earth at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the God of Jacob.* Such dispensations are in their nature declarative of those Divine Attributes which doe require such affections: they are set before our eyes to cast us into a very serious and solemn frame; to abash, and deterr us from offending, by observing the danger of incurring punishments like to those which we behold inflicted upon presumptuous transgressours; upon those who doe hainously violate Right, or furiously impugn Truth, or profanely despise Piety; who earnestly prosecute wicked enterprises; who persecute the friends of God with outrageous violence, or treacherous subtlety. Upon infliction of such punishments, *All the people shall hear, and fear, and doe no more presumptuously*, saith God himself, declaring the nature and drift of them. They doe plainly demonstrate, that there is no presuming to escape being detected in our close machinations by God's All-seeing Eye; being defeated in our bold attempts by God's All-mighty Hand; being sorely chastised for our iniquity

Job 37. 22. & 13. 11. Psal. 52. 6. & 68. 35. Dan. 6. 26. Isa. 59. 17. Exod 15. 11. Psal. 65. 3, 5. & 65. 5. (130 3.) Deut. 28 58. & 10. 17.

Isa. 66. 2. Psal. 33 8. 114. 7.

Deut. 17. 13. & 13. 11. & 19. 20.

quity by God's impartial Judgment. Extremely blind and stupid therefore must we be, or monstrously sturdy and profane, if such experiments of Divine Power and Justice doe not awe us, and fright us from sin. *When the Lion roareth, who will not fear? when the trumpet is blown in the city, shall not the people be afraid?* Shall he *at* whom *the mountains quake, and the hills melt*; whose *indignation the nations are not able to abide*; *at* whose *wrath the earth doth shake and tremble*; *at* whose *reproof the pillars of heaven are astonished*; shall he visibly frown, shall his wrath flame out, shall he shake his rod of exemplary vengeance over us, and we stand void of sense or fear? If so, then surely a brutish dotage, or a Gigantick stoutness doth possess us.

Hos. 11. 10. Amos 3. 6, 8. Nah. 1. 5. Jer 10. 10. Psal. 104. 32. & 18. 7 & 76. 8 & 143. 2. Job 26. 11. (Isa 64. 3. Ezek. 21 10. Isa. 25. 3. & 59. 18, 19.)

III. We are in such cases obliged to *declare God's work*: that is, openly to acknowledge and avow, to applaud and celebrate the special Providence of God, with his adorable perfections displayed in such Events; to the glory of God's Name, in expression of our reverence and gratitude toward him, for the common edification of men; for which uses they greatly serve, to which purposes they are designed. We should not view such providential occurrences, like dumb beasts, with a dull or careless silence, as if we did not mind them, or were not concerned in them: we should not suppress or stifle the knowledge of them in our breasts, as if they were barely matters of private consideration and use: we should not let our observation and resentment of them be fruitless, so as to yield no honour to God, no benefit to man. But we should propagate and convey them into others: in so loud a tone, in so lively a strain we should vent them, as thereby to excite the notice, to enflame the affections of all men within the reach of our voice; provoking them to conspire with us in acknowledgment of Gods Power and Wisdom, in acclamation to his Justice and Goodness. This is the due improvement of our *Glory*; that peculiar excellency, wherein chiefly (except in our Reason) we doe surpass all creatures; that without which our Reason it self is more than half unprofitable; that whereby we put our best Member to its best use. For this we have the devout Psalmist his pious Resolutions, his exemplary Performances, his zealous Wishes, his earnest Exhortations to guide and move us. *I will speak of the glorious honour of thy Majesty, and of thy wondrous works. Men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts; and I will declare thy greatness. They shall speak of the glory of thy Kingdom, and talk of thy power.* So did he signifie his Resolution. *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness and thy salvation: I have not concealed thy loving-kindness and thy truth from the great congregation.* So his conscience testified of his Practice. *O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderfull works to the children of men: that they would offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving and declare his works with gladness.* So doth he pour forth his Desire. *O clap your hands all ye people, shout unto God with the voice of triumph. Sing unto the Lord, bless his Name: shew forth his salvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people. Come and see the works of God —— Sing forth the honour of his Name, make his praise glorious. O give thanks unto the Lord, call upon his Name; make known his deeds among the people.* So doth he summon, so doth he urge us to this practice; and in his deportment we may see our Duty.

Psal. 57. 8.

Psal 145. 5, 6. 11. (& 77. 12. & 9. 14.)

Psal 40. 10.

Psal. 107. 8, 15, 21, 22, 31.

Psal. 47. 1. 96. 2, 3. 96. 3. 105. 2. 66. 5, 2. (Psal. 66. 16.) Psal. 105. 1.

IV. It is peculiarly the Duty and practice of good men upon such occasions to feel, and to express religious Joy. *The righteous shall be glad in the Lord.* Good men indeed then have great matter, and much cause, on many accounts, to be glad. It

It becometh them to rejoyce, as having an universal complacence in God's proceedings, as gratefully relishing all dispensations of Providence. They, as pious, are disposed to bless and praise God for all things incident, and cannot therefore but rejoyce; Joy being an inseparable companion of Gratitude and Praise. Hence, *Light is sown for*
Psal. 97. 11. *the righteous, and gladness for the upright in heart.* Hence *The voice of*
118. 15. *salvation and rejoycing is in the tabernacles of the righteous.* Hence,
Psal. 33. 1. *Rejoyce in the Lord, O ye righteous: for praise is comely for the upright*; is an exhortation backed with a very good reason,

They cannot but find satisfaction in observing God's Providence notably discovered, to the confirmation of their faith, and cherishing their hopes; together with the conviction of infidelity, and confusion of
Psal. 33. 21. profaneness. *Our heart* (saith the Psalmist) *shall rejoyce in him; be-*
Psal. 13. 5. *cause we have trusted in his Holy Name. I have trusted in thy mercy,*
& 107. 42. *my heart shall rejoyce in thy salvation. The righteous shall see it, and rejoyce; and all iniquity shall stop her mouth.*

It is to them no small pleasure, to behold God's holy Perfections illustriously shining forth; and the Glory of him (who is the principal object of their love, their reverence, their hope and confidence) to be
Psal. 97. 12. conspicuously advanced. (*Rejoyce*, saith the Psalmist) *O ye righteous,*
& 30. 4. *and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness. Zion heard, and was*
Psal 97. 8, 9. *glad, and the daughters of Judah rejoyced, because of thy judgments, O*
& 48. 11. *Lord. For thou, Lord, art high above all the earth.*

It is to them ground of exceeding comfort, to receive so clear pledges of God's Love and Favour, his Truth and Fidelity, his Bounty and Munificence toward them, expressed in such watchfull care over them, such protection in dangers, such aid in needs, such deliverance from mischiefs vouchsafed to them. Such benefits they cannot receive from God's hand, without that chearfulness which always doth adhere to gratitude. *I will* (saith *David*) *sing unto the Lord, because he*

Sen. *de Benef.* 2. 22. *Cùm accipiendum judicaverimus, hilares accipiamus, profitentes gaudium*, &c. *Vid. ib.* 30.

Psal. 13 6.
Psal. 63 7. *hath dealt bountifully with me. Because thou hast been my helper, there-*
Psal. 71. 23. *fore in the shadow of thy wings I will rejoyce. My lips shall greatly re-*
31. 7 *joyce in thee, and my Soul, which thou hast redeemed. I will be glad,*
and rejoyce in thy mercy: for thou hast considered my trouble, and hast
126. 3. *known my Soul in adversities. The Lord hath done great things for us,*
5. 11 *wherefore we are glad. Let all those that put their trust in thee rejoyce:*
let them ever shout for joy, because thou defendest them ———

They are also greatly refreshed with apprehension of the happy fruits sprouting from such dispensations of Providence: such as are the Benefit of mankind, the Peace and Prosperity of the Civil State, the Preservation, settlement, enlargement, advancement of God's Church, the support of Right, the succour of Innocence, the maintenance of Truth, the encouragement and furtherance of Piety; the restraint of Violence, the discountenance of Errour, the correction of Vice and Impiety. In these things they, as faithfull servants of God, and real friends of goodness, as bearing hearty good will and compassion to mankind, as true lovers of their Country, as living and sensible members of the Church, cannot but rejoyce. Seeing by these things their own best interest, (which is no other than the advantage of Goodness,) their chief honour, (which consists in the promotion of Divine Glory,)
Psal. 122. 6. their truest content, (which is placed in the prosperity of *Sion*,) are
(1 Cor. 12. 26) highly furthered: how can they look on them springing up without
Psal. 98. 1, 3. great delight and complacence? *O* saith the Psalmist) *sing unto the*

Lord

Lord — for he hath done marvellous things — He hath remembred his mercy and truth toward the house of Israel: all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God. And, *Sing, O heavens,* (crieth the Prophet) *and be joyful, O earth, and break forth into singing, O ye mountains: for the Lord hath comforted his people, and will have mercy on his afflicted.* And, *When* (saith he) *ye shall see this,* (the comfort of God's people,) *your heart shall rejoyce, and your bones shall flourish like an herb: and the hand of the Lord shall be known toward his servants, and his indignation toward his enemies.* Isa. 49. 13. Ps 96. 11, 13. Isa. 66. 14.

Even in the frustration of wicked designs, attended with severe execution of vengeance on the contrivers and abettours of them, they may have a pleasant satisfaction; they must then yield a chearfull applause to Divine Justice. *The righteous* (saith the Psalmist) *shall rejoyce when he seeth the vengeance*: and, *Let the wicked* (saith he) *perish at the presence of God; but let the righteous be glad, let them rejoyce before God, yea let them exceedingly rejoyce.* Whence at God's infliction of judgment upon *Babylon*, it is said in *Jeremy, then the heaven, and the earth, and all that is therein, shall sing for Babylon*: and at the fall of mystical *Babylon* in the *Apocalyps* 'tis likewise said, *Rejoyce over her, thou heaven, and ye holy Apostles and Prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.* Farther, Psal 58. 10. Job 22. 19. Psal. 68. 2, 3. Jer. 51. 48. Apoc. 18. 20.

V. The next Duty prescribed to good men in such case is, to *trust in God*, that is, to have their affiance in God (upon all such like occasions, in all urgencies of need) settled, improved and corroborated thereby. This indeed is the proper end, immediately regarding us, of God's special Providence, discloſing it self in any miraculous, or in any remarkable way; to nourish in well disposed minds that Faith in God, which is the root of all Piety, and ground of Devotion. Such experiments are sound arguments to persuade good men, that God doth govern and order things for their best advantage; they are powerfull incentives, driving them in all exigencies to seek God's help; they are most convincing evidences, that God is abundantly able, very willing, and ever ready to succour them. They, saith the Psalmist, *that know thy Name, will put their trust in thee: for thou, Lord, hast not forsaken them that seek thee.* And, *I* (saith he) *will abide in thy tabernacle for ever; I will trust in the covert of thy wings*: *For thou, O God, hast heard my vows; thou hast been a shelter for me, and a strong tower from the enemy.* It is, indeed, a great aggravation of diffidence in God, that having *tasted and seen that the Lord is good*; having felt so manifest experience of Divine goodness; having received so notable pledges of God's favourable inclination to help us; we yet will not rely upon him. As a friend, who by signal instances of kindness hath assured his good will, hath great cause of offence, if he be suspected of unwillingness in a needfull season to afford his relief: so may God most justly be displeased, when we, (notwithstanding so palpable demonstrations of his kindness) by distrusting him, doe in effect question the sincerity of his friendship, or the constancy of his goodness toward us. (Psal. 78. 7.) Psal. 9. 10. Ps. 61. 3, 4, 5. & 115. 9, &c. & 130. 7. & 34. 8. Eccius 2. 10.

VI. Good men upon such occasions should *glory: All the upright in heart shall glory.* Should *glory*, that is, in contemplation of such Providences feeling sprightly elevations of mind and transports of affection, they should exhibit triumphant demonstrations of satisfaction and alacrity. It becometh them not in such cases to be dumpish or demure; but jocund and crank in their humour, brisk and gay in their looks, pleasantly flippant and free in their speech; jolly and debonair in their behaviour;

haviour; every way signifying the extreme complacency they take in
Ps. 126. 1, &c. God's doing, and the full content they taste in their state. They with solemn exultation should triumph in such events, as in victories atchieved by the glorious Hand of god in their behalf, in approbation of their cause, in favour toward their persons, for their great benefit and comfort. They may (not as proudly assuming to themselves the glory due to God, but as gratefully sensible of their felicity springing from God's favour) *se jactare, se laudibus efferre*, (as the *Hebrew* word doth signifie;) that is, in a sort boast, and commend themselves as very happy in their relation to God, by virtue of his protection and aid. They may (not with a haughty insolence, or wanton arrogance, but with a sober confidence and chearfulness) insult upon baffled impiety, by their expressions and demeanour upbraiding the folly, the baseness, the impotency and wretchedness thereof, in competition with the wisdom, in opposition to the power of God, their friend and patron. For such carriage in such cases we have the practice and the advice of the Psalmist, to warrant and direct us. *In God*, saith he, *we boast all the day long, and praise thy Name for ever. Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work; and I will triumph in the works of thy hands. We will rejoyce in thy salvation; and in the Name of our God we will set up our banners. Glory ye in his holy Name: let the heart of them rejoyce that seek the Lord. Sing unto him, sing Psalms unto him; talk ye of all his wondrous works. Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto thy Name, and to triumph in thy praise.* Such should be the result (upon us) of God's mercifull Dispensations toward his people.

Psal. 52. 6, 7. *The righteous shall—laugh at him*, or, *deride him*, in this manner; *Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength—*

Psal. 44. 8.
92. 4.
20. 5.
105. 3, 2.
106. 47.

I shall onely farthre remark, that the word here used is by the *Greek* rendred ἐπαινεθήσονται, *they shall be praised*: which sense the Original will bear, and the reason of the case may admit. For such Dispensations ever doe adorn integrity, and yield commendation to good men. They declare the wisdom of such persons, in adhering to God, in reposing upon God's help, in embracing such courses which God doth approve and bless: they plainly tell how dear such persons are to God; how incomparably happy in his favour, how impregnably safe under his protection: as having his infallible wisdom, and his invincible power engaged on their side. This cannot but render them admirable, and their state glorious in the eyes of all men; inducing them to profess with the Psalmist, *Happy is the people which is in such a case; yea, happy is that people, whose God is the Lord.* And of such a people, that declaration from the same mouth is verified, *In thy Name shall they rejoyce all the day long, and in thy righteousness shall they be exalted: For thou art the glory of their strength, and in thy favour their horn shall be exalted.*

Psal. 126. 3. & 125. 1, &c. & 138. 1, &c.

Psal. 144. 15. & 33. 12.

Psal. 89. 16, 17.

Such are the Duties suggested in our Text, as suting these occasions, when God in especial manner hath vouchsafed to protect his people, or to rescue them from imminent mischiefs, by violent assault or by fraudulent contrivance levelled against them. I should apply these particulars to the present case solemnized by us: But I shall rather recommend the application to your sagacity, than farther infringe your patience, by spending thereon so many words as it would exact. You doe well know the Story, which by so many years repetition hath been impressed on your minds: and by reflecting thereon.

You will easily discern, how God, in the seasonable discovery of this

this execrable Plot, (the master-piece of wicked machinations ever conceived in humane brain, or devised on this side Hell, since the foundation of things,) in the happy deliverance of our Nation and Church from the desperate mischiefs intended toward them, in the remarkable protection of Right and Truth, did signalize his Providence.

You will be affected with hearty reverence toward the gracious Authour of our Salvation, and with humble dread toward the just awarder of vengeance upon those miscreant wretches, who *digged this pit, and fell into it themselves.*

You will be ready with pious acknowledgment and admiration of God's Mercy, his Justice, his Wisdom, to declare and magnifie this notable Work done by him among us.

You must needs feel devout resentments of Joy for the Glory arising to God, and the Benefits accruing to us, in the preservation of God's Anointed, our just Sovereign, with his Royal posterity: in the freeing our Country from civil Broils, Disorders and Confusions; from the yoaks of Usurpation and Slavery; from grievous Extorsions and Rapines; from bloudy Persecutions and Trials, with the like spawn of disastrous and tragical consequences, by this Design threatned upon it: in upholding our Church (which was so happily settled, and had so long gloriously flourished) from utter ruine: in securing our profession of God's Holy Truth, the truly Catholick Faith of *Christ*, (refined from those drossy alloys, wherewith the rudeness and sloth of blind Times, the fraud of ambitious and covetous designers, the pravity of sensual and profane men had embased and corrupted it,) together with a pure Worship of God, an edifying administration of God's Word and Sacraments, a comely, wholesome and moderate Discipline, conformable to Divine prescription and Primitive example; in rescuing us from having impious Errours, scandalous Practices and superstitious Rites, with mercileſs violence obtruded upon us: in continuing therefore to us the most desirable comforts and conveniences of our lives.

You farther considering this signal testimony of Divine Goodness, will thereby be moved to hope and confide in God for his gracious preservation from the like pernicious attempts, against the safety of our Prince and welfare of our Country, against our Peace, our Laws, our Religion; especially from *Romish* Zeal and Bigottry, (that mint of wofull factions and combustions, of treasonable conspiracies, of barbarous massacres, of horrid assassinations, of intestine rebellions, of foreign invasions, of savage tortures and butcheries, of *holy Leagues* and *pious Frauds*, through Christendom, and particularly among us,) which as it without reason damneth, so it would by any means destroy all that will not crouch thereto.

You will, in fine, with joyous festivity glory and triumph in this illustrious demonstration of God's Favour toward us; so as heartily to joyn in those due acclamations of blessing and praise.

Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Psal. 124. 6. (68. 32.)

Allelujah; Salvation, and glory, and power unto the Lord our God: For true and righteous are his judgments. Apoc. 19. 1, 2.

Great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints. Apoc. 15. 3.

Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who onely doth wondrous things: And blessed be his glorious Name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen, and Amen. Ps 72. 18, 19.

Henry the 7ths. Chapel, *July* 4. 1663. at the Biſhop of *Man* his Conſecration.

SERMON XII.

A Conſecration Sermon.

PSAL. CXXXII. 16.

I will alſo cloath her Prieſts with ſalvation.

THE context runs thus: *The Lord hath ſworn in truth unto David, he will not turn from it, Of the fruit of thy body I will ſet upon thy throne. If thy children will keep my covenant, and the teſtimony that I ſhall teach them; their children alſo ſhall ſit upon thy throne for evermore. For the Lord hath choſen Sion; he hath deſired it for his habitation. This is my reſt for ever: here will I dwell, for I have deſired it. I will abundantly bleſs her proviſion; I will ſatisfie her poor with bread. I WILL ALSO CLOATH HER PRIESTS WITH SALVATION, and her Saints ſhall ſhout aloud for joy. There will I make the horn of David to bud,* &c.

If all, not onely Inaugurations of perſons, but Dedications even of inanimate things to ſome extraordinary uſe, hath been uſually attended with eſpecial ſignifications of joy and feſtival ſolemnity; with great reaſon the Conſecration of a perſon to ſo high and ſacred a Function, as that of a Chriſtian Biſhop, (that is, of a Prince, or Principal Paſtour in God's Church,) requires moſt peculiar teſtimonies of our gratulation and content: the face of things ought then to be ſerene and chearfull; the thoughts of men benign and favourable; the words comfortable and auſpicious, that are uttered upon ſuch occaſion. And that ours at preſent ſhould be ſuch, the ſubject as well as the ſeaſon of our Diſcourſe doth require. Words few, but pregnant, and affording ample matter for our beſt affections to work upon: and which more particularly will engage us, both to a hearty thankfulneſs for paſt Benefits, and to a confident expectation of future Bleſſings; while they acquaint us with the ancient exhibition of a gracious Promiſe, re-mind us of the faithfull performance thereof hitherto, and aſſure us of its certain accompliſhment for the future. The occaſion whereof was this.

King *David*, moved by a devout inclination to promote God's Honour, and benefit the Church, had vowed to build a magnificent Temple, imploring God's propitious concurrence with, and approbation of his deſign. Whereupon Almighty God not onely declares his acceptance of that pious reſolution, but rewards it with a bountifull Promiſe, conſiſting of two parts; one conditional, relating to *David*'s Children and poſterity, that they in an uninterrupted ſucceſſion ſhould for ever enjoy the Royal dignity, in caſe they did conſtantly perſiſt in obſerving his Covenant, and the Teſtimonies that he ſhould teach them; the other more abſolute, that however, what he chiefly intended concerning God's eſtabliſhed Worſhip and the perpetual welfare of the Church, God would have an eſpecial care that it ſhould fully and certainly be accom-

accompliſhed: that he would for ever fix his reſidence in *Sion*; that he would protect and proſper it, and all that did belong thereto; eſpecially thoſe that did moſt need his favour and aſſiſtence, the Poor, the Prieſts and the Saints, (or *gentle ones.*) This is briefly the importance of the general Promiſe wherein is comprehended that particular one whereon we are to treat: and in which we may obſerve, חסדי

1. The Promiſer, *I.*

2. The Perſons who are eſpecially concerned in the promiſe, *her Prieſts.*

3. The Thing promiſed, *cloathing with ſalvation.*

I. I ſay, the Promiſer, *I*: that is, the Lord; the moſt true, the moſt conſtant, the moſt powerfull God; moſt true and ſincere in the declaration of his purpoſe, moſt conſtant and immutable in the proſecution, moſt powerfull and uncontrollable in the perfect execution thereof: whoſe *words are right, and all* whoſe *works are done in truth:* who *will not break his covenant, nor alter the thing that is gone out of his lips:* whoſe *counſel ſhall ſtand, and* who *will doe all his pleaſure.* Theſe glorious Attributes and Perfections of his (ſo often celebrated in Holy Writ) doe ground our reliance upon all God's promiſes, and doe oblige us (notwithſtanding the greateſt improbabilities or difficulties objected) to believe the infallible performance of this. Pſal. 33. 4. Pſal. 89 34. Iſa. 46. 10.

II. The Perſons whom the Promiſe mainly regards, *her Prieſts. Prieſts* that is, perſons peculiarly devoted to, and employed in Sacred matters; diſtinguiſhed expreſsly from the *Poor*, (that is, other meek and humble perſons;) and from the *Saints*, (that is, all other good and religious men.) And, *her* Prieſts; that is, the Prieſts of *Sion*: of that *Sion* which *the Lord hath choſen*; which *he hath deſired for his* permanent *habitation*; which he hath reſolved to *reſt*, and *reſide in for ever.* Whence it plainly enough follows, that the Prieſts and Paſtours of the Chriſtian Church are hereby, if not ſolely, yet principally deſigned. Which interpretation, becauſe it is in a manner the foundation of our ſubſequent Diſcourſe, and by ſome it may perhaps not be readily admitted, I ſhall endeavour farther to confirm by theſe few Arguments. *Contrà*, 2 Chro. 7. 21.

1. Becauſe the Covenant here mentioned is not (as to the main pa thereof) of a conditional or temporary nature, but abſolute and perpetual; and muſt therefore be underſtood to reſpect the Chriſtian Church; (that of the *Jews* being long ſince rejected, their Temple demoliſhed, their *Sion* utterly forſaken.) For although one particular contained therein, concerning the continual ſucceſſion of *David's* poſterity in the Regal authority over *Iſrael*, hath a condition explicitly annexed; (and, conſequently, the effects depending upon the performance of that condition were contingent and mutable;) yet all the reſt of this Covenant (or Promiſe) is conceived in terms peremptory, and expreſsly importing perpetuity. *This is my reſt for ever*, עדי עד that is, (as the *Greek* Tranſlatours render it,) εἰς αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, (*in ſeculum ſeculi,*) that is, to the end of this world; as εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων denotes the end of all worlds, or the moſt perfect ſempiternity. And that it doth really in this caſe denote a proper and unlimited perpetuity, is alſo evident by thoſe explications thereof in the 89th. Pſalm, (where the very ſame Covenant is, as to ſome parts thereof, more largely recorded.) *Once have I ſworn by my Holineſs, that I will not lie unto David: His ſeed ſhall endure for ever, and his throne as the Sun before me: It ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever as the Moon, and as a faithfull witneſs in heaven.* No words can expreſs more fully a perpetual duration, or at leaſt one co-extended *Vide* 2 Chron. 7. 16. Verſe 35, 36, 37.

with the duration of the world, than those doe. And the Prophet *Jeremy*, referring also to this very Covenant, and particularly to this very clause thereof, thus expresses the matter: *Thus saith the Lord; If you can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night; and that there should not be day and night in their season: Then may also my Covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne; and with the Levites the Priests, my Ministers.* But farther,

Jer. 33. 20, 21. *Vid.* 2 Chro. 7. 16.

2. The completion of the individual Promise is both by the Prophets foretold, and expressed by the Evangelists, to appertain to the times of the Gospel. Ye heard even now the words of *Jeremy*, which are by him applied to those times, when God would cause *the Branch of righteousness* (that is, *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, our blessed Saviour) *to grow up unto David; who should execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days* (saith he farther) *shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely: and this is the Name wherewith she shall be called*, (or rather, *which he shall be called*, as not onely the Vulgar *Latine* and the *Greek* Interpreters, but the *Chaldee* also reade it,) *THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.* Likewise in the 55. of *Isaiah* God thus invites the Gentiles; *Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear, and your soul shall live: and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David:* that is, I will ratifie that everlasting Covenant, which, in your behalf, I once made with *David*, and will conferr on you those favours which I faithfully promised him; relating to this very Promise also. For both in *Solomon*'s Prayer, (2 *Chron.* 6.) which in all probability was indited about the same time, and upon the same occasion with this Psalm, and in the 89. Psalm, the benefits of this same covenant are called *the mercies of David. O Lord God, turn not away the face of thine anointed, remember the mercies of David thy servant*, saith *Solomon:* and *My mercy* (saith God) *will I keep with him for evermore, and my covenant shall stand fast with him:* and, *My faithfulness and my mercy shall be with him*; that is, *my faithfull* (or *sure*) *mercy*; τὰ ὅσια πιστὰ as the *LXX*, and S. *Paul* with them in the *Acts*, render this place of *Isaiah*. And in the Song of *Zachary* we have one passage of this Promise cited, and applied to the times of the Gospel: *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who hath visited and redeemed his people; and hath raised up a horn of salvation in the house of his servant David; as he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets*: viz. by the mouth of this prophetical Psalmist here, where 'tis said, *There will I make the horn of David to bud*; and in the parallel *Ps.* 89. *In my Name shall his horn be exalted.* To omit those many places where our Saviour, in correspondence to this promise, is affirmed to *possess the throne of his father David*, and *to rule over the house of Jacob for ever.* Moreover,

Jer. 33. 15. Ver. 16. Isa. 55 3. 2 Chro. 6. 42. Psal. 89. 28. Verse 24. Acts 13. 34. Luke 1. 68, 69, 70. Verse 24. *Vid.* Luc. 1. 32. *edit.* Curcel.

3. That by the *Sion* here mentioned is not chiefly meant that material Mountain in *Judea*, but rather that mystical Rock of Divine Grace and Evangelical Truth, upon which the Christian Church, the onely everlasting Temple of God, is unmovably seated, is very probable, (or rather manifestly certain,) by the Prophets constant acception thereof in this sense, when they assign the character of perpetual durability thereto. As in *Isa.* 60. where he thus propheses of the Christian Church; *The sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and all they that despise thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet; and they shall call thee The City of the Lord, the Sion of the Holy one of Israel. Whereas thou hast been forsaken, and hated, so that no man went through*

Isa. 60. 14, 15, 16.

through thee ; I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations. Thou ſhalt alſo ſuck the milk of the Gentiles, and ſhalt ſuck the breaſts of Kings, &c. And the Prophet *Micah*, ſpeaking of *the laſt days*, (that is, of the Evangelical times, *when the mountain of the Houſe of the Lord ſhou'd be eſtabliſhed in the top of the mountains*,) ſaith thus ; *And I will make her that halted, a remnant, and her that was caſt far off, a ſtrong nation: and the Lord ſhall reign over them in mount Sion from henceforth even for ever.* And the Prophet *Joel*, ſpeaking of the ſame times, (when God *would pour out his ſpirit upon all fleſh*,) hath theſe words: *So ſhall ye know, that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Sion, my holy mountain: then ſhall Jeruſalem be holy, and there ſhall no ſtrangers paſs through her any more.* All which places no man can reaſonably doubt, and all Chriſtians doe firmly conſent to reſpect the Chriſtian Church. To which we may adde that paſſage of the Author to the *Hebrews*, ch. 12. v. 22. *But ye are come unto mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jeruſalem*; that is, to the Chriſtian Church.

Mic 4. 1. Verſe 7. Joel 2 28. 3 16.

4. The manner of this Covenant's delivery, and confirmation by the Divine Oath, argues the inconditionate, irreverſible and perpetual conſtitution thereof: for to God's moſt abſolute and immutable Decrees this moſt auguſt and ſolemn confirmation doth peculiarly agree. So the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems to intimate: *Wherein* (ſaith he) *God willing more abundantly to demonſtrate the immutability of his counſel*, (ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς) *interpoſed an oath.*

Heb. 6. 17.

We may therefore (I ſuppoſe) upon theſe grounds ſolidly and ſafely conclude, that this Promiſe doth principally belong, and ſhall therefore infallibly be made good to the Chriſtian Prieſthood to thoſe who in the Chriſtian Church, by offering ſpiritual Sacrifices of praiſe and thankſgiving, by directing and inſtructing the people in the knowledge of the Evangelical Law, by imploring for and pronouncing upon them the Divine benedictions, doe bear analogy with, and ſupply the room of the *Jewiſh* Prieſthood.

From which diſcourſe we may by the way deduce this Corollary; That the title of *Prieſt*, although it did (as moſt certainly it doth not) properly and primarily ſignifie a *Jewiſh* Sacrificer, (or Slaughterer of beaſts,) doth yet no-wiſe deſerve that reproach which is by ſome inconſiderately, (not to ſay, prophanely,) upon that miſtaken ground, commonly, caſt upon it: ſince the Holy Scripture it ſelf, we ſee, doth here, even in that ſenſe (moſt obnoxious to exception) aſcribe it to the Chriſtian Paſtours. And ſo likewiſe doth the Prophet *Iſaiah*; *and I will alſo take of them for Prieſts and for Levites, ſaith the Lord:* ſpeaking (as the context plainly declares) of the Gentiles, which ſhould be converted and aggregated to God's Church. And the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *Neither ſhall the Prieſts the Levites want a man before me to offer burnt-offerings, and to doe ſacrifice continually.* Which prophecy alſo evidently concerns the ſame time and ſtate of things; of which the Prophet *Malachi* thus foretells: *For from the riſing of the Sun to the going down of the ſame, my Name ſhall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered to my Name, and a pure offering.* It were deſireable therefore, that men would better conſider, before they entertain ſuch groundleſs offences, or paſs ſo uncharitable cenſures upon either words, or perſons, or things. But I proceed to the

Iſa 66. 21. Jer. 33 18 Mal. 1 11.

III. Particular, which is the Matter of the Promiſe, *Cloathing with ſalvation.* Where we may obſerve,

Firſt,

Firſt, That the uſual metaphor of being *cloathed* doth in the Sacred dialect denote a compleat endowment with, a plentifull enjoyment of, or an entire application to, that thing, or quality, with which a perſon is ſaid to be cloathed. So is God himſelf ſaid to be *cloathed with majeſty and ſtrength*. And *David* prays, that they might be *cloathed with ſhame and diſhonour, that did magnifie themſelves againſt him*. And in *Ezekiel*, *The Princes of the Iſles*, being amazed by the ruine of *Tyre*, are ſaid *to cloath themſelves with trembling*. And that bitter adverſary of *David* (in *Pſalm* 109.) did *cloath himſelf with curſing, as with a garment*. And *Job* avoucheth of himſelf, *I put on righteouſneſs, and it cloathed me; my judgment was a robe, and a diadem*. And St. *Peter* adviſes us to *put on*, or to *be cloathed with, humility*. Finally, *Iſaiah* introduces our Saviour ſpeaking thus: *I will greatly rejoyce in the Lord, my ſoul ſhall be joyfull in my God: for he hath cloathed me with the garments of ſalvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteouſneß; as a bridegroom decketh himſelf with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth her ſelf with her jewels*. So that, (as by theſe inſtances we may diſcern) *to be cloathed with ſalvation*, is, to be perfectly endowed therewith; to be inveſted with it as with a garment, which wholly encloſeth and covereth the body, ſo that no part is left ungarded and unadorned thereby.

Pſal. 93. 1. Pſal. 35. 26. & 109. 29. Ezek. 26. 16. Verſ. 18. Job 29. 14. 1 Pet. 5. 5. Iſa. 61. 10. Iſa. 59. 17.

Secondly, but now what is that *Salvation*, with which the *Prieſts* of *Sion* ſhall be thus cloathed? I anſwer: *Salvation*, when it is put abſolutely, and not conjoyned with any particular object, (or term from which,) doth in the *Hebrew* language properly ſignifie a Deliverance from, or remotion of all ſorts of inconvenience; and, conſequently, an Affluence of all good things; and, in effect, the ſame which other languages call Felicity and Proſperity, or deſign by terms equivalent to thoſe: the *Hebrews* having hardly any other word ſo properly correſpondent to thoſe, as this word, *Salvation*. Whence that title of *Saviour*, and *the God of Salvation*, ſo often attributed to Almighty God, imports as much as, the Diſpenſer of all good gifts: the great Benefactour, Aſſiſter and Protectour of men: And to *Save* is promiſcuouſly uſed for, to relieve the needy, to comfort the ſorrowfull; to reſtore the ſick to his health, the priſoner to his liberty, the captive to his country; to defend the weak from injury, and the humble from contempt; to deliver the diſtreſſed from imminent danger, the innocent from unjuſt condemnation, the ſlandered from undeſerved reproach: in a word, all the effects of God's Goodneſs and Power, the whole work of the Divine Providence and Beneficence, are hereby expreſſed.

Deus Σωτὴρ, *ſæpe* Platoni.

We will recite one or two of thoſe many places which confirm this notion. *Pſalm* 85. 9. *Surely his Salvation is nigh them that fear him, that glory may dwell in our land: his Salvation is nigh*, that is, his loving care attends upon them, to aſſiſt and preſerve them: which in *Pſal.* 145. v. 19. is thus otherwiſe expreſſed; *He will fulfill the deſire of them that fear him; he will hear their cry, and will ſave them*. And again *Pſalm* 149. 4. *The Lord taketh pleaſure in his people; he will beautifie the meek with Salvation:* that is, he will by his good Providence diſpoſe them into a convenient and decent condition of life. And again, *Pſalm* 144. v. 10. *It is he that giveth Salvation unto Kings*; that is, by whoſe gracious diſpoſal they proſper, and are preſerved in dignity, plenty and ſafety.

I will not, by citation of places, labour to confirm ſo obvious a Notion: it may ſuffice for that purpoſe, that the ſupreme accompliſhment of

of all Happineſs, the enjoyment of perfect Bliſs in Heaven, is, in agreement with this *Jewiſh* acception of the word, moſt commonly ſtyled *Salvation*. But I muſt adde, that whereas Salvation may relate either to the outward eſtate of a man's body, life and fortunes, or to the internal diſpoſitions of the mind; to our preſent condition in this world, or to our future and eternal eſtate: it doth ſeem here (I ſay not, to exclude the latter altogether, yet) more directly and principally to reſpect the former, *viz.* that external and temporal welfare, which is conſpicuous and viſible in this world. My reaſon is, Becauſe the other parts of this Prophetical Promiſe doe, in their moſt natural acception, ſignifie that outward proſperity wherewith God would vouchſafe to bleſs his Church: that abundant *benediction of her ſtore*; that *ſatisfying her poor with bread*, that *joyfull exultation of her Saints*, that *cloathing her enemies with ſhame*, being expreſſions properly denoting a ſtate of external good weal and comfort; and in conſonance to them require, that we thus likewiſe underſtand this phraſe; the Prieſts being alſo queſtionleſs deſigned to partake in this glorious Felicity of the Church. Which is alſo confirmed by other Propheſies of the ſame tenour and intention: as particularly that in *Jer.* 31. concerning the recollection of *Iſrael*, and redemption of the Spiritual *Sion*, 'tis ſaid, *I will ſatiate the ſoul of the Prieſts with fatneſs, and my people ſhall be ſatisfied with my goodneſs*, &c. Verſ. 14.

Now, although we may adventure ſafely to interpret the declarations of Divine favour according to the moſt comprehenſive ſenſe of which the words are capable, where they are conceived: (it being the manner of the immenſely-good God to exceed rather, than to be deficient, in the performance of his word; and to ſurpaſs the expectations he hath raiſed in us, than any-wiſe to diſappopit them:) yet however, the leaſt we can imagine here promiſed to the *Prieſts of Sion*, will comprehend theſe three things.

1. A Free and Safe condition of life: that they be not expoſed to continual dangers of ruine; of miſerable ſufferance, or remedileſs injury: that the benefits of peace, and law, and publick protection, ſhall particularly appertain to them; ſo that their adverſaries (if any they happen to have) ſhall not be incited, by hope of reward or impunity, to hurt their perſons, rifle their goods, diſturb their quiet; but that they ſhall enjoy good degrees of ſecurity, liberty and tranquillity in this world.

2. A Proviſion of competent ſubſiſtence for them: that their condition of life be not wholly neceſſitous, or very penurious, deſtitute of convenient accommodations, or depending altogether for them upon the arbitrary benevolences of men, which is, at beſt, but a more plauſible kind of beggery; but that they ſhall be furniſhed with ſuch reaſonable ſupplies, as are requiſite to encourage them in the chearfull performance of their duty.

3. A Sutable degree of reſpect, and ſo high a ſtation among men, as may commend them to general eſteem, and vindicate them from contempt: that they be not reputed among the dregs and refuſe of the people; that their perſons be not baſe and deſpicable, their names made the objects of vulgar obloquy, their functions become proſtitute to profane irriſion; but that ſome conſiderable authority, ſome more than ordinary regard and veneration accrue unto them from the high relations which they bear, and from the ſacred buſineſs which they manage.

All this at leaſt (according to the moſt moderate interpretation of the phraſe) that abundant *Salvation* doth imply, wherewith God hath promiſed to *inveſt the Prieſts of Sion*. We

We may therefore preſume, or rather not preſume, but confidently rely upon, and comfort our ſelves in the expectation of God's faithfull continuance to fulfill this Promiſe. We may aſſure our ſelves, that neither the ſecret envy of them who repine at thoſe encouragements which God's Providence hath conferred on his Prieſts, nor the open malice of thoſe that furiouſly oppugn their welfare, ſhall ever prevail to overwhelm them with extreme miſery, penury, or diſgrace; ſince no endeavour of earth or hell can ever be able to reverſe this everlaſting decree of Heaven, or to defeat that irreſiſtible power which is engaged to its execution. No inferiour force can ſtrip them naked of that Salvation, wherewith the Supreme Truth hath promiſed to cloath them.

Which confidence of ours may be improved, by conſidering the Reaſons that might induce Almighty God to reſolve, and promiſe thus favourably in behalf of his *Prieſts*. (For though we cannot penetrate the incomprehenſible depths of the Divine Counſel, nor ſhould ever peremptorily conclude concerning the determinate Reaſons of his Actions: yet when the wiſdom of his proceedings doth clearly approve it ſelf to our underſtandings, we ought readily to acknowledg it, and humbly to praiſe him for it.) Now the Reaſons why Divine Providence ſhould undertake to preſerve the Prieſthood in ſafety, to procure for them liberal maintenance, and to raiſe them above a ſtate of ſcorn and infamy, may be eſpecially theſe three.

1. It concerns God's Honour.
2. The Good of the Church requires ſo.
3. Equity and the reaſon of the caſe exacts it.

In proſecuting which Heads of diſcourſe, I ſhall not ſeem to you (I hope) to tranſgreſs the rules of modeſty, or decency. There be certain ſeaſons, wherein confeſſedly it is not onely excuſable, but expedient alſo, to commend one's Self; as when a man is falſly accuſed, or unjuſtly afflicted. And with greater reaſon ſometime men are allowed to praiſe the Country where they were born and bread, the Family to which they are allied, the Society to which they are more eſpecially related. And if at this time I aſſume the like liberty, the occaſion (I hope) will apologize for me. It becomes not me to be an adviſer, much leſs a reprover, in this Audience: May I therefore, with your favourable permiſſion, preſume to be a commender, or (if you pleaſe) a pleader for the welfare of this Sacred Order, although my ſelf an unworthy and inconſiderable Member thereof. I ſay therefore,

I. God's Honour is concerned in the ſafe, comfortable and honourable eſtate of his Prieſts: and that upon account of thoſe manifold relations, whereby they ſtand allied, appropriated and devoted to himſelf.

Joel 2. 17. 2 Tim. 2. 24. They are in a peculiar manner his Servants. *The ſervant of the Lord* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach. The ſervant of the Lord*, who's that? are not all men God's ſervants? is not he Lord of all? Yes; but a Chriſtian Prieſt, ſuch as *Timothy* was, is by way of excellency ſo ſtyled. All men owe ſubjection, obedience and homage to God: but the Prieſts are (his Ὑπηρέται, his Λειτουργοὶ) his Miniſters, his Officers, his immediate Attendents, his Domeſticks as it were, and menial Servants; that approach his perſon, that tread the courts of his houſe, that wear his proper badges, that are employed in his particular buſineſs. And is it then for God's honour, to ſuffer them to be abuſed, to want convenient ſuſtenance, to live in a mean and diſgracefull dondition? Would it not redound to the diſcredit of an earthly

1 Cor. 4. 1. Rom. 15. 16.

earthly Prince, to permit, that the attendants on his Perſon, the officers of his Court, the exeeuters of his Edicts ſhould have the leaſt injury offered them, ſhould fare ſeantly or eourſely, ſhould appear in a ſordid garb? are they not therefore by eſpecial priviledges guarded from ſuch inconvenienees? And ſhall the Great King and Lord of all the world b· deemed leſs providēnt for, leſs indulgent (not to ſay leſs juſt) unto his Servants? Servants, I ſay, and thoſe not of the loweſt rank, nor appointed to the vileſt drudgeries; but ſuch as are employed in the moſt honourable eharges, and are intruſted with his moſt eſpeeial concernments.

They are his Stewards. (*A Biſhop*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *muſt be blameleſs, as the Steward of God.*) If the Church be Οἶκος Θεοῦ, *God's houſe*, or family, *as 'tis ealled, and the Prieſts the Οἰκονόμοι, the Stewards of that houſe, the Comptrollers of that family; 'tis ſurely no mean ſtation they obtain therein. The diſtribution of his bread, (the Bread of life, his holy Word,) and the diſpenſation of his moſt pretious Goods, (the holy *Myſteries*,) are eommitted to their care and prudenee. *Who then* (ſaith our Saviour) *is that faithfull and wiſe ſteward, whom his Lord ſhall make ruler over his houſhold, to give them their portion of meat in due ſeaſon?* Who but the Prieſts, who are therefore ſtyled both Πρεσβύτεροι, Ἡγούμενοι, Κυβερνήτες, (*Preſidents*, *Guids*, *Rulers*,) and Ποιμένες (*Feeders* or *Paſtours*) of the Chureh?

Tit 1. 7.

* 1 Tim. 3. 15.

Vid. Matt. 24. 45. 1 Cor. 4 1. Luk. 12. 42.

Yea they are Οἰκοδόμοι alſo, the Builders of that houſe, founding it by initial converſion, rearing it by eontinued inſtruction, covering and finiſhing it by ſaeramental obſignation of Divine graee. *As a wiſe architect*, (ſaith S. *Paul*) *I have laid the foundation, and another builds upon it.*

1 Cor. 3. 10.

They are Συνεργοὶ Θεοῦ, *Co-operatours with God*; that manage his buſineſs, and drive on his deſigns: the Solieitours of his affairs; the Maſters of his requeſts: *his Heralds, that publiſh his Decrees, denounce his Judgment, proclaim his Pardons, and acts of graee unto his ſubjects; that blazon his titles, and defend his rightfull authority in the world: yea, his Miniſters of State; the Miniſters (I ſay, *abſit invidia*,) of his moſt glorious Spiritual Kingdom; (which is peculiarly denominated *the Kingdom of God*;) the orderly adminiſtration of which, its advaneement, its preſervation, and its enlargement, are eſpecially commended to their diligenee and fidelity.

1 Cor. 3. 9.

* Κήρυκες.

They are, laſtly, God's * *Embaſſadours*, delegated by him to treat of peaee, and ſolieit a fair correſpondence between heaven and earth. *Now then* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *we are Embaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us: we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be reconciled to God. As though God did beſeech you by us*; ſee, they manage God's concernments, and in a manner repreſent his perſon. At leaſt, if the Apoſtles were more properly God's Embaſſadours, the preſent Miniſters of Religion are his Agents, and Reſidents here among men, deſigned to purſue the ſame negotiations commeneed by them. Now you know by the law of Nations, and common conſent of all men, all manner of ſeeurity, good entertainment, and eivil reſpect hath been ever aeknowledged due to Embaſſadours, (and publiek Miniſters:) their employment hath been eſteemed honourable, their perſons held ſacred and inviolable; and whatſoever diſeourteſie hath been ſhewed unto, or outrage committed upon them, hath been interpreted done to him from whom they derive their commiſſion, whoſe

* *Vide* Mal. 2. 7. *For the Prieſt's lips ſhould keep knowledge, and they ſhou'd ſeek the law at his mouth: for he is the Meſſenger of the Lord of hoaſts.*

2 Cor. 5. 20.

Joh. 13. 20 *What you have done to these,* &c. Matt. 10. 40. & 25. 40. *He that receiveth you receiveth him that sent you.*

person they represent. And so truly the bad usage of God's Priests, if not directly and immediately, does yet really and truly, according to moral estimation, terminate on God himself, and reflect on his Honour, and prejudice his Religion; a due regard to which cannot be maintained, without proportionable respect to the Ministers thereof. The basest of the people may serve to be Priests to *Jeroboam*'s Calves, but not become the Ministery of the God of *Israel.*

Doe we not see the reverence of Civil Government upheld more by the specious circumstances, than by the real necessity thereof; by the magnificent retinue, and splendid ornaments of Princely dignity, than by the eminent benefits of peace and justice springing thence? Shall not (not onely the greatest inward worth, but) the highest Nobility, if basely attired, badly attended, slenderly accommodated, pass unregarded, yea disregarded by us? men being generally either unable to discern, or unwilling to acknowledge excellency devested of sensible lustre. Religion therefore must be well habited, or it will be ill respected: the Priests must wear a comely (if not a costly) livery, or God their Master's reputation will be impaired in popular fancy.

1 Chron. 17. 1. Consider *David*'s reasoning; *Loe, I dwell in a house of Cedars, but the Ark of the covenant of the Lord remaineth under Curtains*; and compare such discourse therewith as this; and judge candidly, whether they have not some parity: Loe, my Attendants are clad with the finest purple, God's Ministers are covered with the courlest sackcloath; my People surfeit with dainties, his Servants pine away for scarcity; my Courtiers are respectfully saluted, his Priests scornfully derided; no man dare offend mine, every one may trample on his Officers.

Mal. 1 8. And lest we should imagine God himself altogether void of such resentments, or such comparisons impertinent, consider that disdainfull expression of his; *If ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? Offer it now to thy governour; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts.* The same testimonies of respect that we shew our Governours, God, it seems, expects from us in all kinds, and may reasonably much greater.

Nor is it a matter of slight consideration, how plentifull provision, in the policy devised and constituted by God himself, was made for the Priests; how God assumes the immediate patronage of them, and appropriates the matter of their sustenance unto himself. *The Priests* Deut 18. 1. 2 (saith the Law) *the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel; they shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance. Therefore they shall have no inheritance among their brethren: the Lord is their inheritance.* So that *then* (it seems) no man could withhold any part of the Priests maintenance, without sacrilegious encroachment on God's own right, and robbing him of his due: (which is the greatest security of an estate imaginable.) How likewise (next to the Prince) the highest dignity and authority was then conferr'd on the Priests: to them the interpretation of law, to them the decision of doubtfull cases did appertain; with severe injunctions to comply with their determinations. See how the busi-

Deut. 17. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. ness is inculcated. *If there arise a matter too hard for thee, between bloud and bloud, between plea and plea, between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversie within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall chuse: And thou shalt come unto the Priests the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those days,*

days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment. And thou shalt doe according to the sentence which they of that place, which the Lord shall chuse, shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to doe according to all that they inform thee. According to the sentence of the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt doe: thou shalt not decline from the sentence, which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And the man that will doe presumptuously, and will not hearken to the Priest, that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, even that man shall die, and thou shalt put away evil from Israel. Observe with how eminent a power God then thought fit to endow his Priests *.

* Καὶ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων, καὶ δικαστὴν τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, καὶ κολαστὴν τῶν καταγνωσθέντων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐτάχθησαν, saith *Josephus*: The Priests were constituted Supravisours of all things, and Judges of controversies, and Punishers of offences. 2. *in* Apionem

And though we are not in all cases obliged punctually to follow those political prescriptions; yet is the reason of them perpetual, and the example venerable: especially since the custom of all Times, and the reason of all the World doth in a sort conspire to back it.

The first *Priest* we meet with in Scripture is *Melchizedek*; a *King* also; and such a one, as the Patriarch *Abraham*, (a Prince also himself, and, what is somewhat more, just then a Conquerour,) in the midst of his triumphal heights, was not ashamed to acknowledge his superiour, to honour him with a tribute of his spoils, and to receive a benediction from him. The next (If I mistake not) is *Potipherah*, Priest of *On*, whose daughter was not thought by the King of *Egypt* an unequal match for *Joseph*, his chief Favourite, and the next in dignity to himself in that flourishing Kingdom. (Though such an alliance would perhaps be thought derogatory to the Worships of our days.) The third is *Revel*, or *Jethro*, Priest of *Midian*, the Father-in-law likewise of the illustrious *Moses*; a man as of approved wisdom, so doubtless of considerable dignity too. And the next to him (in order of story) is the venerable *Aaron*, no meaner a man, than the Brother of him who was *King in Jesurun*. Thus all Nations, wise and ignorant, civil and barbarous, were by one common instinct (as it were) of natural reason promoted, by conferring extraordinary priviledges of honour and convenience on their Priests, to express their reverence of the Deity, and their affection to Religion.

Gen. 14.

Gen. 41. 45.

Deut. 33. 5.

Vid. Aristot. *Pol. VII.* 9. Οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν, ὅτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καλαστέον· νῦν γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς.

I will not ransack the closets of Antiquity, nor with needless ostentation produce the *Egyptian Hierophantæ*, the *Persian Magi*, the *Gallish Druids*, the *Caliphs* and *Mufti's* of other Nations, to shew what preeminences of respect they enjoyed, what powerfull sway they bore in their respective Countries; how the most weighty affairs, both of peace and war, were commonly directed by their oracular dictates. It shall suffice to observe, that the gallant *Romans*, (whose devout zeal to religion *Polybius* himself, no especial friend of theirs, could not forbear to admire and applaud,) I say, that the most wise and valiant *Romans* did set so high a value upon the Priestly order, that if their principal Magistrates (the Prætors, and Consuls themselves,) did casually meet with one of *Vesta*'s Priests, they caused immediately those dreadfull Rods, the ensigns of their Authority, to submit; and they themselves respectfully gave place, as if they meant to confess those Priests in a manner their betters. Nor did they among them of the most noble extraction, and of the Highest dignity in the Commonwealth,

* Porph. περὶ ἀποχ. *lib. IV.* §. 16. Cæs. *de bell. Gall. L. VI.*

Lib. 6.

Πάντα τὰ πρέποντα Ῥωμαίους ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀνήκοντα. Plut. *in Marcello.* Sen. *in Controv.*

(even after many glorious exploits atchieved by them,) ſcornfully diſdain, but did rather ambitiouſly affect to be admitted into the College of Prieſts: inſomuch that, after the diſſolution of the Republick, the Emperours thought good to aſſume the *Pontifical* dignity to themſelves, ſuppoſing the Office too honourable, the title too magnificent for a Subject. For they wiſely, it ſeems, and honeſtly adjudged it no debaſement of their quality, no diminution to their perſonal excellency, to be employed in the ſervice of the immortal Gods; whom they acknowledged the Patrons of their Country, the Protectours of their ſafety: Nor that they leſs deſerved of the publick, who rightly ordered their religious Devotions, than they who prudently adviſed in the Senate, or fought valiantly in the Field: for that the good ſucceſs of publick undertakings did as much, or more, depend upon the favourable diſpoſition of Divine Providence, as upon the carefull endeavour of humane induſtry.

I cannot forbear to alledge that ſo grave and pertinent ſpeech of *Cicero*, which is the *Exordium* of his Oration *ad Pontifices*: "*Cùm multa* "*divinitùs, Pontifices, à majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt*; "*tum nihil præclariùs, quàm quòd vos eoſdem & Religionibus Deorum im-* "*mortalium, & ſummæ Reip. præeſſe voluerunt: ut ampliſſimi & clariſſi-* "*mi Cives Rempubl. bene gerendo, Religiones ſapienter interpretando,* "*Remp. conſervarent.* A wholeſome and pontick inſtitution he thought it, conducing to the publick good and ſafety, that the Civil and Sacred Authority ſhould be united in the ſame perſons; that it was as well for the intereſt of the State, as for the credit of Religion, that the Prieſts ſhould be men of honour, or (which is all one) honourable men Prieſts.

All which evinces plainly, that it is in no wiſe the reſult of a generous heart, (for what Nation ever produced ſo many brave ſpirits as that?) but rather proceeds from an inconſiderate delicacy of humour, (or from a profane haughtineſs of mind,) to loath, as now men doe, and deſpiſe that employment, which in its own nature is of all moſt noble and moſt beneficial to mankind. For if to be a Courtier in a particular Country, is of all others the moſt honourable relation; and to wait upon a mortal King, is accounted a moſt worthy function: to be peculiarly God's Servant, and in Religious addreſſes immediately to attend on him, muſt conſequently be the moſt excellent preferment in the World, which is God's Kingdom. And if to ſupply a man's bodily needs, to reſtore his liberty, to ſave his life, be works of generous beneficence: how much more is it ſo, by good conduct and inſtruction of men, to adorn their Souls with Vertue, to free them from the bondage of Sin, to reſcue them from eternal ruine?

Itáne plùs decet hominis, quàm Dei famulum nominari? ac terreni quàm cæleſtis Regis officialem, altioris ducitur dignitatis? Qui Clero militiam, forum anteponit Eccleſiæ, divinis profectò humana, cæleſtibus præferre terrena convincitur. Bern. *Epiſt.* 78.

Our magnanimous Anceſtours, who erected as well trophees of their invincible courage abroad, as monuments of their incomparable piety at home, and equally by both did purchaſe immortal renown to their ingratefull poſterity, (for not to imitate good example, is the greateſt ingratitude,) they, I ſay, were otherwiſe diſpoſed; to whoſe honeſt Devotion we owe thoſe handſome priviledges, and thoſe competent revenues which the Prieſthood ſtill enjoys; and which are ſo maligned by this untoward age, not leſs degenerate in ſpirit, than corrupt in manners: when all Wiſdom, and Vertue, and Religion, are almoſt in moſt places grown ridiculous: when the ſerious uſe of Reaſon is become (in vulgar opinion) the moſt impertinent and inſignificant thing in the world: when Innocence is reputed a mere defect of Wit and weakneſs

of

of Judgment; Integrity a fond pertinacity of humour; Conſtancy of mind and Gravity of demeanour, a kind of ſullen moroſity or uncouth affectation of ſingularity; and all ſtrict practice of Chriſtian Duty incurrs the imputation of ſome new-found opprobrious name, one or other. No wonder then, when Religion it ſelf hath ſo much decayed in its love and eſteem, if the Prieſts, its profeſſed Guardians, doe partake in its Fortune. Nor is it to be feared, but that, when the predominant vanities of the Age are ſomewhat decocted, and men grow weary of their own inconvenient follies; when-ever (not a fierce zeal for ſome whimſical Model, or ſome paradoxical Opinion, but) a ſober eſteem of, and a cordial affection to Vertue and genuine Piety doe begin to revive in the breaſts of men; the love and reverence of the *Clergy* will return. For it will be ever true, what was once ſaid, (though dictated onely from the reaſon and experience of a Heathen) *Qui bonâ fide colit Deos, amat & Sacerdotes; He that ſincerely worſhips God, will heartily love his Prieſts.* But not to inſiſt longer on this Reaſon.

Statius. *Epiſt. Dedic. in V. Lib. Sylvarum.*

II. The Good of the Church requires, that the Prieſthood be well protected, well provided for, and well regarded. That men be converted from iniquity, and induced to the ſincere practice of Vertue, is the chief Good of the Church, that to which the Favour of God is annexed, and upon which the Salvation of Souls doth rely. And this Good mainly depends, partly upon the due execution of the Prieſtly office, partly upon the fit diſpoſition of the people to comply therewith: and to both thoſe effects the comfortable eſtate of the Prieſthood is conducible and requiſite. The Prieſt muſt be capable to inſtruct with advantage; and the people diſpoſed to learn with readineſs: He muſt lead, and they follow chearfully in the paths of righteouſneſs. Which alacrity how can he be Maſter of, whoſe mind care and grief, the inſeparable companions of a needy eſtate, doe continually diſtract and diſcompoſe? whoſe ſpirit is dejected with conſtant regret and frequent diſappointments? Can he be free and expedient in the diſcharge of his duty, who is perplexed with the difficulties, and encumbred with the varieties of ſecular buſineſs, (ſuch as the exigencies of a narrow condition doe neceſſarily induce?) No: few there be, that, with *Epictetus*, can philoſophate in ſlavery; or, like *Cleanthes*, can draw water all the day, and ſtudy moſt of the night.

The Prieſts are bound, (for the propagation of truth and right, and for the reclaiming of men from errour and ſin, that is, for the moſt important good of the Church,) as the Apoſtles are often related to have done, παῤῥησιάζεσθαι, *to ſpeak all out*; (or to uſe an unconfined liberty of ſpeech;) to exhort to the practice of Vertue, as our Saviour did, μετ' ἐξουσίας, *with licence* and *authority*; to deterr from Vice, as S. *Paul* injoyns *Titus*, μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς, *with an all-commanding* and imperious *ſtrain*; and, (as thoſe faithfull brethren did, encouraged by S. *Paul*'s example) τολμᾶν ἀφόβως λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον, *to dare undauntedly to utter the word* of truth: they are obliged to deal impartially with all, to flatter no man; to admoniſh, yea and (with prudence ſeaſonably) to reprove the greateſt of men; not to reſpect the perſons of the rich, nor to dread the faces of the moſt terrible among men. And how ſhall this neceſſary courage be engendred, be cheriſhed, be preſerved in the breaſt of him who grovels upon the ground, and crouches under the depreſſing loads of want and diſgrace? What engines are able to raiſe the ſpirits of men above the ordinary fountains from which they ſpring,

Acts 9. 27. & 14 3. & 19. 8. Epheſ. 6. 19. &c. Luk. 4. 32. Tit. 2. 15. Phil. 1. 14.

———*plurima ſunt quæ*
Non audent homines perluſtâ dicere lanâ.
Juven. *Sat.* 5.

their

Αἰδὼς τοι πρὸς ἀνολβίη, δείδοικε δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα πτωχὸν ἰὼν ἀλεγεινός. Hef. l. 317.

Ἐσθλὸς ἄπαυλα δειλὸς ὁ πένης δεῖ πρόγματα, Καὶ πάντας ἀπὸ καλαφρονεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν. Menand.

their fortunes? what props can ſuſtain them at that due pitch, deſtitute of ſolid ſtrength, wealth and reſpect? With what face ſhall a pittiful underling encounter the ſolemn looks of an oppreſſing Grandee? with what hope of ſucceſs in his forlorn habit ſhall he adventure to check the vicious extravagancies of a ruffling gallant? Will he dare to contradict the opinion, or to diſallow the practice of that wealthy, or this powerfull neighbour, by whoſe alms, it may be, he is relieved, and ſupported by his favour?

But admit it poſſible a man may be both extreamly indigent, and ſufficiently reſolute: (that is, ſtrong without food, and fat by digeſting the thin air:) with what regard then ſhall his free and faithfull advice be entertained? Shall not his moderate confidence be accounted impudence; his open ſincerity of ſpeech be ſtyled unmannerly preſumption; his minding others of their duty adjudged a forgetfulneſs of his own condition, or a diſorderly tranſgreſſing the due limits thereof? If he be not aſhamed of the truth, will not the truth be aſhamed of him? Shall he not prejudice more by the meanneſs of his garb, than further by the force of his reaſon, that good cauſe which he maintains? Will men reſpect his words, whoſe perſon they deſpiſe? will they be willingly counſelled, or patiently reproved by him, whom they eſteem, yea, whom they plainly ſee, ſo much their inferiour? No: the ſame words, which proceed from the mouths of men in eminent dignity, are not the ſame whem they are uttered by thoſe of baſe degree. Weak and ineffectual are the moſt eloquent harangues of beggarly Oratours; obſcure like themſelves and unobſerved the moſt notable dictates of poor mercenary pedants. The authority of the ſpeaker doth uſually more incline, than the weight of the matter. It was the obſervation of the wiſe Son of *Sirach*: *When a rich man ſlips, he hath many helpers; he ſpeaketh things not to be ſpoken, and yet men juſtifie him: the poor man miſcarried, and they farther rebuked him; he ſpake diſcretely, and yet could have no place. When a rich man ſpeaketh, every man holdeth his tongue; and his words they extoll to the clouds: but if the poor man ſpeak, they ſay, Who is this? and if he ſtumble, they will help to overthrow him.* And *Solomon* himſelf notes the ſame: *The poor man's wiſedom is deſpiſed, and his words are not heard.* Not onely thoſe that ſwell with pride, and ſwim in plenty, but even the meaneſt of the people will be apt to contemn his inſtructions, whom they perceive in few or no circumſtances of life to excell them. If the Preacher's condition be not, as well as his pulpit, ſomewhat elevated above the loweſt ſtation, few will hear him, fewer mind his words, very few obey him. *Job*'s caſe deſerves well to be conſidered. While he flouriſhed in wealth and reputation, all men attended to his counſell, and admired his diſcourſe. *The Princes* (ſaith he) *refrained talking, and laid their hand on their mouth: The Nobles held their peace, and their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth. When the ear heard me, then it bleſſed me; and when the eye ſaw me, it gave witneſs to me. Unto me men gave ear, and waited, and kept ſilence at my counſell. After my words they ſpake not again and my ſpeech dropped upon them.* So officiouſly attentive were all men to *Job* in his proſperity. But when the ſcale was turn'd, and he became depreſſed in eſtate, no man minded either him or his diſcourſe; except it were to deſpiſe and ſcorn both. *But now* (ſaith he) *they that are younger than I have me in deriſion, whoſe fathers I would have diſdained to*

Τὸ δ' ἀξίωμα, κἂν κακῶς λέγῃ, τὸ σὸν πείσει; Λόγῳ γὰρ ἐν τ' ἀδόξοις ἐνδόξων ἰὼν, κἀκ τῶν ἀδόξων, αὐτὸς, ἐν τοῖσιν δένει. Eurip. *in Hecuba.*

Eccluſ 13. 22, 23.

Κάλλιστα μὲν σῶν φθέγξεται πλουτῶν ἀνήρ Eccles 9. 16.

Job 29. 9, 10. 11, 21, 22.

Job 30. 1, 9. 10. 11.

to have ſet with the dogs of my flock. I am their ſong, yea, I am their by-word. They abhor me, they fly far from me, and ſpare not to ſpit in my face: Becauſe he hath looſed my cord, and afflicted me. If *Job*, a perſon who ſo equally and moderately, yea, * ſo humbly and courteouſly and bountifully uſed his proſperity, as we find he did, was notwithſtanding in his adverſity ſo generally ſlighted and abhorred; what ſhall their lot be who never enjoyed thoſe advantages? what regard ſhall their wholeſome advice find? what efficacy their moſt pathetical exhortations obtain? what paſſion their faint breath raiſe in mens benummed hearts? No more, certainly, than their mean condition ſhall procure among men either of friendſhip or eſteem.

Prov. 14. 20. *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour: but the rich hath many friends.*

* c. 30. 25.

We ſee therefore how Almighty God, that he might conciliate credit unto, and infuſe a perſuaſive energy into the words of his Prophets and Apoſtles, was pleaſed to dignifie them with extraordinary gifts of foretelling future events, and doing miraculous works: their Doctrine, it ſeems, (though of it ſelf moſt reaſonable and plauſible,) being not ſufficient to convince the hearers, without ſome remarkable excellency in the Teachers, challenging the people's awfull regard, and exciting their attention. Otherwiſe how pittifully-ſcant a draught thoſe poor fiſhers of men had caught by the common allurements onely of innocent life and rational diſcourſe, I leave you to imagine. And where ſuch extraordinary commendations are wanting, is it not reaſonable that the need of them ſhould be ſupplied by ordinary and probable expedients?

I might farther adde, how a neceſſitous and deſpicable eſtate doth commonly not onely diſturb the minds and deject the ſpirits of men; but diſtempereth alſo their Souls and vitiateth their manners; rendring them not onely ſad and anxious, ſlaviſh and timorous, but greedy alſo and covetous, peeviſh and mutinous, rude and ignorant: engages them in ſordid company, and tempts them to unworthy courſes. From which one cauſe how ſcandalous effects, and how prejudicial to the Church's both honour and ſafety, have proceeded, I need not for to ſay, ſince wofull experience too loudly proclaims it.

I might adde moreover, that the Prieſts doe confer to the good of the State; which is ſecured and advanced by the ſincere inſtruction of men in duties of Obedience, Juſtice and Fidelity; and by maintenance of good Conſcience among men. So that if things be rightly conſidered, it will be hard to find a better Commonwealths-man, than a good Miniſter.

Seeing therefore the good of the Church, upon various accounts, is ſo much concerned in the Prieſts encouragement, welfare and reſpect; 'tis very fitting they ſhould have them. Which conſideration I conclude with that ſerious admonition of the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*; wherein the ſubſtance of what hath been ſpoken on this point is contained: *Obey your rulers*, (or *guides*,) *and ſubmit to them; for they watch for your ſouls, as they that are to give an account: that they may doe it with joy, and not with complaint; for this is unprofitable for you.* Ἀλυσιτελὲς γὰρ τοῦτο· that is, *for this pays no taxes, quits no ſcores; turns to no account, is nowiſe advantageous for you*; but rather (for there is a μείωσις in thoſe words) is hurtfull and detrimental to you. But farther,

Heb. 13. 17.

μὴ στενάζοντες.

III. Common Equity, and the Reaſon of the caſe exacts, that ſafety, competent ſubſiſtence, and fitting reſpect be allowed to the Prieſts. If you conſider their Perſonal qualities; who, I pray, doe [commonly] better deſerve thoſe advantages than they? Thoſe qualities, I ſay which reſult from a liberal, a ſober, a modeſt education, in the Schools of Wiſdom,

dom, and under the influences of good diſcipline. If Birth (that is, at beſt, an imaginary relation to the gallantry of an Anceſtour) entitle men to honour; if the cheap favours of Fortune be ſo highly prized and admired; if Riches (that is, the happy reſults of induſtry in trivial matters) doe eaſily purchaſe reſpect: what may not they pretend to, whoſe conſtant (and not always unſucceſsfull) endeavour it hath been to deſerve well, to cultivate their minds, and regulate their manners?

True worth indeed is not confined to any particular order of men; yet I ſhould wrong none, by ſaying it is no where more plentifully to be found than in this. What is it that doth advance men's nature, that adorns their minds, that commends their perſons to eſpecial regard? Is it Knowledge? *The Prieſts lips preſerve it*; their diſcourſe doth diffuſe it. Is it Vertue? Whence have more or greater examples thereof proceeded than from them? Is it Piety? It is their proper buſineſs, it hath been always (in ſome meaſure) their care to promote it: That ignorance and barbarity, diſſoluteneſs and irreligion have not long ſince, like a deluge, overſpread the face of the world, none, I ſuppoſe, will be ſo unjuſt, as to deny in greateſt part due to their vigilant endeavours. Even thoſe improvements of Wit and Eloquence, which are employed to their diſgrace and diſadvantage, muſt be acknowledged originally derived from them.

Vide Orig. *contra* Celſ. *l.* 3. *pag.* 129. Mal. 2. 7.

Faults they have had, and will always have; for they are Men, and ſubject to the common imperfections of mortal nature: but that, perhaps, leſs and fewer than any other diſtinct ſort of men; that as it is their duty, ſo it hath been their practice, to excell in Vertue; and that they have commonly in effect made good S. *Ambroſe* his words, *Debet præponderare vita ſacerdotis, ſicut præponderat gratia*; were not difficult to demonſtrate, if ſeemly to make compariſons, or to inſiſt upon ſo invidious a ſubject. Nor, were they greater than ever really they have been, or than ever malice could miſrepreſent them, ſhould it be therefore equal, that the miſcarriages of ſome ſhould derogate from the reputation, or prejudice the welfare of the whold Order.

Epiſt. 82.

But to wave this plea; conſider their Employment. Is there any office more laborious, more vexatious than theirs; accompanied with more weariſome toil, more ſolicitous care, more tedious attendence? They are deſervedly called *Watchmen*, being conſtrained to ſtand always on the gard, to be always wakefull, attentive, and ready to warn the people of approaching dangers: and *Shepherds* likewiſe, being forced to endure the various hardſhips of that uneaſie life, the inconveniences of all weathers, the nipping froſts, and ſweltry heats, and all diverſities of irkſome travels; they muſt feed, they muſt guide, they muſt defend; they muſt ſeek the loſt, and reduce the ſtraying ſheep. What aſſiduity of ſtudy, what earneſt contention of Soul are they obliged to uſe, in the continual inſtruction, exhortation and reprehenſion of the people; in rectifying their judgments, ſatisfying their ſcruples, removing the prejudices, bearing their infirmities, and ſympathizing with their afflictions? 'Tis they that are engaged with all their might to withſtand the prevailing encroachments of Iniquity, to ſtop the progreſs of pernicious Errours, to detect the falſe pretences of Impoſtours, to confute the falacies of Sophiſters, to repell the aſſaults of all Adverſaries to the truth; yea, if need be, to expoſe, not onely their deareſt contents of life, but even their lives themſelves, in the defence thereof.

Heb. 13 17.

Euſebius reports thus of *Maximinus*, Τὰς περὶ ἐκκλησιῶν ἀρχὰς μόνας, ὡς αἴτιας τῆς κατὰ τὸ διάγγελιον διδασκαλίας ἀναιρεῖσθαι προστάττει. *He commanded*

Lib. VI.

manded that only the Governours of the Church (that is, *the Bishops*) *should be slaughtered, as the Authors of the growth and prevalence of Evangelical Doctrine.* Neither was it a singular practice of that bloody Tyrant, but as a thing of course it constantly follows, that where-ever Righteousness and Truth are violently impugned, the Priests are sure to taste deepest of that bitter cup; that their Goods be in the first place sequestred and spoiled, their Reputation stained, their Persons misused, their Lives sacrificed to the Persecutors outrageous malice.

Is it not reasonable then, and equal, that they who, for the service of God, and benefit of the Church, undergo such difficulties, and are objected to so great hazards, should be sustained, should be refreshed by proportionable encouragements? Is it not barbarous usage, to expect so hard duties from them, to impose such heavy burthens on them, and yet to grudge any sutable comforts, any satisfactory rewards to them? Good King *Hezekiah* surely was not so minded, of whom 'tis said, *He commanded the people that dwelt in Hierusalem, to give the portion of the Priests and Levites, that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord:* that is, that they might be heartned to study, to teach, to perform the duties required of them by the Divine Law. And St. *Paul* thus rationally expostulates in the Priests behalf: *Whoever goeth to war at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof; or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? If we have sown unto you spiritual things; is it a great thing, if we shall reap your carnal things? Is it a great thing?* do you think much of it? If you do, you are unreasonable, you are unjust, you are ingrateful. And otherwhere he thus very Emphatically admonishes; *We beseech you, Brethren, to* * *mind them which labour among you, and* || *preside over you in the Lord, and that admonish you; and to esteem them more than exceedingly* (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ) *in love, for their work* (or, *for their office*) *sake:* (so ἔργον frequently signifies in such cases.) And again, *Let the Elders* (or *Priests*, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι,) *which rule well be counted worthy of double honour:* (or *of double recompence:* so τιμὴ also imports.) Priests as so, for their office sake, have honour and reward due to them; which, according to the good management of that office, are proportionably to be augmented and multiplied.

2 Chr. 31. 4.

1 Cor. 9. 7, 11.

Vid. Rom. 15. 27.

1 Thes. 5. 12, 13.

* Εἰδέναι.

|| τὸ προϊστασθαι.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

But farther yet, abstracting from both their Personal worth, and the merit of their service, consider their Condition in this world, and see whether it doth not in equity challenge some reasonable provision to be made for them. Are they not, by the nature of their profession, secluded from all ordinary means of temporal advancement? Be not those usual inlets of Wealth, the Court, the Camp, and the Exchange, shut upon them, yea barr'd against them, by those insuperable obstacles of Law and Custom? Can they grow rich by trade, or famous by feats of arms? May they plead for others? 'tis well if they be allowed to do it for themselves before equal Judges. Yet are they not Men, endued with humane passions and resentments? Are they not Citizens, partaking in the common interests of the weal publick? Are they not sensible of the inconveniences, and capable of enjoying the benefits of this life? Are they not equally obliged, and would they not be glad, as well as others, to be in a capacity to requite courtesies, to help relations, to gratifie friends, to relieve the poor, to express respectively their humanity, and their gratitude? Skill they not to use the goods of Fortune (or rather the gifts of Providence) with as much discretion, as much sobriety, as much honour, as others? Compare things righte-

ouſly, and let Reaſon judge; let Experience be examined; let thoſe eternal monuments of their Piety, their Charity, their Hoſpitality, declare and teſtifie. Shall, laſtly, the fruits of painful ſtudy, the improvement of hopeful parts, the flower of vigorous age and ſtrength ſpent in the publick ſervice, tend only hither, to put a man into a ſtate of ſtruggling with extreme contempt and penury? If this be not, what, I pray you, is monſtrous iniquity?

Since therefore it appears (upon ſo many ſeveral ſcores) reaſonable, that Almighty God ſhould undertake the protection, and aſſert the honour of his Prieſts; we may not only praiſe the goodneſs, but approve alſo the wiſdom of this promiſe; and by the contemplation thereof ſtrengthen our faith in reliance thereon. To which purpoſe one Conſideration more may very much conduce, and withall may provoke our gratitude to celebrate his truth and faithfulneſs, in making good, as well as his goodneſs and wiſdom, in making this Promiſe; *viz.* the conſidering how continually hitherto God hath been pleaſed effectually to *cloath* his *Prieſts with Salvation*, to provide abundantly for their ſafety, their accommodation, their reſpect in this world; and to deliver them from the oppoſite inconveniences.

If we reflect our thoughts on the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, (not more diſmal for Suffering, than glorious for Piety,) 'tis admirable to ſee how ſincerely and paſſionately the Chriſtian people did then love their Prieſts and Paſtors; how liberally, out of their ſlender ſtock, and the ſhipwrecks of their ſpoiled fortunes, they contributed to their maintenance; what exceeding veneration they bore them; with what incredible alacrity they ſubmitted to the moſt ſevere Diſciplines injoyned by them; how willingly they followed them, though leading into the jaws of death and cruel torture: ſo that, although it was then neceſſary for the Chriſtian Prieſts to undergo the greateſt hardſhips; according to the deſign of Chriſtian Religion; (which was to be propagated, not by terror of Power, nor by politick Artifice, but by the invincible Faith, Reſolution and Patience of the Profeſſors and Teachers thereof;) yet never more may they have ſeemed to thrive and proſper, than in that juncture of time, when they enjoyed the univerſal good will and applauſe of good people, when they unconſtrainedly embraced affliction for righteouſneſs ſake, and acquired thereby the certain fruition of a more excellent Salvation.

But in the ſucceeding Times, when Chriſtianity, breaking out of the clouds of Perſecution, began to ſhine over all with brighteſt luſtre; of the glories and happy fruits of that illuſtrious triumph none did partake more fully, than they, who had ſuſtained the hardeſt brunts of the foregoing conflict, and had been the principal cauſes of the ſucceſs. Then the joyful acclamations of the faithful people reſounded in the praiſe of their victorious Champions: then did the Emperours themſelves, with arms out-ſtretched, and hearts enlarged, with affection embrace the Authors of their happy Converſion; then all Laws prejudicial to their welfare were reſcinded, and new ones were ſubſtituted, abundantly providing for their ſecurity, honeſt livelihood and due reverence; which in progreſs of time, not in the *Roman* Empire only, but in all other Nations (that afterwards did entertain Chriſtianity) were no wiſe impaired, but were rather ampliated and fortified by the pious favour of Princes: The barbarous *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Lombards*, being no ſooner endued with any degree of Civility, or

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any ſenſe of Religion, than poſſeſſed with a hearty reverence of their Biſhops and Prieſts.

And ever ſince, (which is not to be imputed, as ſome raſhly, if not impiouſly, averr, to the prevalence of Antichriſtian iniquity, but rather to the Providence of Divine Benignity; ever ſince, I ſay) till the late Commotions and Alterations in Chriſtendom, they have been the Guardians of others ſafety, not themſelves deprived of protection; have abounded with wealth, rather than wanted ſuſtenance; have been the objects of envy, more than of contempt. Princes have loved and cheriſhed them, have relied upon their advice, and intruſted them with their higheſt concernments. Nobles have not been aſhamed to yield them place. The Sacerdotal Robe hath been often dyed with purple; and the Sons of mighty Monarchs have not thought themſelves degraded by entring into their Order. And if in ſome particular places (before or ſince thoſe Changes) their condition hath not been ſo high and plentiful; yet hath it been (almoſt ever) tolerable; the countenance of Authority, and the reſpect of the people being in good degree vouchſafed them. Even in thoſe Churches which till this day groan under the oppreſſion of Infidel Princes, the Prieſts (by the free permiſſion of thoſe Princes) retain their Juriſdiction in a manner as great as ever; and withal enjoy a maintenance not altogether inconſiderable.

So favourable hitherto hath God been unto his Prieſts, ſo faithful to his Promiſe: which doth oblige us to thank him; which may encourage us to hope in him; which may arm us with confidence againſt the preſent ill will of thoſe that wiſh, and againſt the practices of thoſe that deſign our ruin.

'Tis true, This Promiſe is not affixed to all parts of time, to all particularities of place, to all determinate circumſtances of things. The Prieſts may now and then, here and there, in this or that ſuffer highly; they may be ejected, be plundered, be degraded, as experience hath ſhewed us. But they may be alſo ſoon reſtored, repoſſeſſed, readvanced, and (I had almoſt ſaid) revenged too; as the like experience doth aſſure us. 'Tis not impoſſible, I confeſs, we may relapſe into the ſame, or into a more calamitous eſtate; the obſtinate diſaffections of men threaten it, and our own miſcarriages more dangerouſly; yet the moſt offenſive of theſe (which many honeſt men diſlike, and moſt men exclaim againſt) have been in as bitter terms complained of in almoſt the firſt Ages. " *Inhiant poſſeſſionibus, prædia excolunt, auro incubant, quæſtui per omnia ſtudent*, ſaid a devout Writer of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory about 1300 years ago. And ſo much no man (without extreme uncharitableneſs and falſhood) can in ſo general terms impute to the preſent Clergy: notwithſtanding which, God did continue to vouchſafe his protection to them. They were ſometimes, (by the Inundations of barbarous people,) and we may again (by national concuſſions) be ſeverely chaſtiſed for our faults: Yet were not they, nor ſhall we be (at leaſt every where, and for ever) utterly rejected. God may *viſit our tranſgreſſions with the rod, and our iniquity with ſtripes: Nevertheleſs his loving kindneſs will he not utterly take from us, nor ſuffer his faithfulneſs to fail. His Covenant he will not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of his lips.* God may for a time hide his face from us; but he will not for ever turn his back upon us: the honour of the Prieſthood may for a while be overclouded in ſome part of the world; but ſhall never totally be eclipſed, nor ſwallowed up in a perpetual

Sulp. Sev. *Lib.* 1. *c.*43.

Pſal. 89. 32, 33, 34.

night. While God continues his reſidence in *Sion*, and defends his Church againſt *the gates of Hell*, and *powers of darkneſs*; while Religion retains any ſway in the hearts of men, and Truth poſſeſſes any room upon earth; the Prieſts ſhall not be left deſtitute and naked, but everlaſtingly be *cloathed with ſalvation*. Which that it may (to the Glory of God, and good of his Church) more ſurely come to paſs, let us convert this Promiſe into a Prayer, and ſay with *Solomon*, *Now therefore ariſe, O Lord God, thou and the ark of thy ſtrength: Let thy Prieſts, O Lord God, be cloathed with Salvation, and let thy Saints rejoyce in goodneſs*. Amen.

2 Chron. 6. 41.

SERMON XIII.

Not to Offend in Word, an Evidence of a High Pitch of Vertue.

St. JAM. III. 2.

If any man offend not in word, be is a perfect man.

THIS Sentence ſtands in the head of a Diſcourſe concerning the Tongue, (that doubtful Engin of good and evil,) wherein how excellent benefits, and how grievous miſchiefs, it, as rightly or perverſly wielded, is apt to produce, how it is both a ſweet inſtrument of all goodneſs, and a ſharp weapon of all iniquity, is poſitively laid down, and by fit compariſons illuſtrated. But ſecluding all relation to the Context, the words may well be conſidered ſingly by themſelves; and as ſuch they inſtruct us, aſſerting a certain Truth; they direct us, implying a good Duty. They aſſert that man to be perfect, who offends not in Speech; and they conſequently imply, that we ſhould ſtrive to avoid offending therein: for to *be perfect*, and to *go on to perfection*, are precepts, the obſervance whereof is incumbent on us. We ſhall firſt briefly explain the Aſſertion, and then declare its truth; afterwards we ſhall preſs ſomewhat couched in the Duty.

Deut. 18. 13. Luk. 6. 40. Mat. 5. 48. & 19. 21. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Heb. 6. 1.

To *OFFEND* originally ſignifies to *impinge*, that is, to ſtumble, or hit dangerouſly upon ſomewhat lying croſs our way, ſo as thereby to be caſt down, or at leaſt to be diſordered in our poſture, and ſtopt in our progreſs: whence it is well transferr'd to denote our being through any incident temptation brought into ſin, whereby a man is thrown down, or bowed from his upright ſtate, and interrupted from proſecuting a ſteddy courſe of Piety and Vertue. By an uſual and appoſite manner of ſpeaking, our tenour of life is called *a Way*, our converſation *Walking*, our actions *Steps*, our obſerving good Laws, *Uprightneſs*, our tranſgreſſion of them *Tripping*, *Faultring*, *Falling*.

Εἴ τις ἐν λόγῳ οὐ πταίει.

Pſal. 37. 23, 24.

By *NOT OFFENDING IN WORD*, we may eaſily then conceive to be underſtood ſuch a conſtant reſtraint, and ſuch a careful guidance of our Tongue, that it doth not tranſgreſs the rules preſcribed unto it by Divine Law, or by good Reaſon; that it thwarteth not the natural ends

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and proper uſes for which it was framed, to which it is fitted; ſuch as chiefly are promoting God's glory, our Neighbours benefit, and our own true welfare.

By *A PERFECT MAN* is meant a Perſon accompliſhed and compleat in goodneſs, one of ſingular worth and integrity, a brave and excellent man, who, as to the continual tenour of his life, is free from all notorious defects, and heinous faults; like *David*, *fulfilling all God's will*, and *having reſpect to all God's commandments*; like *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, *walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameleſs*. Thus was *Noah*, thus was *Abraham*, thus was *Job* perfect. This is the notion of *Perfection* in Holy Scripture: Not an abſolute exemption from all blemiſh of Soul, or blame in life; for ſuch a Perfection is inconſiſtent with the nature and ſtate of Man here, where none with modeſty or with truth can ſay, *I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my ſin*; where every man muſt confeſs with *Job*, *If I juſtifie my ſelf, mine own mouth ſhall condemn me*; *if I ſay, I am perfect, it ſhall prove me perverſe*. For, *There is not* (as the Preacher aſſures) *a juſt man upon earth, that doth good, and ſinneth not*; and, *In many things we offend all*, is our Apoſtle's aſſertion, immediately preceding my Text; which words may ſerve to expound theſe. *In many things*, ſaith he, *we offend all*, that is, there is no man abſolutely perfect: but *if any man offend not in word*, (that is, if a man conſtantly govern his Tongue well,) *that man is perfect*; perfect in ſuch a kind and degree as humane frailty doth admit; he is eminently good; he may be reaſonably preſumed upright and blameleſs in all the courſe of his practice; *able* (as it follows) *to bridle the whole body*, that is, qualified to order all his actions juſtly and wiſely. So that in effect the words import this, That a conſtant governance of our Speech according to duty and reaſon is a high inſtance, and a ſpecial argument of a throughly ſincere and ſolid goodneſs.

Jam. 1. 4. Act. 13. 22. Pſal. 119. 6. Luk. 1. 6. Gen. 6. 9. & 17. 1. Job 1. 1. Prov. 20. 9. Job 9. 20. Eccleſ. 7. 20.

The truth of which Aphoriſm may from ſeveral Conſiderations appear.

1. A good Governance of Speech is a ſtrong evidence of a good Mind; of a mind pure from vicious deſires, calm from diſorderly paſſions, void of diſhoneſt intentions. For ſince Speech is a child of Thought, which the mind always travaileth and teemeth with, and which after its birth is wont in features to reſemble its parent; ſince every man naturally is ambitious to propagate his conceits, and without a painful force cannot ſmother his reſentments; ſince eſpecially bad affections (like ſtumme or poiſon) are impetuous and turgid, ſo agitating all the ſpirits, and ſo ſwelling the heart, that it cannot eaſily compoſe, or contain them; ſince a diſtempered conſtitution of mind, as of body, is wont to weaken the retentive faculty, and to force an evacuation of bad humours; ſince he that wanteth the principal wiſdom of well ordering his Thoughts, and maſtering his Paſſions, can hardly be conceived ſo prudent, as long to refrain, or to regulate their dependence, Speech; conſidering theſe things, I ſay, it is ſcarce poſſible, that he which commonly thinks ill, ſhould conſtantly either be well ſilent, or ſpeak well. To conceal fire, to check lightning, to confine a whirlwind, may perhaps be no leſs fecible, than to keep within due compaſs the exorbitant motions of a Soul, wherein Reaſon hath loſt its command, ſo that *quâ data porta*, where the next paſſage occurs, they ſhould not ruſh forth, and vent themſelves. A vain Mind naturally will bubble forth or fly out in frothy expreſſions; Wrath burning in the breaſt will flame out, or at leaſt ſmoak through the mouth; rancorous Impoſtumes of Spite and Malice will at length diſcharge purulent matter; Luſt boiling within will ſoon foam out in lewd

Eccluſ. 19. 11. *A fool travaileth with a word, as a woman in labour of a child.*

lewd discourse. If the fountain it self is polluted, or infected, how can
Mat. 12. 34. the streams be clear, or wholsome; *How can ye, being evil, speak good things?* (saith our Lord) *for from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. A good man* (addeth he) *out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things; and an evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth evil things:* ἐκβάλλει πονηρά, *he casteth forth ill things*, as a fountain doth its waters by a natural and necessary ebullition. It is true, that in some particular cases, or at some times, a foul heart may be disguised by fair words, or covered by demure reservedness: Shame, or Fear, or crafty Design, may often repress the declaration of ill thoughts and purposes. But such fits of dissimulation cannot hold; men cannot abide quiet under so violent constraints; the intestine jars, or unkindly truces, between Heart and Tongue (those natural friends) cannot be perpetual, or very durable: No man can hold his breath long, or live without evaporating through his mouth those steams of passion which
Psal. 39. 3. arise from flesh and blood. *My heart was hot within me, while I was musing, the fire burned; then spake I with my tongue*, saith *David*, expressing the difficulty of obstructing the eruption of our Affections into
Ἀνδρὸς χαρακτὴρ ἐν λόγῳ γνωρίζεται
1 Pet. 3. 4. Language. Hence it is, that Speech is commonly judged the truest character of the mind, and the surest test of inward worth; as that which discloseth the *hidden man of the heart*, which unlocketh the closets of the breast, which draws the Soul out of her dark recesses into open light and view, which rendreth our thoughts visible, and our intentions palpable. Hence, *Loquere, ut te videam*, Speak, that I may see you, or know what kind of man you are, is a saying which all men, at first meeting, do in their hearts direct one to another: neither commonly doth any man require more to ground a judgment upon concerning the worth or ability of another, than opportunity of hearing him to discourse for a competent time: yea often, before a man hath spoken ten words, his mind is caught, and a formal sentence is passed upon it. Such a strict affinity and connexion do all men suppose between Thoughts and Words.

2. From hence, that the use of Speech is it self a great ingredient into our Practice, and hath a very general influence upon whatever we do, may be inferred, that whoever governeth it well, cannot also but well order his whole life. The extent of Speech must needs be vast, since it is nearly commensurate to Thought it self, which it ever closely traceth, widely ranging through all the immense variety of objects; so that men almost as often speak incogitantly, as they think silently. Speech is indeed the Rudder that steereth humane affairs, the Spring that setteth the wheels of action on going; the Hands work, the Feet walk, all the Members and all the Senses act by its direction and impulse; yea, most Thoughts are begotten, and most Affections stirred up thereby: it is it self most of our employment, and what we do beside it, is however guided and moved by it. It is the profession and trade of many, it is the practice of all men, to be in a manner continually talking. The chief and most considerable sort of men manage all their concernments merely by Words; by them Princes rule their Subjects, Generals command their Armies, Senators deliberate and debate about the great matters of State: by them Advocates plead causes, and Judges decide them; Divines perform their offices, and minister their instructions; Merchants strike up their bargains, and drive on all their Traffick. Whatever almost great or small is done in the Court or in the Hall, in the Church, or at the Exchange, in the School, or in the Shop, it is the Tongue alone

that

that doth it: 'tis the force of this little Machine, that turneth all the human World about. It is indeed the uſe of this ſtrange organ which rendreth human life, beyond the ſimple life of other creatures, ſo exceedingly various and compounded; which creates ſuch a multiplicity of buſineſs, and which tranſacts it; while by it we communicate our ſecret conceptions, transfuſing them into others; while therewith we inſtruct and adviſe one another; while we conſult about what is to be done, conteſt about right, diſpute about truth; while the whole buſineſs of Converſation, of Commerce, of Government, and adminiſtration of Juſtice, of Learning, and of Religion, is managed thereby; yea, while it ſtoppeth the gaps of time, and filleth up the wide intervals of Buſineſs, our recreations and divertiſements (the which do conſtitute a great portion of our life) mainly conſiſting therein: ſo that, in compariſon thereof, the execution of what we determine and all other action do take up ſmall room; and even all that uſually dependeth upon foregoing Speech, which perſuadeth, or counſelleth, or commandeth it. Whence the Province of Speech being ſo very large, it being ſo univerſally concerned, either immediately as the matter, or by conſequence as the ſource of our actions, he that conſtantly governeth it well, may juſtly be eſteemed to live very excellently.

3. To govern the Tongue well is a matter of exceeding difficulty, requiring not only hearty goodneſs, but great judgment and art, together with much vigilance and circumſpection; whence the doing it argues a high pitch of Vertue. For ſince the Tongue is a very looſe and verſatile engine, which the leaſt breath of thought doth ſtir, and ſet on going any way, it cannot but need much attention to keep it either in a ſteddy reſt, or in a right motion. Since numberleſs ſwarms of things roving in the fancy do thence inceſſantly obtrude themſelves upon the Tongue, very much application of mind and great judgment are requiſite to ſelect out of them thoſe few which are good and fit, rejecting all that is bad, and improper to be ſpoken. Since continually temptations occur provoking or alluring to miſcarriage in this kind, (for beſide internal propenſions and commotions of Soul, every object we behold, every company we are engaged in, every accident befalling us doth ſuggeſt ſomewhat inviting thereto; the condition of our neighbour moving us, if high, to flatter; if low, to inſult; our own fortune prompting, if proſperous, to boaſt, if croſs, to murmur; any action drawing from us, if it pleaſeth us, fond admiration, if it diſliketh, harſh cenſure: ſince, I ſay, we are thus at every turn obnoxious to ſpeak amiſs,) it muſt be a matter of huge skill and caution, of mighty induſtry and reſolution, to decline it. We for that purpoſe need to imitate that earneſt and watchful care of the Holy *Pſalmiſt*, which he thus expreſſeth; *I have* (ſaith he) *purpoſed that my mouth ſhall not offend*: and, *I ſaid* (ſaith he again) *I will take heed to my ways, that I ſin not with my tongue; I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.* And thus to maintain a conſtant guard over his heart and ways, thus in conſequence thereof to curb and rule his Speech well, muſt aſſuredly be the mark of a very good perſon. Eſpecially conſidering, that, Pſal. 17. 3. Pſal. 39. 1.

4. Irregular Speech hath commonly divers more advantages for it, and fewer checks upon it, than other bad Practice hath. A man is apt (I mean) to ſpeak ill with leſs diſſatisfaction and regret from within; he may do it with leſs controll and leſs hazard from without, than he can act ill. Bad Actions are groſs and bulky, taking up much time, and having much force ſpent on them, whence men eaſily obſerve and conſider

ſider them in themſelves and others: but ill Words are ſubtile and tranſient, ſoon born, and as ſoon deceaſed; whence men raſhly utter them without much heed before them, or much reflexion after them. Bad actions have alſo uſually viſible effects, immediately conſequent on them: but Words operate inſenſibly and at diſtance; ſo that men hardly diſcern what will follow them, or what they have effected. There are alſo frequent occaſions of ſpeaking ill upon preſumption of ſecrecy, and thence of indiſturbance and impunity; yea, doing ſo is often entertained with complacence, and encouraged with applauſe: the vileſt abuſes of ſpeech (even Blaſphemy, Treaſon and Slander themſelves) may be ſafely whiſpered into ears, which will receive them with pleaſure and commendation. Bad Language alſo in moſt caſes is neither ſtrictly prohibited, nor ſeverely chaſtiſed by humane Laws, as bad Action is. Whence ordinarily the guilt of this misbehaviour ſeems little or none; and perſons much practiſing it, both in their own conceit, & in the opinion of others, do often paſs for innocent. Men indeed here will hardly diſcern any rule, or acknowledg any obligation: the Tongue they deem is free, and any words may be diſpenſed with: it is ſufficient if they abſtain from doing groſs wrong or miſchief, they have a right and liberty to ſay any thing.

Pſal. 12. 4. *Our Lips are our own; who is Lord over us?* ſo are men commonly prone to ſay, with thoſe in the *Pſalm*. Hence whoſoever, notwithſtanding ſuch encouragements to offend herein, and ſo few reſtraints from it, doth yet carefully forbear it, governing his Tongue according to rules of duty and reaſon, may juſtly be reputed a very good man. Furthermore,

5. Whereas moſt of the enormities, the miſchiefs and the troubles whereby the Souls of men are defiled, their minds diſcompoſed, and their lives diſquieted, are the fruits of ill-governed Speech; it being that chiefly which perverteth juſtice, which ſoweth diſſentions, which raiſeth all bad paſſions and animoſities, which embroileth the world in ſeditions and factions, by which men wrong and abuſe, deceive and ſeduce, defame and diſgrace one another, whereby conſequently innumerable vexations and diſturbances are created among men; he that by well-governing his Speech preſerveth himſelf from the guilt, diſengageth his mind and life from the inconveniences of all ſuch evils, (from the diſcreet and honeſt management thereof enjoying both innocence and peace,) muſt neceſſarily be as a very wiſe and happy, ſo a very good and worthy perſon.

6. His Tongue alſo ſo ruled cannot but produce very good fruits of honour to God, of benefit to his Neighbour, of comfort to himſelf: it will be ſweet and pleaſant, it will be wholſome and uſeful; endearing converſation, cementing peaceful ſociety, breeding and nouriſhing love, inſtructing and edifying, or chearing and comforting the hearers.

Prov. 12. 18. 10. 11. & 15. 4. Prov. 15. 7. Prov. 12. 14. & 13. 2, 3. & 15. 23. Prov. 24. 26. His *tongue is health*; His *mouth is a well* and *tree of life*; His *lips diſperſe knowledge*; He *ſhall be ſatisfied with good by the fruit of his mouth*; *Every man ſhall kiſs his lips*: Such (as the Wiſe-man telleth us) are the effects of innocent, ſober and well-ordered diſcourſe; the which do much commend their author, and declare the excellent virtue of that Tree from which ſuch fruits do grow.

7. Laſtly, The obſervation how unuſual this practice is, (in any good degree) may ſtrongly aſſure the excellency thereof. For the rarer (eſpecially in omrals) any good thing is, the more noble and worthy it is; that rarity arguing ſomewhat of peculiar difficulty in the attainment or the atchievement thereof. Nothing is more obvious to common experience, than that perſons, who in the reſt of their demea-

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nour and dealings appear blameleſs, yea who in regard to other points of duty would ſeem nice and preciſe, are extremely peccant in this kind. We may ſee divers, otherwiſe much reſtraining and much denying themſelves, who yet indulge themſelves a ſtrange licentiouſneſs in ſpeaking whatever their humour or their paſſion dictates. Many, in other reſpects harmleſs, (who would not for any thing ſmite or ſlay folks,) we may obſerve with their Tongue to commit horrible outrages upon any man that comes in their way. Frequently perſons very punctual in their dealings, are very unjuſt in their language, cheating and robbing their neighbour of his reputation by envious detraction and hard cenſure. They who abhor ſhedding a man's blood, will yet without any ſcruple or remorſe, by calumnious tales and virulent reproaches, aſſaſſinate his credit, and murther his good name, although to him perhaps far more dear and pretious than his life. Commonly ſuch as are greatly ſtaunch in other enjoyments of pleaſure, are enormouſly intemperate in ſpeaking, and very incontinent of their Tongue: men in all other parts of morality rigorouſly ſober, are often in this very wild and diſſolute. Yea, not ſeldom we may obſerve, that even mighty pretenders to godlineſs, and zealous practiſers of devotion, cannot forbear ſpeaking things plainly repugnant to God's Law, and very prejudicial to his honour. Thus it is obſervable to be now; and thus we may ſuppoſe that it always hath been. So of his time S. *Hierome* (or rather S. *Paulinus*, in his excellent Epiſtle to *Celantia*) teſtifies: * *Such a luſt* (ſaith he, concerning the ill-governance of Speech) *of this evil hath invaded the minds of men, that even thoſe who have far receded from other vices, do yet fall into this, as into the laſt ſnare of the Devil.* So it appears, that among all ſorts of good Practice, the ſtrict Governance of the Tongue is leaſt ordinary, and conſequently, that it is moſt admirable, and excellent. And this is all I ſhall ſay for Confirmation of the Point aſſerted.

* *Tanta hujus mali libido mentes hominum invaſit, ut etiam qui procul ab aliis vitiis receſſerunt, in iſtud tamen, quaſi in extremum Diaboli laqueum, incidant.* Ad Celant.

NOW then, as it is our duty to aim at perfection, or to endeavour the attainment of integrity in Heart and Life, ſo we ſhould eſpecially labour to govern our Tongue, and guard it from offence. To which purpoſe it is requiſite, that we ſhould well underſtand and conſider the nature of thoſe ſeveral Offences to which Speech is liable, together with the ſpecial pravity, deformity and inconvenience of each: for did we know and weigh them, we ſhould not ſurely either like, or dare to incurr them.

The Offences of Speech are many and various in kind; ſo many as there be of Thought and of Action, unto which they do run parallel: accordingly they well may be diſtinguiſhed from the difference of objects which they do ſpecially reſpect. Whence, 1. ſome of them are committed againſt God, and confront Piety; 2. others againſt our Neighbour, and violate Juſtice, or Charity, or Peace; 3. others againſt our Selves, infringing Sobriety, Diſcretion, or Modeſty; or, 4. ſome are of a more general and abſtracted nature, rambling through all matters, and croſſing all the heads of Duty. It is true, that in moſt, or in all Offences of Speech, there is a complication of Impiety, Iniquity and Imprudence; for that by all ſorts of ill Speaking we ſin againſt God, and break his Commandment; we injure our Neighbour, at leaſt by contagion and bad example: we abuſe our Selves, contracting guilt, and expoſing our ſelves to puniſhment: alſo the general vices of Speech (unadviſedneſs and vanity) do conſtantly adhere to every bad word: Yet commonly each evil Speech hath a more direct and immediate aſpect

upon ſome one of thoſe objects, (God, our Neighbour, or our Selves,) and is peculiarly repugnant to one of thoſe capital Vertues (Piety, Charity and Sobriety) unto which all our Duty is reduced. Now according to this diſtinction, I ſhould, If time would give leave, deſcribe, and diſſuade particularly all theſe ſorts of Offence: but (ſince I muſt be reſpectful to patience, and careful my ſelf not to offend in Speech) I ſhall confine the reſt of my preſent Diſcourſe to the firſt ſort, the Offences againſt Piety; and even of them I ſhall (waving the reſt) only touch two or three, inſinuating ſome reaſons why we ſhould eſchew them. Theſe are,

(Pſal. 78. 19. Num. 21. 5. Job 34. 37.) I. Speaking blaſphemouſly againſt God, or reproachfully concerning Religion, or to the diſgrace of Piety, with intent to ſubvert mens faith in God, or to impair their reverence of him. There hath been a race of men (and would to God that race were not even till now continued) concerning whom the *Pſalmiſt* ſaid, *They ſpeak loftily, they ſet their mouth againſt the heavens*; who, like the proud *Senacherib*, *lift up their eyes, and exalt their voice againſt the Holy One of Iſrael*; who, with the profane *Antiochus*, *ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods*. This of all impieties is the moſt prodigiouſly Gigantick, the moſt ſignal practice of enmity towards God, and down-right waging of war againſt Heaven. Of all *weapons formed againſt God*, the Tongue moſt notoriouſly doth impugn him: for we cannot reach Heaven with our hands, or immediately aſſault God by our actions: other ill practice indeed obliquely, or by conſequence diſhonoureth God, and defameth goodneſs; but profane Diſcourſe is directly levelled at them, and doth immediately touch them, as its formal objects. Now doing thus argueth an extremity both of folly and naughtineſs: for he that doth it, either believeth the exiſtence of God, and the truth of Religion; or he diſtruſts them. If he doth believe them, what a deſperate madneſs is it in him, adviſedly to invite certain miſchief to his home, and pull down heavieſt vengeance on his own head, by oppoſing the irreſiſtible power, and provoking the inflexible Juſtice of God? What an abominable villany and baſeneſs is it, thus to abuſe God's immenſe goodneſs and mercy, offering ſuch deſpight to the Author of his being, and free Donour of all the good he enjoys? What a monſtrous conſpiracy is it of ſtupidity and perverſeneſs in him, thus wilfully to defie his own welfare, to forfeit all capacity of happineſs; to precipitate and plunge himſelf into a double Hell, that of bitter remorſe here, that of endleſs pain hereafter? But if he that reproacheth God and Religion be ſuppoſed diſtruſtful of their being and reality, neither ſo is he excuſable from like degrees of folly and pravity: for, beſide the wild extravagance of ſuch disbelief, againſt legions of cogent arguments and pregnant teſtimonies, againſt all the voice of nature and faith of hiſtory, againſt the ſettled judgment of wiſe and ſober perſons, who have ſtudied and conſidered the point, againſt the current tradition of all Ages, and general conſent of mankind; all which to withſtand, no leſs demonſtrateth high indiſcretion than arrogance; beſide alſo the palpable ſillineſs which he diſplays, in cauſeleſly (or for no other cauſe than ſoothing a phantaſtick humour) drawing upon himſelf the anger and hatred of all men, who are concerned for the intereſts of their Religion, thruſting himſelf into great dangers and miſchiefs thence imminent to him both from private zeal, and publick law; beſide (I ſay) theſe evident follies, there is an unſufferable inſolence and horrible malice apparent in this practice; for 'tis no leſs than the height of inſolence, thus to affront

(Pſal. 73. 8, 9. Iſa. 37. 23. 2 Chron. 32. 19. Dan. 11. 36.)

(Iſa. 54. 17.)

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mankind in matters of higheſt conſideration, and deepeſt reſentment with it; not only thwarting its common notions, but vilifying the chief objects of its higheſt reſpect and affection, of its main care and concernment; ſo making the fierceſt invaſion that can be on its credit, and charging it with greateſt fondneſs. Who can endure, that He, whom he apprehends to be his grand Parent, his beſt Friend and Benefactour, his great Patron and Sovereign, ſhould in down-right terms be defamed or diſparaged? Who can patiently bear, that wherein he placeth his utmoſt hopes, and ſupreme felicity, to be expreſsly ſlighted or ſcorned? Who can take the offering to do this, otherwiſe than for a moſt injurious reflexion upon his judgment and his practice? If he cannot believe in God, he may let them alone who do: if he will not practiſe Religion, he may forbear to perſecute it. He cannot pretend any zeal; 'tis therefore only pride that moves him to diſturb us. So may every man with all the reaſon in the world complain againſt the profane Talker. Seeing alſo it is moſt evident, that hearty reverence of God, and a conſcientious regard to Religion, do produce great benefits to mankind, being indeed the main ſupports of common honeſty and ſobriety, the ſole curbs, effectually reſtraining men from unjuſt fraud and violence, from brutiſh luſts and paſſions; ſince apparently Religion preſcribeth the beſt rules, and impoſeth the ſtrongeſt engagements to the performance of thoſe actions, whereby not only mens private welfare is promoted, and ordinary converſation is ſweetned, and common life is adorned, but alſo whereby publick order and peace are maintained; ſince (as *Cicero* with good reaſon judged) *Piety being removed, 'tis probable that Juſtice it ſelf* (of all Vertues the beſt guarded and fortified by humane power) *could not ſubſiſt, no faith could be ſecured, no ſociety could be preſerved among men*; it being manifeſtly vain to fancy, that aſſuredly without Religious conſcience any one will be a good Subject, a true Friend, or an Honeſt man; or that any other conſideration can induce men to prefer duty to their Prince, the proſperity of their Country, fidelity toward their Friends or Neighbours, before their own preſent intereſts and pleaſure: Since, I ſay, the credit of Religion is ſo very beneficial and uſeful to mankind, 'tis plain, that he muſt be exceedingly ſpiteful and malicious, who ſhall by profane Diſcourſe endeavour to ſupplant or ſhake it. He that ſpeaketh againſt God or Providence, hath aſſuredly a pique at Goodneſs, and would not have it predominant in the hearts of men. He that diſparages Religion, doth certainly take his aim againſt Vertue, and would not have it practiſed in the world: his meaning plainly is, to effect, if he can, that Men ſhould live like Beaſts in foul impurities, or like Fiends in miſchievous iniquities. Such an one therefore is not to be taken as a ſimple embracer of Errour, but as a ſpiteful deſigner againſt common Good. For indeed, were any man aſſured (as none can upon ſo much as probable grounds think it) that Religion had been only deviſed by men, as a ſupplemental aid to Reaſon and Force, (drawing them, whom the one could not perſuade, nor the other compell, to the practice of things conducible to the publick weal;) that it were merely an implement of policy, or a knack to make people loyal to their Prince, upright in their dealings, ſober in their converſations, moderate in their paſſions, vertuous in all their doings; it were yet a moſt barbarous naughtineſs and inhumanity in him to aſſay the overthrow thereof, with the defeating ſo excellent purpoſes: he that ſhould attempt it, juſtly would deſerve to be reputed an enemy to the welfare of mankind, to be treated as a peſtilent diſturber of the world.

Haud ſcio an, pietate adverſus Deos ſublatâ, fides etiam, & ſocietas humani generis, & unà excellentiſſima virtus juſtitia tollatur. Cic.

Ut quos ratio non poſſet, eos ad officium religio duceret. Cic.

II. Another like Offence againſt Piety is, to ſpeak looſely and wantonly about Holy things, (things nearly related to God or to Religion,) to make ſuch things the matter of ſport and mockery, to play and trifle with them. But of this I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another Diſcourſe.

III. Another grand Offence againſt Piety is, raſh and vain Swearing in common diſcourſe; an Offence which now ſtrangely reigns and rages in the world, paſſing about in a ſpecious garb, and under glorious titles, as a gentile and graceful quality, a mark of fine breeding, and a point of high gallantry. Who, forſooth, now is the brave Spark, and complete Gentleman, but he that hath the skill and confidence (O Heavens! how mean a skill! how mad a confidence!) to lard every ſentence with an Oath or a Curſe; making bold at every turn to ſalute God, fetching him down from Heaven to avouch any idle prattle, to ſecond any giddy paſſion, to concern himſelf in any trivial affair of his; yea, calling and challenging the Almighty to damn and deſtroy him? But ſomewhat to repreſs theſe fond conceits and vile practices, let us, I pray, conſider,

1. That Swearing thus is moſt expreſsly and ſtrictly prohibited to us. Mat. 5. 34, 37. Jam. 5. 12. *I ſay unto you, Swear not at all: But let your converſation be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe, cometh of evil:* ſo our Lord forbids it. *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not---leſt you enter into condemnation:* ſo doth Saint *James* warn againſt it. And is it not then prodigious, that in Chriſtendom any man ſhould affect to break laws ſo plain and ſo ſevere; that it ſhould paſs here not only for a tolerable, but even for a commendable practice, to violate ſo manifeſt and ſo important a Duty; that ſo directly to thwart our Lord himſelf ſhould be a thing not in uſe only, but in credit and requeſt among Chriſtians? What more palpable affront could be offered to our Religion, and to all that is Sacred among us? For, what reſpect or force can we imagin reſerved to Religion, while a practice ſo indiſputably oppoſite thereto, in a high degree, is ſo current and prevalent?

2. Again, according to the very nature and reaſon of things, it is evidently an intolerable Profaneneſs, thus unadviſedly to make addreſſes and appeals to God, invoking his teſtimony, and demanding his judgment about trifles; far more ſuch, than it were a high preſumption and encroachment upon the Majeſty of a Prince, on every petty occaſion to break into his preſence, and to aſſail his ears, dragging him to hear and determin concerning it. Whence the very light of Nature condemns this practice, and even Heathens have loudly declared againſt it, as derogatory to the reverence of the Duty, and unſutable to the gravity of a worthy man.

3. Swearing indeed is by our Holy Oracles worthily repreſented to us, as an eſpecial piece of Worſhip and Devotion toward God; wherein, duly performed, we piouſly acknowledge his chief Attributes, and ſingular Prerogatives: (his being every-where preſent, and conſcious of all we ſay or do; his Goodneſs, and Fidelity, in favouring truth, and protecting right; his Juſtice, in rewarding veracity and equity, in avenging falſhood and iniquity; his being the Supreme Lord of all perſons, and laſt Judge in all cauſes: to ſignifie and avow theſe things to God's glory, Swearing was inſtituted, and naturally ſerveth:) wherefore, as all other acts of Devotion, ſo this grand one eſpecially ſhould never be performed without all ſerious conſideration and humble reverence; the cauſe ſhould be certainly juſt and true, the matter worthy

and

and weighty, the manner grave and ſolemn, the mind framed to earneſt attention, and furniſhed with devout affections. Thoſe conditions are always carefully to be obſerved, which the Prophet intimates, when he chargeth thus; *Thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs.* It is therefore horrible mockery and profanation of a moſt ſacred ordinance, when men preſume to uſe it without any care or conſideration, without any reſpect or awe, upon any ſlight or vain occaſion. Jer. 4. 2.

4. The doing ſo is alſo very prejudicial to humane Society; for the deciſion of Right, the ſecurity of Government, and the preſervation of Peace, do much depend upon an awful regard to Oaths; and therefore upon their being only uſed in due manner, and ſeaſon; the ſame do greatly ſuffer by the contempt or diſregard of them, and conſequently by their common and careleſs uſe. They are the ſureſt bonds by which the Conſciences of men are tied to the atteſtation of truth, and obſervance of faith; the which as by rare and reverent uſe they are kept firm and faſt, ſo by frequent and negligent application of them (by their proſtitution to every light and toyiſh matter) they are quite diſſolved, or much ſlackned. Whence the publick ſeems much concerned, that this enormity ſhould be retrenched. For if Oaths generally become cheap and vile, what will that of Allegeance ſignifie? if men are wont to dally with Swearing every-where, can they be expected to be ſtrict and ſerious therein at the Bar, or in the Church? Will they regard the teſtimony of God, or dread his judgment, in one place, or at one time, when as every-where continually (upon any, upon no occaſion) they dare to confront and contemn them?

5. This way of Swearing is alſo a very uncivil and unmannerly practice. It is not only a groſs rudeneſs toward the main body of men, who juſtly reverence the Name of God, and loath ſuch abuſes thereof; not only an inſolent defiance to the common Profeſſion and Law of our Country, which diſallows and condemns it; but it is very odious and offenſive to any particular Society, if at leaſt there be one ſober perſon therein; for to any ſuch perſon (who retains a ſenſe of goodneſs, or is any wiſe concerned for God's honour) no language or behaviour can be more diſguſtful; nothing can more grate the ears, or fret the heart of ſuch an one, than this kind of talk: to give him the Lie were a complement, to ſpit in his face were an obligation, in compariſon thereto. Wherefore 'tis a wonder, that any perſon, having in him a ſpark of ingenuity, or at all pretending to good manners, ſhould find in his heart or deign to uſe it.

6. This practice alſo much derogateth from the credit of him that uſeth it, rendring the truth of whatever he ſays in reaſon and juſtice ſuſpected. For he that is ſo void of Conſcience, as to ſwear vainly, what can engage him to ſpeak truly? He that is ſo looſe in one ſuch point of obedience to God and Reaſon, why ſhould we conceive him ſtrict in regard to another?

7. It can be ſurely no wrong to diſtruſt him, ſince he implies himſelf not to be, even in his own opinion, a credible perſon; ſince he judges not his own bare affirmation to deſerve belief. For why, if he takes his word to be competently good, doth he back it with ſuch Aſſeverations? why unprovoked calls he God to witneſs, if he thinks his own honeſty ſufficient to aſſure the truth of what he ſays? An honeſt man, methinks, ſhould ſcorn thus to invalidate his own credit, or to detract from the authority of his word, which ſhould ſtand firm upon it ſelf, and not want an Oath ſupport it.

Tantus in te ſit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, juratum putes. Hier.

8. To

8. To excuſe this, the Swearer muſt be forced to confeſs another ugly fault in ſpeaking, that is, impertinence, or uſing of waſte and inſignificant words; to be charged wherewith he is indeed however unavoidably liable. For Oaths, as they paſs commonly, are mere excreſcences of Speech, which do nothing elſe but encumber and deform it: they embelliſh diſcourſe, juſt as a wen or a ſcab does beautifie a face; as a ſpot or a patch does adorn a garment. For to what purpoſe (I pray) is God's Name haled into our idle talk? why ſhould we ſo often mention him, when we never mean any thing about him? Into every ſentence to foiſt a dog, or a horſe, would altogether be as proper and pertinent. Theſe ſuperfluous words ſignify nothing, but that the ſpeaker little skilleth the uſe of ſpeech, or the rule of converſation, but meaneth to prate any thing without wit or judgment; that his fancy is very beggarly, and craves the aid of any impertinency to relieve it. One would think, that a man of ſenſe ſhould grutch to lend his ears, or incline his attention to ſuch putid ſtuff; that without nauſeating he ſhould not endure to ſee men laviſh time, and ſquander breath ſo frivolouſly.

Πρὸς ἀναπήρωσιν λόγου. Hier.

9. In fine, this Offence is particularly moſt inexcuſable, in that it ſcarce hath any temptation to it, or bringeth with it any advantage; ſo that it is unaccountable what (beſide mere vanity or perverſeneſs) ſhould diſpoſe men thereto. It gratifieth no ſenſe, it yieldeth no profit, it procureth no honour: for the ſound of it is not very melodious, nor ſurely was any man ever preferred for it, or got an eſtate thereby; it rather to any good ear maketh a horrid and jarring noiſe, it rather produceth diſpleaſure, damage and diſgrace. Wherefore of all dealers in ſin the Swearer is apparently the ſillieſt, and maketh the worſt bargains for himſelf; for he ſinneth *gratis*, and (like thoſe in the Prophet) *ſelleth his Soul for nothing*. An *Epicure* hath ſome reaſon, and an Extortioner is a man of wiſdom, if compared to him; for they enjoy ſome pleaſure, or acquire ſome gain here, in lieu of their Salvation hereafter. But he offends Heaven, and abandons happineſs, he knows not why, nor for what; a fond humour poſſeſſes him, he inconſiderately follows a herd of fopps, he affects to play the Ape; that is all he can ſay for himſelf. Let me be pardoned, if juſt indignation againſt a wickedneſs ſo contemptible, ſo hainous, and ſo ſenſeleſs, and withall ſo notorious, and ſo rife among us, doth extort from me language ſomewhat tart and vehement.

Iſa. 52. 3.

If men would then but a little conſider things, ſurely this ſcurvy faſhion would be ſoon diſcarded, much fitter for the ſcum of the people, than for the flower of the Gentry; yea rather, much below any man endued with a ſcrap of Reaſon, not to ſay with a grain of Religion. Could we bethink our ſelves, certainly modeſt, ſober and pertinent Diſcourſe would appear far more generous and manly, than ſuch wild Hectoring God Almighty, ſuch rude inſulting over the received Laws, ſuch ruffianly ſwaggering againſt ſobriety and goodneſs. If Gentlemen would regard the Vertues of their Anceſtours, (that gallant Courage, that ſolid Wiſdom, that noble Courteſie, which firſt advanced their Families, and ſevered them from the vulgar,) this degenerate wantonneſs and dirtineſs of Speech would return to the dunghill, or rather (which God grant) would be quite baniſhed from the world

Finally, as to this whole Point, about not offending in our Speech againſt Piety, we ſhould conſider, that as we our ſelves, with all our members and powers, were chiefly deſigned and framed to ſerve and glorify our Maker; (it being withall the greateſt perfection of our nature, and

the

the nobleſt privilege thereof ſo to do;) ſo eſpecially our Tongue and Speaking faculty were given us to declare our admiration and reverence of him, to expreſs our love and gratitude toward him, to celebrate his praiſes, to acknowledge his benefits, to promote his honour and ſervice. This conſequently is the moſt proper and worthy uſe thereof; from this it becomes in effect what the Pſalmiſt ſo often terms it, our *glory*, and the beſt member we have; as that whereby we far excell all creatures here below; that whereby we conſort with the bleſſed Angels above, in diſtinct utterance of praiſe to our Creatour. Wherefore applying it to any impious diſcourſe, (tending any-wiſe to the diſhonour of God, or diſparagement of Religion,) is a moſt unnatural abuſe thereof, and a vile ingratitude toward him that gave it to us. From which, and from all other offences, God in his mercy preſerve us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, unto whom for ever with heart and tongue let us ſtrive to render all glory and praiſe. *Amen.*

Pſal. 16. 9. & 30. 12. & 57. 8. & 108. 1.

SERMON XIV.

Againſt Fooliſh Talking and Jeſting.

EPHES. V. 4.

----Nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient.

MOral and political Aphoriſms are ſeldom couched in ſuch terms, that they ſhould be taken as they ſound preciſely, or according to the wideſt extent of ſignification; but do commonly need expoſition, and admit exception: otherwiſe frequently they would not only claſh with reaſon and experience, but interfere, thwart and ſupplant one another. The beſt Maſters of ſuch wiſdom are wont to interdict things, apt by unſeaſonable or exceſſive uſe to be perverted, in general forms of ſpeech, leaving the reſtrictions, which the caſe may require or bear, to be made by the hearers or interpreters diſcretion: whence many ſeemingly-formal prohibitions are to be received only as ſober cautions. This obſervation may be particularly ſuppoſed applicable to this precept of S. *Paul*, which ſeemeth univerſally to forbid a practice commended (in ſome caſes and degrees) by Philoſophers as vertuous, not diſallowed by Reaſon, commonly affected by men, often uſed by wiſe and good perſons; from which conſequently if our Religion did wholly debar us, it would ſeem chargeable with ſomewhat too uncouth auſterity and ſourneſs: from imputations of which kind as in its temper and frame it is really moſt free, (it never quenching natural light, or cancelling the dictates of ſound Reaſon, but confirming and

Οἱ μὲν ἁπλῶς μηδὲν γελοῖον, πρός τε λέγοντα δυσχεραίνοντες, ἀγροικοι καὶ σκληροὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. Ariſt. Eth. 4. 8.

and improving them;) ſo it carefully declineth them, injoyning us, that * *if there be any things* προσφιλῆ, (*lovely*, or grateful to men,) *any things* εὔφημα, (*of good report* and repute,) *if there be any vertue and any praiſe*, (any thing in the common apprehenſions of men held worthy and laudable,) we ſhould *mind thoſe things*, that is, ſhould yield them a regard anſwerable to the eſteem they carry among rational and ſober perſons.

* Phil. 4. 8.

Whence it may ſeem requiſite ſo to interpret and determine S. *Paul*'s meaning here concerning *Eutrapelia*, (that is, facetious ſpeech, or railery, by our Tranſlatours rendred *Jeſting*,) that he may conſiſt with himſelf, and be reconciled to *Ariſtotle*, who placeth this practice in the rank of Vertues; or that Religion and Reaſon may well accord in the caſe; ſuppoſing, that if there be any kind of Facetiouſneſs innocent and reaſonable, conformable to good manners, (regulated by common ſenſe, and conſiſtent with the tenour of Chriſtian Duty, that is, not tranſgreſſing the bounds of Piety, Charity and Sobriety,) Saint *Paul* did not intend to diſcountenance or prohibit that kind.

For thus expounding and limiting his intent, we have ſome warrant from himſelf, ſome fair intimations in the words here. For firſt, what ſort of facetious ſpeech he aimeth at, he doth imply by the fellow he coupleth therewith; μωρολογία, (ſaith he) ἢ εὐτραπελία, *fooliſh talking, or facetiouſneſs:* ſuch Facetiouſneſs therefore he toucheth as doth include Folly, in the matter or manner thereof. Then he farther determineth it by adjoyning a peculiar quality thereof, unprofitableneſs, or impertinency; ἃ μὴ ἀνήκοντα, *which are not pertinent*, or conducible to any good purpoſe: whence may be collected, that it is a frivolous and idle ſort of Facetiouſneſs which he condemneth.

But however manifeſt it is, that ſome kind thereof he doth earneſtly forbid: whence, in order to the guidance of our practice, it is needful to diſtinguiſh the kinds, ſevering that which is allowable from that which is unlawful; that ſo we may be ſatisfied in the caſe, and not on the one hand ignorantly tranſgreſs our duty, nor on the other trouble our ſelves with ſcruples, others with cenſures, upon the uſe of warrantable liberty therein.

And ſuch a reſolution ſeemeth indeed eſpecially needful in this our Age, (this pleaſant and jocular Age,) which is ſo infinitely addicted to this ſort of ſpeaking, that it ſcarce doth affect or prize any thing near ſo much; all reputation appearing now to vail and ſtoop to that of being a Wit: to be learned, to be wiſe, to be good, are nothing in compariſon thereto; even to be noble and rich are inferiour things, and afford no ſuch glory. Many at leaſt, (to purchaſe this glory, to be deemed conſiderable in this faculty, and enrolled among the Wits,) do not only *make ſhipwreck of conſcience*, abandon Vertue, and forfeit all pretences to wiſdom; but neglect their eſtates, and proſtitute their honour: ſo to the private damage of many particular perſons, and with no ſmall prejudice to the publick, are our times poſſeſſed and tranſported with this humour. To repreſs the exceſs and extravagance whereof, nothing in way of diſcourſe can ſerve better, than a plain declaration when and how ſuch a practice is allowable or tolerable; when it is wicked and vain, unworthy of a man endued with Reaſon, and pretended to honeſty or honour.

This I ſhall in ſome meaſure endeavour to perform.

But firſt it may be demanded, what the thing we ſpeak of is, or what this Facetiouſneſs doth import? To which queſtion I might reply as

Democritus

Democritus did to him that asked the definition of a Man, *'Tis that which we all ſee and know:* any one better apprehends what it is by acquaintance, than I can inform him by deſcription. It is indeed a thing ſo verſatile and multiform, appearing in ſo many ſhapes, ſo many poſtures, ſo many garbs, ſo variouſly apprehended by ſeveral eyes and judgments, that it ſeemeth no leſs hard to ſettle a clear and certain notion thereof, than to make a pourtraict of *Proteus*, or to define the figure of the fleeting Air. Sometimes it lieth in pat alluſion to a known ſtory, or in ſeaſonable application of a trivial ſaying, or in forging an appoſite tale: ſometimes it playeth in words and phraſes, taking advantage from the ambiguity of their ſenſe, or the affinity of their ſound: ſometimes it is wrapped in a dreſs of humorous expreſſion; ſometimes it lurketh under an odd ſimilitude; ſometimes it is lodged in a ſly queſtion, in a ſmart anſwer, in a quirkiſh reaſon, in a ſhrewd intimation, in cunningly diverting, or cleverly retorting an objection: ſometimes it is couched in a bold ſcheme of ſpeech, in a tart Irony, in a luſty Hyperbole, in a ſtartling Metaphor, in a plauſible reconciling of contradictions, or in acute Nonſenſe: ſometimes a ſcenical repreſentation of perſons or things, a counterfeit ſpeech, a mimical look or geſture paſſeth for it: ſometimes an affected ſimplicity, ſometimes a preſumptuous bluntneſs giveth it being: ſometimes it riſeth only from a lucky hitting upon what is ſtrange, ſometimes from a crafty wreſting obvious matter to the purpoſe: often it conſiſteth in one knows not what, and ſpringeth up one can hardly tell how. Its ways are unaccountable and inexplicable, being anſwerable to the numberleſs rovings of fancy and windings of language. It is, in ſhort, a manner of ſpeaking out of the ſimple and plain way, (ſuch as Reaſon teacheth and proveth things by,) which by a pretty ſurprizing uncouthneſs in conceit or expreſſion doth affect and amuſe the fancy; ſtirring in it ſome wonder, and breeding ſome delight thereto. It raiſeth Admiration, as ſignifying a nimble ſagacity of apprehenſion, a ſpecial felicity of invention, a vivacity of ſpirit, and reach of wit more than vulgar: it ſeeming to argue a rare quickneſs of parts, that one can fetch in remote conceits applicable; a notable skill, that he can dexterouſly accommodate them to the purpoſe before him, together with a lively briskneſs of humour, not apt to damp thoſe ſportful flaſhes of imagination. (Whence in *Ariſtotle* ſuch perſons are termed εὐτρόπελοι, *dexterous* men; and εὔτροποι, men of facil or verſatile manners, who can *eaſily turn* themſelves to all things, or turn all things to themſelves.) It alſo procureth Delight, by gratifying curioſity with its rareneſs, or ſemblance of difficulty; (as monſters, not for their beauty, but their rarity; as jugling tricks, not for their uſe, but their abſtruſeneſs, are beheld with pleaſure;) by diverting the mind from its road of ſerious thoughts; by inſtilling gayety and airineſs of ſpirit; by provoking to ſuch diſpoſitions of ſpirit in way of emulation or complaiſance; and by ſeaſoning matters, otherwiſe diſtaſtful or inſipid, with an unuſual, and thence grateful tang.

Eadem quæ, ſi imprudentibus excidunt, ſtulta ſunt, ſi ſimulamus, venuſta creduntur. Quint. 6. 3.

Et hercle omnis falſè dicendi ratio in eo eſt, ut aliter quàm eſt rectum verúmque dicatur. Quint.

Eth. 4. 8.

Εὐτρόπελος λέγεται ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ παντοδαπός, ὁ ἁπτός, ὁ εὔκολος, ὁ πάντα γινόμενος. Chryſ. *in Eph. Or.* 17.

But ſaying no more concerning what it is, and leaving it to your imagination and experience to ſupply the defect of ſuch explication, I ſhall addreſs my ſelf to ſhew, firſt, when and how ſuch a manner of ſpeaking may be allowed; then, in what matters and ways it ſhould be condemned.

I. Such Facetiouſneſs is not abſolutely unreaſonable or unlawful, which miniſtreth harmleſs divertiſement, and delight to converſation: (harmleſs, I ſay, that is, not intrenching upon Piety, not infringing

Δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ ἀνάπαυσις καὶ ἡ παιδιὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον. Arist. *Eth.* 4. 8.

Danda est remissio animis; meliores acrioresque requieti surgent, &c. Sen. *de Tranq.* 15.

Charity or Justice, not disturbing Peace.) For Christianity is not so tetrical, so harsh, so envious, as to bar us continually from innocent, much less from wholsome and useful pleasure, such as humane life doth need or require. And if jocular discourse may serve to good purposes of this kind; if it may be apt to raise our drooping spirits, to allay our irksome cares, to whet our blunted industry, to recreate our minds being tired and cloyed with graver occupations; if it may breed alacrity, or maintain good humour among us; if it may conduce to sweeten conversation and endear society; then is it not inconvenient, or unprofitable. If for those ends we may use other recreations, employing on them our ears and eyes, our hands and feet, our other instruments of sense and motion; why may we not as well to them accommodate our organs of speech, and interiour sense? Why should those games which excite our wits and fancies be less reasonable, than those whereby our grosser parts and faculties are exercised? Yea, why are not those more reasonable, since they are performed in a manly way, and have in them a smack of Reason; seeing also they may be so managed, as not only to divert and please, but to improve and profit the mind, rouzing and quickning it, yea sometimes enlightning and instructing it, by good sense conveyed in jocular expression?

—ridentem dicere verum Quid vetat?

It would surely be hard, that we should be tied ever to knit the brow, and squeeze the brain, (to be always sadly dumpish; or seriously pensive,) that all divertisement of mirth and pleasantness should be shut out of conversation: and how can we better relieve our minds, or relax our thoughts, how can we be more ingenuously chearful, in what more kindly way can we exhilarate our selves and others, than by thus *sacrificing to the Graces*, as the Ancients call'd it? Are not some persons always, and all persons sometimes, uncapable otherwise to divert themselves, than by such discourse? Shall we, I say, have no recreation: or must our recreations be ever clownish, or childish, consisting merely in rustical efforts, or in petty sleights of bodily strength and activity? Were we in fine obliged ever to talk like Philosophers, assigning dry reasons for every thing, and dropping grave sentences upon all occasions, would it not much deaden humane life, and make ordinary conversation exceedingly to languish? Facetiousness therefore in such cases, and to such purposes, may be allowable.

Θύε τοῖς χάρισι· *ità* Plato *Xenocratem morosiorem monuit.*

2. Facetiousness is allowable, when it is the most proper instrument of exposing things apparently base and vile to due contempt. It is many times expedient, that things really ridiculous should appear such, that they may be sufficiently loathed and shunned; and to render them such is the part of a facetious wit, and usually can only be compassed thereby. When to impugn them with down-right reason, or to check them by serious discourse, would signify nothing; then representing them in a shape strangely-ugly to the fancy, and thereby raising derision at them, may effectually discountenance them. Thus did the Prophet *Elias* expose the wicked superstition of those who worshipped *Baal*: *Elias* (saith the Text) *mocked them, and said, Cry aloud; for he is a God, either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleeps, and must be awaked.* By which one pregnant instance, it appeareth, that reasoning pleasantly-abusive in some cases may be useful. The Holy Scripture doth not indeed use it frequently; (it not suting the Divine simplicity and stately gravity thereof to do so;) yet its condescension thereto at any time sufficiently doth authorize a cautious use thereof. When sarcastical twitches are needful to pierce the thick skins of men,

1 King. 18. 27.

men to correct their lethargick ſtupidity, to rouze them out of their drouzy negligence; then may they well be applied: when plain declarations will not enlighten people, to diſcern the truth and weight of things, and blunt arguments will not penetrate, to convince or perſuade them to their duty; then doth Reaſon freely reſign its place to Wit, allowing it to undertake its work of inſtruction and reproof.

3. Facetious diſcourſe particularly may be commodious for reproving ſome vices, and reclaiming ſome perſons; (as Salt for cleanſing and curing ſome ſores.) It commonly procureth a more eaſie acceſs to the ears of men, and worketh a ſtronger impreſſion on their hearts, than other diſcourſe could do. Many who will not ſtand a direct reproof, and cannot abide to be plainly admoniſhed of their fault, will yet endure to be pleaſantly rubb'd, and will patiently bear a jocund wipe; though they abominate all language purely bitter or ſour, yet they can reliſh diſcourſe having in it a pleaſant tartneſs: you muſt not chide them as their maſter, but you may gibe with them as their companion: if you do that, they will take you for pragmatical and haughty; this they may interpret friendſhip and freedom. Moſt men are of that temper; and particularly the Genius of divers perſons, whoſe opinions and practices we ſhould ſtrive to correct, doth require not a grave and ſevere, but a free and merry way of treating them. For what can be more unſutable and unpromiſing, than to ſeem ſerious with thoſe who are not ſo themſelves, or demure with the ſcornful? If we deſign either to pleaſe or vex them into better manners, we muſt be as ſportful in a manner, or as contemptuous as themſelves. If we mean to be heard by them, we muſt talk in their own faſhion, with humour and jollity: if we will inſtruct them, we muſt withal ſomewhat divert them: we muſt ſeem to play with them, if we think to convey any ſober thoughts into them. They ſcorn to be formally adviſed or taught; but they may perhaps be ſlily laughed and lured into a better mind. If by ſuch complaiſance we can inveigle thoſe Dottrels to hearken to us, we may induce them to conſider farther, and give Reaſon ſome competent ſcope, ſome fair play with them. Good Reaſon may be apparelled in the garb of Wit, and therein will ſecurely paſs, whither in its native homelineſs it could never arrive: and being come thither, it with eſpecial advantage may impreſs good advice; making an offender more clearly to ſee, and more deeply to feel his miſcarriage; being repreſented to his fancy in a ſtrain ſomewhat rare and remarkable, yet not ſo fierce and frightful. The ſeverity of reproof is tempered, and the reprover's anger diſguiſed thereby. The guilty perſon cannot but obſerve, that he who thus reprehends him is not diſturb'd or out of humour, and that he rather pitieth than hateth him; which breedeth a veneration to him, and imparteth no ſmall efficacy to his wholſome ſuggeſtions. Such a Reprehenſion, while it forceth a ſmile without, doth work remorſe within; while it ſeemeth to tickle the ear, doth ſting the heart. In fine, many whoſe foreheads are brazed and hearts ſteeled againſt all blame, are yet not of proof againſt deriſion; divers who never will be reaſoned, may be raillied into better order: in which caſes Raillery, as an inſtrument of ſo important good, as a ſervant of the beſt Charity may be allowed.

4. Some Errours likewiſe in this way may be moſt properly and moſt ſucceſsfully confuted; ſuch as deſerve not, and hardly can bear a ſerious and ſolid confutation. He that will conteſt things apparently decided by ſenſe and experience, or who diſavows clear Principles of reaſon, approved by general conſent, and the common ſenſe of men, what other

hopeful way is there of proceeding with him, than pleaſantly to explode his conceits? To diſpute ſeriouſly with him, were trifling; to trifle with him is the proper courſe: ſince he rejecteth the grounds of Reaſoning, 'tis vain to be in earneſt; what then remains, but to jeſt with him? To deal ſeriouſly, were to yield too much reſpect to ſuch a baffler, and too much weight to his fancies; to raiſe the man too high in his courage and conceit; to make his pretences ſeem worthy the conſidering and canvaſing. Briefly, perverſe obſtinacy is more eaſily quelled, petulant impudence is ſooner daſhed, Sophiſtical captiouſneſs is more ſafely eluded, Sceptical wantonneſs is more ſurely confounded in this, than in the ſimple way of diſcourſe.

5. This way is alſo commonly the beſt way of defence againſt unjuſt reproach and obloquy. To yield to a ſlandrous reviler a ſerious reply, or to make a formal plea againſt his charge, doth ſeem to imply, that we much conſider, or deeply reſent it; whereas by pleaſant reflexion on it we ſignify, the matter only deſerves contempt, and that we take our ſelves unconcerned therein. So eaſily without care or trouble may the brunts of malice be declined or repelled.

6. This way may be allowed in way of counterbalancing, and in compliance to the faſhion of others. It would be a diſadvantage unto Truth and Vertue, if their defenders were barred from the uſe of this weapon; ſince it is that eſpecially whereby the patrons of Errour and Vice do maintain and propagate them. They being deſtitute of good reaſon, do uſually recommend their abſurd and peſtilent notions by a pleaſantneſs of conceit and expreſſion, bewitching the fancies of ſhallow hearers, and inveagling heedleſs perſons to a liking of them: and if, for reclaiming ſuch people, the folly of thoſe Seducers may in the like manner be diſplayed as ridiculous and odious, why ſhould that advantage be refuſed? It is Wit that wageth the war againſt Reaſon, againſt Vertue, againſt Religion; Wit alone it is that perverteth ſo many, and ſo greatly corrupteth the world: It may therefore be needful, in our warfare for thoſe deareſt concerns, to ſort the manner of our fighting with that of our adverſaries, and with the ſame kind of arms to protect Goodneſs, whereby they do aſſail it. If Wit may happily ſerve under the banner of Truth and Vertue, we may impreſt it for that ſervice; and good it were to reſcue ſo worthy a faculty from ſo vile abuſe. It is the right of Reaſon and Piety, to command that and all other endowments; Folly and Impiety do only uſurp them: juſt and fit therefore it is, to wreſt them out of ſo bad hands, to revoke them to their right uſe and duty.

It doth eſpecially ſeem requiſite to do it in this Age, wherein plain Reaſon is deemed a dull and heavy thing. When the mental appetite of men is become like the corporeal, and cannot reliſh any food without ſome piquant ſawce, ſo that people will rather ſtarve, than live on ſolid fare; when ſubſtantial and ſound diſcourſe findeth ſmall attention, or acceptance; in ſuch a time, he that can, may in complaiſance, and for faſhion's ſake, vouchſafe to be facetious; an ingenious vein coupled with an honeſt mind may be a good talent; he ſhall employ Wit commendably, who by it can further the intereſts of Goodneſs, alluring men firſt to liſten, then inducing them to conſent unto its wholſome dictates and precepts.

Since men are ſo irreclaimably diſpoſed to mirth and laughter, it may be well to ſet them in the right pin, to divert their humour into the proper chanel, that they may pleaſe themſelves in deriding things which deſerve it, ceaſing to laugh at that which requireth reverence or horrour.

It

It may alſo be expedient to put the world out of conceit, that all ſober and good men are a ſort of ſuch lumpiſh or ſour people, that they can utter nothing but flat and drowzy ſtuff; by ſhewing them, that ſuch perſons, when they ſee cauſe, in condeſcenſion, can be as brisk and ſmart as themſelves; when they pleaſe, can ſpeak pleaſantly and wittily as well as gravely and judiciouſly. This way at leaſt, in reſpect to the various palates of men, may for variety ſake be ſometimes attempted, when other means do fail: when many ſtrict and ſubtle arguings, many zealous declamations, many wholſome ſerious diſcourſes have been ſpent, without effecting the extirpation of bad principles, or converſion of thoſe who abett them; this courſe may be tried, and ſome perhaps may be reclaimed thereby.

7. Furthermore, the warrantableneſs of this practice in ſome caſes may be inferr'd from a parity of reaſon, in this manner: If it be lawful, (as by the beſt authorities it plainly doth appear to be,) in uſing Rhetorical ſchemes, Poetical ſtrains, involutions of ſenſe in Allegories, Fables, Parables and Riddles, to diſcoaſt from the plain and ſimple way of ſpeech; why may not Facetiouſneſs, iſſuing from the ſame principles, directed to the ſame ends, ſerving to like purpoſes, be likewiſe uſed blameleſly? If thoſe exorbitancies of ſpeech may be accommodated to inſtil good Doctrine into the head, to excite good Paſſions in the heart, to illuſtrate and adorn the Truth, in a delightful and taking way; and facetious diſcourſe be ſometime notoriouſly conducible to the ſame ends; why, they being retained, ſhould it be rejected? eſpecially conſidering how difficult often it may be, to diſtinguiſh thoſe forms of diſcourſe from this, or exactly to define the limits which ſever Rhetorick and Raillery. Some elegant figures and tropes of Rhetorick (biting Sarcaſms, ſly Ironies, ſtrong Metaphors, lofty Hyperbole's, Paronomaſies, Oxymorons, and the like, frequently uſed by the beſt ſpeakers, and not ſeldom even by Sacred Writers) do lie very near upon the confines of Jocularity, and are not eaſily differenced from thoſe ſallies of wit, wherein the lepid way doth conſiſt: ſo that were this wholly culpable, it would be matter of ſcruple, whether one hath committed a fault or no, when he meant only to play the Oratour, or the Poet; and hard ſurely it would be to find a judge, who could preciſely ſet out the difference between a Jeſt and a Flouriſh.

8. I ſhall only add, that of old even the ſageſt and graveſt perſons (perſons of moſt rigid and ſevere Vertue) did much affect this kind of diſcourſe, and did apply it to noble purpoſes. The great introducer of moral wiſdom among the Pagans did practiſe it ſo much, (by it repreſſing the windy pride and fallacious vanity of Sophiſters in his time,) that he thereby got the name of ὁ εἴρων, *the Droll*: and the reſt of thoſe who purſued his deſign, do by numberleſs ſtories and Apophthegms recorded of them appear well skilled, and much delighted in this way. Many great Princes, (as *Auguſtus Cæſar* for one, many of whoſe Jeſts are extant in *Macrobius*,) many grave Stateſmen, (as *Cicero* particularly, who compoſed ſeveral books of Jeſts,) many famous Captains, (as *Fabius M. Cato* the Cenſor, *Scipio Africanus*, *Epaminondas*, *Themiſtocles*, *Phocion*, and many others, whoſe witty Sayings together with their Martial exploits are reported by Hiſtorians,) have pleaſed themſelves herein, and made it a condiment of their weighty buſineſſes. * So that practiſing thus, (within certain rule and compaſs) we cannot err without great patterns, and mighty patrons.

Cic. *de Orat.* 2.

* *The two greateſt men and graveſt Divines of their time,* (*S.* Greg.Naz. *and S.* Baſil) *could entertain one another with facetious Epiſtles.* (Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 7. *ad* Baſil. Σὺ σκῶπτε καὶ διάσυρε, &c. *Et Ep.* 8.)

9. In

9. In fine, since it cannot be shewn, that such a sportfulness of wit and fancy doth contain an intrinsick and inseparable turpitude; since it may be so cleanly, handsomely and innocently used, as not to defile or discompose the mind of the speaker, not to wrong or harm the hearer, not to derogate from any worthy subject of discourse, not to infringe decency, to disturb peace, to violate any of the grand duties incumbent on us, (Piety, Charity, Justice, Sobriety,) but rather sometimes may yield advantage in those respects; it cannot well absolutely and universally be condemned: and when not used upon improper matter, in an unfit manner, with excessive measure, at undue season, to evil purpose, it may be allowed. It is bad objects, or bad adjuncts, which do spoil its indifference and innocence: it is the abuse thereof, to which (as all pleasant things are dangerous, and apt to degenerate into baits of intemperance and excess) it is very liable, that corrupteth it; and seemeth to be the ground, why in so general terms it is prohibited by the Apostle. Which prohibition to what cases, or what sorts of Jesting it extendeth, we come now to declare.

Τὶ γελᾶν, καὶ ἀστεῖα λέγειν, οὐ δοκεῖ μὲν ὡμολογημένον ἁμάρτημα εἶναι· ἄγει δὲ, &c. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ιε'.

Ὁ εὐτραπελευόμενος κατήγορος ἔσται ταχέως. Chrys.

II. 1. All profane Jesting, all speaking loosely and wantonly about Holy things, (things nearly related to God and Religion,) making such things the matters of sport and mockery, playing and trifling with them, is certainly prohibited, as an intolerably-vain and wicked practice. It is an infallible sign of a vain and light spirit, which considereth little, and cannot distinguish things, to talk slightly concerning persons of high dignity, to whom especial respect is due; or about matters of great importance, which deserve very serious consideration. No man speaketh, or should speak, of his Prince that which he hath not weighed, whether it will consist with that veneration which should be preserved inviolate to him: And is not the same, is not much greater care to be used in regard to the incomparably-great and glorious Majesty of Heaven? Yes surely: as we should not without great awe think of him; so we should not presume to mention his Name, his Word, his Institutions, any thing immediately belonging to him, without profoundest reverence and dread. It is the most enormous saucinesſ that can be imagined, to speak petulantly or pertly concerning Him; especially considering, that what-ever we do say about him, we do utter it in his presence, and to his very face. *For there is not* (as the Holy Psalmist considered) *a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether.* No man also hath the heart to droll, or thinks raillery convenient in cases nearly touching his life, his health, his estate, or his fame: and are the true life and health of our Soul, are interest in God's favour and mercy, are everlasting glory and bliss affairs of less moment? are the treasures and joys of Paradise, are the damages and torments in Hell more jesting matters? No certainly, no: in all reason therefore it becometh us, and it infinitely concerneth us, when-ever we think of these things, to be in best earnest, always to speak of them in most sober sadness.

Psal. 139. 4.

The proper objects of common mirth and sportful divertisement are mean and petty matters; any thing at least is by playing therewith made such: great things are thereby diminished and debased; especially Sacred things do grievously suffer thence, being with extreme indecency and indignity depressed beneath themselves, when they become the subjects of flashy wit, or the entertainments of frothy merriment: to sacrifice their honour to our vain pleasure, being like the ridiculous fondness

fondneſs of that people, which (as *Ælian* reporteth) worſhipping a Fly, did offer up an Oxe thereto. Theſe things were by God inſtituted, and propoſed to us for purpoſes quite different; to compoſe our hearts, and ſettle our fancies in a moſt ſerious frame; to breed inward ſatisfaction, and joy purely ſpiritual; to exerciſe our moſt ſolemn thoughts, and employ our graveſt diſcourſes: All our ſpeech therefore about them ſhould be *wholſome*, apt to afford good inſtruction, or to excite good affections; *good*, (as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh) *for the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers.* Tit. 2. 8. Eph. 4. 29.

If we muſt be facetious and merry, the field is wide and ſpacious; there are matters enough in the world beſide theſe moſt auguſt and dreadful things, to try our faculties, and pleaſe our humour with; every-where light and ludicrous things occurr: it therefore doth argue a marvellous poverty of wit, and barrenneſs of invention, (no leſs than a ſtrange defect of goodneſs, and want of diſcretion,) in thoſe who can deviſe no other ſubjects to frollick upon beſide theſe, of all moſt improper and perillous; who cannot ſeem ingenious under the charge of ſo highly treſpaſſing upon decency, diſclaiming wiſdom, wounding the ears of others, and their own conſciences. Seem ingenious, I ſay; for ſeldom thoſe perſons really are ſuch, or are capable to diſcover any wit in a wiſe and manly way. 'Tis not the excellency of their fancies, which in themſelves uſually are ſorry and inſipid enough, but the uncouthneſs of their preſumption; not their extraordinary wit, but their prodigious raſhneſs, which is to be admired. They are gazed on, as the doers of bold tricks, who dare perform that which no ſober man will attempt: they do indeed rather deſerve themſelves to be laughed at, than their conceits. For what can be more ridiculous, than we do make our ſelves, when we thus fiddle and fool with our own Souls; when, to make vain people merry, we incenſe God's earneſt diſpleaſure; when, to raiſe a fit of preſent laughter, we expoſe our ſelves to endleſs wailing and woe; when, to be reckoned Wits, we prove our ſelves ſtark wild? Surely to this caſe we may accommodate that of a truly-great Wit, King *Solomon*; *I ſaid of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?* Eccles 2. 2.

2. All injurious, abuſive, ſcurrilous Jeſting, which cauſeleſly or needleſly tendeth to the diſgrace, damage, vexation, or prejudice in any kind of our Neighbour, (provoking his diſpleaſure, grating on his modeſty, ſtirring paſſion in him,) is alſo prohibited. When men, to raiſe an admiration of their wit, to pleaſe themſelves, or gratify the humour of other men, do expoſe their Neighbour to ſcorn and contempt, making ignominious reflexions upon his perſon or his actions, taunting his real imperfections, or faſtning imaginary ones upon him, they tranſgreſs their duty, and abuſe their wits; 'tis not urbanity, or genuine facetiouſneſs, but uncivil rudeneſs, or vile malignity. To do thus, as it is the office of mean and baſe ſpirits, (unfit for any worthy or weighty employments,) ſo it is full of inhumanity, of iniquity, of indecency and folly. For the weakneſſes of men, of what kind ſoever, (natural, or moral, in quality, or in act,) conſidering whence they ſpring, and how much we are all ſubject to them, and do need excuſe for them, do in equity challenge compaſſion to be had of them; not complacency to be taken in them, or mirth drawn from them; they, in reſpect to common humanity, ſhould rather be ſtudiouſly connived at and concealed, or mildly excuſed, than wilfully laid open, and wantonly deſcanted upon; they rather are to be deplored ſecretly, than openly derided.

——*ſolutos*
Qui captat riſus hominum, famámque dicacis, Hic niger eſt.
Hor. *S.* 1. 4.

Ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος καὶ πᾶσιν ὁτῳοῦν τῷ γελοίῳ, καὶ ὅτε ἑαυτῷ ὅτε τὸν ἄλλον ἀπεχόμενος, εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει. Arist. *Eth.* 4. 8.

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The Reputation of men is too noble a sacrifice to be offered up to vain-glory, fond pleasure, or ill humour; it is a good far more dear and pretious, than to be prostituted for idle sport and divertisement. It becometh us not to trifle with that, which in common estimation is of so great moment; to play rudely with a thing so very brittle, yet of so vast price; which being once broken or crackt, it is very hard, and scarce possible, to repair. A small transient pleasure, a tickling the ears, wagging the lungs, forming the face into a smile, a giggle, or a humme, are not to be purchased with the grievous distast and smart, perhaps with the real damage and mischief of our Neighbour, which attend upon contempt. This is not Jesting surely, but bad earnest: 'tis wild mirth, which is the mother of grief to those whom we should tenderly love; 'tis unnatural sport, which breedeth displeasure in them whose delight it should promote, whose liking it should procure: it crosseth the nature and design of this way of speaking; which is, to cement and ingratiate society, to render conversation pleasant and sprightly, for mutual satisfaction and comfort.

Vitrea fama. Hor.

Prov. 26. 18, 19. *As a mad man who casteth fire brands, arrows, and death; so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour, and saith, Am I not in sport?* οἱ ἐνεδρεύοντες τοὺς φίλους—LXX.

True Festivity is called *Salt*, and such it should be, giving a smart, but savoury relish to discourse; exciting an appetite, not irritating disgust; cleansing sometime, but never creating a sore: and, ἐὰν μωρανθῇ, *if it become thus insipid*, or unsavoury, *it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be troden under foot of men.* Such Jesting which doth not season wholsome or harmless discourse, but giveth a haut-goust to putid and poisonous stuff, gratifying distempered palates and corrupt stomachs, is indeed odious and despicable folly, *to be cast out* with loathing, *to be troden under foot* with contempt. If a man offends in this sort to please himself, 'tis scurvy malignity; if to delight others, 'tis base servility and flattery: upon the first score he is a buffoon to himself; upon the last, a fool to others. And well in common speech are such practisers so termed, the grounds of that practice being so vain, and the effects so unhappy. *The heart of fools* (saith the Wise man) *is in the house of mirth*; meaning, it seems, especially such hurtfully-wanton mirth: for it is (as he farther telleth us) the property of fools, to delight in doing harm; (*It is a sport to a fool to do mischief.*) Is it not in earnest most palpable folly, for so mean ends to do so great harm; to disoblige men in sport; to lose friends, and get enemies, for a conceit; out of a light humour to provoke fierce wrath, and breed tough hatred; to engage one's self consequently very far in strife, danger and trouble? No way certainly is more apt to produce such effects than this; nothing more speedily enflameth, or more thoroughly engageth men, or sticketh longer in mens hearts and memories, than bitter taunts and scoffs: whence this hony soon turns into gall; these jolly Comedies do commonly terminate in woful Tragedies.

Matt. 5. 13. *Nimium risus pretium est, si probitatis impendio constat.* Quintil.

Εἰ καλὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα, τί τοῖς μίμοις ἀφίεται; μίμος γίνῃ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ; Chrys.

Eccles 7. 4.

Prov. 10. 23. *Fools make a mock of sin.* Prov. 14. 9.

Potiùs amicum quàm dictum perdidi.

——*dummodo risum*
Excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico. Hor. *S.* 1. 4.

——*dicax idem, & Tiberium acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud præpotentes in longum memoria est.* Tac. *V. Ann. p.* 184.

Especially this scurrilous and scoffing way is then most detestable, when it not only exposeth the blemishes and infirmities of men, but abuseth Piety and Vertue themselves; flouting persons for their constancy in Devotion, or their strict adherence to a conscientious practice of Duty; aiming to effect that which *Job* complaineth of, *The just upright man is laughed to scorn*; resembling those whom the Psalmist thus describeth,

Job 12. 4.

deſcribeth, *Who whet their tongue like a ſword, and bend their arrows, even bitter words, That they may ſhoot in ſecret at the perfect*; ſerving good men as *Jeremy* was ſerved, *The word of the Lord* (ſaith he) *was made a reproach unto me, and a deriſion daily.* Pſal. 64. 3, 4. Jer. 20. 8.

This practice doth evidently in the higheſt degree tend to the diſparagement and diſcouragement of Goodneſs; (aiming to expoſe it, and to render men aſhamed thereof;) and it manifeſtly proceedeth from a deſperate corruption of mind, (from a mind hardned and emboldned, ſold and enſlaved to wickedneſs:) whence they who deal therein are in Holy Scripture repreſented as egregious ſinners, or perſons ſuperlatively wicked, under the name of *Scorners*; (λοιμὲς, *Peſts*, or peſtilent men, the *Greek* Tranſlatours call them, properly enough in regard to the effects of their practice;) concerning whom the Wiſe man (ſignifying how God will meet with them in their own way) ſaith, *Surely the Lord ſcorneth the ſcorners.* Ἐμπαίκτας, *Scoffers*, (or *Mockers*,) Saint *Peter* termeth them, *who walk according to their own luſts*; who not being willing to practiſe, are ready to deride Vertue; thereby ſtriving to ſeduce others into their pernicious courſes. Prov. 3. 34. 2 Pet. 3. 3.

This offence alſo proportionably groweth more criminal, as it preſumeth to reach perſons eminent in dignity or worth, unto whom ſpecial veneration is appropriate. This adjoyneth faucineſs to ſcurrility, and advanceth the wrong thereof into a kind of ſacrilege. 'Tis not only injuſtice, but profaneneſs, to *abuſe the Gods*. Their ſtation is a ſanctuary from all irreverence and reproach; they are ſeated on high, that we may only look up to them with reſpect; their defects are not to be ſeen, or not to be touched by malicious or wanton wits, by ſpightful or ſcornful tongues: the diminution of their credit is a publick miſchief, and the State it ſelf doth ſuffer in their becoming objects of ſcorn; not only themſelves are vilified and degraded, but the great affairs they manage are obſtructed, the juſtice they adminiſter is diſparaged thereby. Exod. 22. 28.

In fine, no Jeſting is allowable, which is not throughly innocent: it is an unworthy perverting of wit, to employ it in biting and ſcratching; in working prejudice to any man's reputation, or intereſt; in needleſly incenſing any man's anger, or ſorrow; in raiſing animoſities, diſſenſions and feuds among any.

Πόῤῥω ὃ τοῦτο Χριστιανῦ, τὸ κωμῳδεῖν. Chryſ. *in Eph.* Or. 17.

Γλῶσαν ἔχεις, οὐχ ἵνα ἕτερον κωμῳδήσῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα εὐχαριστήσῃς τῷ Θεῷ. Idem.

Whence it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that any men from ſo mean and ſilly a practice ſhould expect commendation, or that any ſhould afford regard thereto; the which it is ſo far from meriting, that indeed contempt and abhorrence are due to it. Men do truly more render themſelves deſpicable than others, when, without juſt ground, or reaſonable occaſion, they do attaque others in this way. That ſuch a practice doth ever find any encouragement or acceptance, whence can it proceed, but from the bad nature and ſmall judgment of ſome perſons? For to any man who is endued with any ſenſe of goodneſs, and hath a competence of true wit, or a right knowledge of good manners, (who knows *—inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto*,) it cannot but be unſavoury and loathſome. The repute it obtaineth is in all reſpects unjuſt. So would it appear, not only were the cauſe to be decided in the court of morality, becauſe it conſiſts not with Vertue and Wiſdom; but even before any competent judges of wit it ſelf. For he overthrows his own pretence, and cannot reaſonably claim any intereſt in wit, who doth thus behave Hor.

himſelf: he prejudgeth himſelf to want wit, who cannot deſcry fit matter to divert himſelf or others: he diſcovereth a great ſtraitneſs and ſterility of good invention, who cannot in all the wide field of things find better ſubjects of diſcourſe; who knows not how to be ingenious within reaſonable compaſs, but to pick up a ſorry conceit is forced to make excurſions beyond the bounds of honeſty and decency.

Neither is it any argument of conſiderable ability in him that haps to pleaſe this way: a ſlender faculty will ſerve the turn. The ſharpneſs of his ſpeech cometh not from wit ſo much as from choler, which furniſheth the loweſt inventions with a kind of pungent expreſſion, and giveth an edge to every ſpightful word: ſo that any dull wretch doth ſeem to ſcold eloquently and ingeniouſly. Commonly alſo Satyrical taunts do owe their ſeeming piquancy, not to the ſpeaker, or his words, but to the ſubject, and the hearers; the matter conſpiring with the bad nature, or the vanity of men, who love to laugh at any rate, and to be pleaſed at the expence of other mens repute; conceiting themſelves extolled by the depreſſion of their neighbour, and hoping to gain by his loſs. Such cuſtomers they are that maintain the bitter Wits, who otherwiſe would want trade, and might go a begging. For commonly they who ſeem to excell this way, are miſerably flat in other diſcourſe, and moſt dully ſerious: they have a particular unaptneſs to deſcribe any good thing, or commend any worthy perſon; being deſtitute of right *Idea's*, and proper terms anſwerable to ſuch purpoſes: their repreſentations of that kind are abſurd and unhandſome; their Elogies (to uſe their own way of ſpeaking) are in effect Satyrs, and they can hardly more abuſe a man than by attempting to commend him; like thoſe in the Prophet, who were *wiſe to do ill, but to do well had no knowledge.*

Obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tac. *Hiſt.* 1. *init.*

Jer. 4. 22.

3. I paſs by, that it is very culpable to be facetious in obſcene and ſmutty matters. Such things are not to be diſcourſed on either in jeſt, or in earneſt; they muſt not, as S. *Paul* ſaith, be *ſo much as named among* Chriſtians: to meddle with them is not to diſport, but to defile one's ſelf, and others. There is indeed no more certain ſign of a mind utterly debauched from Piety and Vertue, than affecting ſuch talk. But farther,

Eph. 5. 3.

Vitandum nè petulans, nè ſuperbum, nè loco, nè tempori alienum, nè præparatum & domo allatum videatur. Quint.

4. All unſeaſonable Jeſting is blameable. As there are ſome proper ſeaſons of relaxation, when we may *deſipere in loco*; ſo are there ſome times, and circumſtances of things, wherein it concerneth and becometh men to be ſerious in mind, grave in demeanour, and plain in diſcourſe; when to ſport in this way is to do indecently, or uncivilly, to be impertinent, or troubleſome.

It comporteth not well with the preſence of Superiours, before whom it becometh us to be compoſed and modeſt: much leſs with the performance of Sacred offices, which require an earneſt attention, and moſt ſerious frame of mind.

Μή μοι τὰ κομψὰ, ἀλλ' ὧν πόλει δεῖ. Eurip. Ariſt. *Pol.* 2. 4.

In deliberations and debates about affairs of great importance, the ſimple manner of ſpeaking to the point is the proper, eaſie, clear and compendious way: facetious ſpeech there ſerves only to obſtruct and entangle buſineſs, to loſe time, and protract the reſult. The Shop and Exchange will ſcarce endure Jeſting in their lower tranſactions: the Senate, the Court of juſtice, the Church do much more exclude it from their more weighty Conſultations. Whenever it juſtleth out, or hindereth the diſpatch of other ſerious buſineſs, taking up the room, or ſwallowing the time due to it, or indiſpoſing the minds of the audience to attend it, then it is unſeaſonable and peſtilent. Παίζειν, ἵνα σπουδάζῃς.

Ariſt. *Eth.* 10. 6.

To

To play, that we may be ſeriouſly buſy, is the good rule (of *Anacharſis*,) implying the ſubordination of ſport to buſineſs, as a condiment, and furtherance, not an impediment or clog thereto. He that for his ſport neglects his buſineſs, deſerves indeed to be reckoned among children; and childrens fortune will attend him, to be pleaſed with toys, and to fail of ſubſtantial profit.

Adverſus miſeros inhumanus eſt jocus. Quint.

'Tis, again, improper (becauſe indeed uncivil, and inhumane) to jeſt with perſons that are in a ſad or afflicted condition; as arguing want of due conſidering, or due commiſerating their caſe: it appears a kind of inſulting upon their misfortune, and is apt to foment their grief. Even in our own caſe (upon any diſaſtrous occurrence to our ſelves) it would not be ſeemly to frollick it thus; it would ſignify want of due regard to the frowns of God, and the ſtrokes of his hand; it would croſs the Wiſe man's advice, *In the day of proſperity be joyful, but in the day of adverſity conſider.* Eccleſ. 7. 14.

It is alſo not ſeaſonable, or civil, to be jocund in this way with thoſe who deſire to be ſerious, and like not the humour. Jocularity ſhould not be forcibly obtruded, but by a kindly conſpiracy (or tacit compact) ſlip into converſation: conſent and complaiſance give all the life thereto. Its deſign is to ſweeten and eaſe ſociety: when to the contrary it breedeth offence or encumbrance, it is worſe than vain and unprofitable. From theſe inſtances we may collect when in other like caſes it is unſeaſonable, and therefore culpable. Farther,

5. To affect, admire, or highly to value this way of ſpeaking, (either abſolutely in it ſelf, or in compariſon to the ſerious and plain way of ſpeech,) and thence to be drawn into an immoderate uſe thereof, is blameable. A man of ripe age, and ſound judgment, for refreſhment to himſelf, or in complaiſance to others, may ſometimes condeſcend to play in this, or in any other harmleſs way: but to be fond of it, to proſecute it with a careful or painful eagerneſs, to dote and dwell upon it, to reckon it a brave or fine thing, a ſingular matter of commendation, a tranſcendent accompliſhment, any-wiſe preferrable to rational endowments, or comparable to the moral excellencies of our mind, (to ſolid Knowledge, or ſound Wiſdom, or true Vertue and Goodneſs,) this is extremely childiſh, or brutiſh, and far below a man. What can be more abſurd, than to make a buſineſs of play, to be ſtudious and laborious in toys, to make a profeſſion or drive a trade of impertinency? what more plain non-ſenſe can there be, than to be earneſt in jeſt, to be continual in divertiſement, or conſtant in paſtime; to make extravagance all our way, and ſauce all our diet? Is not this plainly the life of a child, that is ever buſie, yet never hath any thing to do? or the life of that mimical brute, which is always active in playing uncouth and unlucky tricks; which, could it ſpeak, might ſurely paſs well for a profeſſed Wit?

Σπουδάζειν καὶ παίζειν δεῖν παιδιᾶς χάριν, ἡδίστου φαίνεται, καὶ λίαν παιδικόν. Ariſt. *Eth.* x. 6.

The proper work of Man, the grand drift of humane life, is to follow Reaſon, (that noble ſpark kindled in us from Heaven; that Princely and powerful faculty, which is able to reach ſo lofty objects, and to atchieve ſo mighty works;) not to ſooth fancy, that brutiſh, ſhallow and giddy power, able to perform nothing worthy much regard. *We are not* (even *Cicero* could tell us) *born for play and jeſting; but for ſeverity, and the ſtudy of graver and greater affairs.* Yes, we were purpoſely deſigned, and fitly framed, to underſtand and contemplate, to affect and delight in, to undertake and purſue moſt noble and worthy things; to be employed in buſineſs conſiderably profitable to our ſelves,

Neque enim ità generati à natura ſumus, ut ad ludum jocumque facti videamur; ſed ad ſeveritatem potius, & ad quædam ſtudia graviora, atque majora. Cic. *Off.* 1.

and beneficial to others: We do therefore ſtrangely debaſe our ſelves, when we do ſtrongly bend our minds to, or ſet our affections upon ſuch toys.

Eſpecially to do ſo is unworthy of a Chriſtian; that is of a perſon who is advanced to ſo high a rank, and ſo glorious relations; who hath ſo excellent objects of his mind and affections preſented before him, and ſo excellent rewards for his care and pains propoſed to him; who is engaged in affairs of ſo worthy nature, and ſo immenſe conſequence: for him to be zealous about quibbles, for him to be raviſhed with puny conceits and expreſſions, 'tis a wondrous overſight, and an enormous indecency.

He indeed that prefers any faculty to Reaſon, diſclaims the privilege of being a Man, and underſtands not the worth of his own Nature; he that prizes any quality beyond Vertue and Goodneſs, renounces the title of a Chriſtian, and knows not how to value the dignity of his profeſſion. It is theſe two (Reaſon and Vertue) in conjunction, which produce all that is conſiderably good and great in the world. Fancy can do little; doeth never any thing well, except as directed and wielded by them. Do pretty conceits or humourous talk carry on any buſineſs, or perform any work? No; they are ineffectual and fruitleſs: often they diſturb, but they never diſpatch any thing with good ſucceſs. It is ſimple Reaſon (as dull and dry as it ſeemeth) which expediteth all the grand affairs, which accompliſheth all the mighty works that we ſee done in the world. In truth therefore, as one Diamond is worth numberleſs bits of Glaſs; ſo one ſolid Reaſon is worth innumerable Fancies: one grain of true Science and ſound Wiſdom in real worth and uſe doth outweigh loads (if any loads can be) of freakiſh Wit. To rate things otherwiſe, doth argue great weakneſs of judgment, and fondneſs of mind. So to conceit of this way, ſignifieth a weak mind; and much to delight therein, rendreth it ſo: nothing more debaſeth the ſpirit of a man, or more rendreth it light and trifling.

ὃς μὴ συμβαίνειν τῶν ψυχῆς νῆψιν, ἢ εὐτραπελίας διάχυσιν. Baſ. *Conſt. Mon.* 12. Πολλὰς συμβαίνει τοῦ νοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀχολυμβύσης τῆς ὀρθῆς λόγου διαμῶτόνειν, ἢ ψυχῆς πρὸς γελοῖα μὴ διαχεομένης, ἢ τὸ ἢ φρονήσεως σώνειν ἢ πεπυκνωμένου καταλυέσης. Ibid. *Jocorum frequens uſus omne animis pondus, omnémque vim eripiet.* Sen. *de Tranq. c.* 15. Ἡ εὐτραπελία μαλακὴν ποιεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, ῥᾳθυμον, ἀναπεπωκυῖαν. Chryſ. *in Eph.* 17.

Hence if we muſt be venting pleaſant conceits, we ſhould do it *as if we did it not*, careleſly and unconcernedly; not ſtanding upon it, or valuing our ſelves for it: we ſhould do it with meaſure and moderation; not giving up our ſelves thereto, ſo as to mind it, or delight in it more than in any other thing: we ſhould not be ſo intent upon it, as to become remiſs in affairs more proper or needful for us; ſo as to nauſeate ſerious buſineſs, or diſreliſh the more worthy entertainments of our minds. This is the great danger of it, which we daily ſee men to incurr; they are ſo bewitched with a humour of being witty themſelves, or of hearkning to the fancies of others, that it is this only which they can like or favour, which they can endure to think or talk of. 'Tis a great pity, that men who would ſeem to have ſo much wit, ſhould ſo little underſtand themſelves. But farther,

6. Vain-glorious oſtentation this way is very blameable. All ambition, all vanity, all conceitedneſs, upon what-ever ground they are founded, are abſolutely unreaſonable and ſilly: but yet thoſe, being grounded on ſome real ability, or ſome uſeful skill, are wiſe and manly in compariſon to this, which ſtandeth on a foundation ſo manifeſtly ſlight and weak. The old Philoſophers by a ſevere Father were called *animalia*

Tertull.

lia gloriæ, animals of glory; and by a Satyrical Poet they were termed *bladders of vanity*: but they at least did catch at praise from praiseworthy knowledge; they were puff'd up with a wind which blowed some good to mankind; they sought glory from that which deserved glory if they had not sought it; it was a substantial and solid credit which they did affect, resulting from successful enterprises of strong reason, and stout industry: but these *animalcula gloriæ*, these flies, these insects of glory, these, not bladders, but bubbles of vanity, would be admired and praised for that which is no wise admirable or laudable; for the casual hits and emergencies of roving fancy; for stumbling on an odd conceit or phrase, which signifieth nothing, and is as superficial as the smile, as hollow as the noise it causeth. Nothing certainly in nature is more ridiculous than a self-conceited Wit, who deemeth himself some-body, and greatly pretendeth to commendation from so pitiful and worthless a thing as a knack of trifling.

κενεῆς οἰήσιος ἔμπλεοι ἀσκοί. Timon.

Risus---tenuissimus ingenii fructus. Cic. *de Orat.* 2.

7. Lastly, it is our duty never so far to engage our selves in this way, as thereby to lose or to impair that habitual seriousness, modesty and sobriety of mind, that steddy composedness, gravity and constancy of demeanour, which become Christians. We should continually keep our minds intent upon our *high calling*, and grand interests; ever well tuned, and ready for the performance of holy Devotions, and the practice of most serious duties with earnest attention and fervent affection: Wherefore we should never suffer them to be dissolved into levity, or disordered into a wanton frame, indisposing us for religious thoughts and actions. We ought always in our behaviour to maintain, not only τὸ πρέπον, a fitting *decency*, but also τὸ σεμνὸν, a stately *gravity*, a kind of venerable majesty, sutable to that high rank which we bear of God's Friends, and Children; adorning our holy profession, and guarding us from all impressions of sinful vanity. Wherefore we should not let our selves be transported into any excessive pitch of lightness, inconsistent with or prejudicial to our Christian state and business. Gravity and Modesty are the fences of Piety, which being once slighted, sin will easily attempt and encroach upon us. So the old *Spanish* Gentleman may be interpreted to have been wise, who, when his Son upon a voyage to the *Indies* took his leave of him, gave him this odd advice, *My son, in the first place keep thy Gravity, in the next place fear God*: intimating, that a man must first be serious, before he can be pious.

Phil. 4. 8. 1 Tim. 3. 8. Tit. 2. 10. *Dictum potiùs aliquando perdet, quàm minuet autoritatem.* Quint. 6. 3.

Strad. *Infam. Famiani.*

To conclude, as we need not be demure, so must we not be impudent; as we should not be sour, so ought we not to be fond; as we may be free, so we should not be vain; as we may well stoop to friendly complaisance, so we should take heed of falling into contemptible levity. If without wronging others, or derogating from our selves, we can be facetious; if we can use our wits in jesting innocently, and conveniently; we may sometimes do it: but let us, in compliance with S. *Paul's* direction, beware of *foolish talking and jesting, which are not convenient.*

Now the God of grace and *peace---make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

Heb. 13. 20. 21.

SER-

SERMON XV.

Againſt Raſh and Vain Swearing.

S. JAMES 5. 12.

But above all things, my brethren, Swear not.

AMong other Precepts of Good life (directing the practice of Vertue and Abſtinence from Sin) S. *James* doth inſert this about Swearing, couched in expreſſion denoting his great earneſtneſs, and apt to excite our ſpecial attention. Therein he doth not mean univerſally to interdict the uſe of Oaths; (for that in ſome caſes is not only lawful, but very expedient, yea needful, and required from us as a Duty;) but that Swearing which our Lord had expreſly prohibited to his Diſciples, and which thence, queſtionleſs, the *brethren* to whom S. *James* did write did well underſtand themſelves obliged to forbear having learnt ſo in the firſt Catechiſms of Chriſtian inſtitution; that is, needleſs and heedleſs Swearing in ordinary converſation: a practice then frequented in the world, both among *Jews* and Gentiles; the which alſo, to the ſhame of our Age, is now ſo much in faſhion, and with ſome men in vogue; the invoking God's Name, appealing to his teſtimony, and provoking his judgment, upon any ſlight occaſion, in common talk, with vain incogitancy, or profane boldneſs. From ſuch practice the Holy Apoſtle dehorteth in terms importing his great concernedneſs, and implying the matter to be of higheſt importance: for, Πρὸ πάντων, ſaith he, *Before all things, my brethren, do not ſwear*; as if he did apprehend this ſin of all other to be one of the moſt hainous and pernicious. Could he have ſaid more? would he have ſaid ſo much, if he had not conceived the matter to be of exceeding weight and conſequence? And that it is ſo, I mean now, by God's help, to ſhew you, by propoſing ſome Conſiderations, whereby the hainous wickedneſs, together with the monſtrous folly, of ſuch raſh and vain Swearing will appear; the which being laid to heart will, I hope, effectually diſſuade and deterr from it.

I. Let us conſider the nature of an Oath, and what we do when we adventure to ſwear.

It is (as it is phraſed in the Decalogue, and other-where in Holy Scripture) an *aſſuming the Name of our God*, and applying it to our purpoſe, to countenance and confirm what we ſay.

Exod. 20. 7. Prov. 30. 9. Gen. 31. 50. Jud. 11. 10. 1 Sam. 12. 5. Jer. 42. 5.

It is an invocation of God as a moſt faithful Witneſs, concerning the truth of our words, or the ſincerity of our meaning.

Job. 16. 19. Mal. 3. 5. 1 Joh. 5. 9. *Plurima firmantur jurejurando---diis immortalibus interpoſitis tum judicibus, tum teſtibus.* Cic. *de Leg.* 2. *p.* 326.

It

It is an appeal to God as a most upright Judge, whether we do prevaricate in asserting what we do not believe true, or in promising what we are not firmly resolved to perform. Gen. 31. 53. 1 Sam. 24. 15. 1 King. 8. 31, 32. & 2. 23. & 19. 2. & 20. 10. Neh. 5. 12, 13. Ruth. 1. 17. 2 King. 6. 31. 2 Sam. 3. 9, 35. & 19. 13. 1 Sam. 14. 44. & 3. 17. & 20. 13.

It is a formal engagement of God to be the Avenger of our trespassing in violation of truth or faith.

It is a *binding our souls* with a most strict and solemn obligation, to answer before God, and to undergo the issue of his judgment about what we affirm, or undertake. Num. 30. 2. Πᾶς ὅρκος εἰς κατάραν τελευτᾷ τῆς ἐπιορκίας.

Such an Oath is represented to us in Holy Scripture.

Whence we may collect, that Swearing doth require great modesty and composedness of spirit, very serious consideration and solicitous care, that we be not rude and saucy with God, in *taking up his Name*, and prostituting it to vile or mean uses; that we do not abuse or debase his Authority, by citing it to averr falshoods, or impertinencies; that we do not slight his venerable Justice, by rashly provoking it against us; that we do not precipitantly throw our Souls into most dangerous snares and intricacies. Plut. *in Capit. Rom.* (*p.* 491.)

For, let us reflect and consider: What a presumption is it without due regard and reverence to lay hold on God's Name; with unhallowed breath to vent and toss that *great* and *glorious*, that most *holy*, that *reverend*, that *fearful* and *terrible Name* of the Lord our God, the great Creatour, the mighty Sovereign, the dreadful Judge of all the world; that Name which all Heaven with profoundest submission doth adore, which the Angelical powers, the brightest and purest Seraphim, without *hiding their faces*, and reverential horrour, cannot utter or hear; the very thought whereof should strike awe through our hearts, the mention whereof would make any sober man to tremble? Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, *For how* (saith S. *Chrysostome*) *is it not absurd, that a servant should not dare to call his Master by name, or bluntly and ordinarily to mention him; yet that we slightly and contemptuously should in our mouth toss about the Lord of Angels?* Psal. 99. 3. & 111. 9. & 148. 13. Deut. 28. 58. Isa. 6. 2. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. Id. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. *p.* 514.

How is it not absurd, if we have a garment better than the rest, that we forbear to use it continually; but in the most slight and common way do wear the Name of God? Chrys. Ἀνδρ. θ'. p. 525.

How grievous indecency is it, at every turn to summon our Maker, and call down Almighty God from Heaven, to attend our leisure, to vouch our idle prattle, to second our giddy passions, to concern his Truth, his Justice, his Power in our trivial affairs?

What a wildness is it, to dally with that Judgment upon which the eternal doom of all creatures dependeth, at which *the pillars of heaven are astonished*, which hurled down legions of Angels from the top of Heaven and happiness into the bottomless dungeon; the which, as grievous sinners, of all things we have most reason to dread; and about which no sober man can otherwise think, than did that great King, the Holy Psalmist, who said, *My flesh trembleth for thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments.* Job. 26. 11. Ps. 119. 120.

How prodigious a madness is it, without any constraint or needful cause to incurr so horrible danger, to rush upon a curse; to defie that vengeance, the least touch or breath whereof can dash us to nothing, or thrust us down into extreme and endless woe?

Who can express the wretchedness of that folly, which so entangleth us with inextricable knots, and enchaineth our Souls so rashly with desperate obligations?

Wherefore

Wherefore he that would but a little mind what he doth when he dareth to ſwear, what it is to meddle with the adorable Name, the venerable Teſtimony, the formidable Judgment, the terrible Vengeance of the Divine Majeſty, into what a caſe he putteth himſelf, how extreme hazard he runneth thereby, would aſſuredly have little heart to ſwear, without greateſt reaſon, and moſt urgent need; hardly without trembling would he undertake the moſt neceſſary and ſolemn Oath; much cauſe would he ſee σέβεσθαι ὅρκον, *to adore*, to fear an Oath: which to do the Divine Preacher maketh the character of a Good man; *As* (ſaith he) *is the good, ſo is the ſinner, and he that ſweareth, as he that feareth an oath.* Eccleſ. 9. 2.

In fine, even a Heathen Philoſopher, conſidering the nature of an Oath, did conclude the unlawfulneſs thereof in ſuch caſes. For, *Seeing* (ſaith he) *an Oath doth call God for Witneſs, and propoſeth him for Umpire and Voucher of the things it ſaith; therefore to induce God ſo upon occaſion of humane affairs, or, which is all one, upon ſmall and ſlight accounts, doth imply contempt of him: wherefore we ought wholly to ſhun Swearing, except upon occaſions of higheſt neceſſity.* Ὁ γὰρ ὅρκος μάρτυρα τὸν Θεὸν καλεῖ, καὶ μεσίτην αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγυητὴν ἐφ' οἷς λέγει παρέχεται· τὸ γὰρ ὅλως ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι (παντὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν μικροῖς καὶ εὐτελέσι) τὸν Θεὸν παράγειν, καταφρόνησίν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει· διὸ χρὴ παραιτεῖσθαι τὸν ὅρκον, &c. Simpl. *in* Epict. *cap.* 44.

II. We may conſider, that Swearing (agreeably to its nature, or natural aptitude and tendency) is repreſented in Holy Scripture as a ſpecial part of religious Worſhip, or Devotion toward God; in the due performance whereof we do avow him for the true God and Governour of the world; we piouſly do acknowledge his principal Attributes and ſpecial Prerogatives; (his Omnipreſence and Omniſcience, extending it ſelf to our moſt inward thoughts, our ſecreteſt purpoſes, our cloſeſt retirements; his watchful Providence over all our actions, affairs and concerns; his faithful Goodneſs, in favouring truth and protecting right; his exact Juſtice, in patronizing ſincerity, and chaſtizing perfidiouſneſs;) his being Supreme Lord over all perſons, and Judge paramount in all cauſes; his readineſs in our need, upon our humble imploration and reference, to undertake the arbitration of matters controverted, and the care of adminiſtring Juſtice, for the maintenance of truth and right, of loyalty and fidelity, of order and peace among men. Swearing doth alſo intimate a pious truſt and confidence in God; as *Ariſtotle* obſerveth. Εὐσεβὲς τὸ θέλειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν. *It is a pious thing willingly to commend our caſe or controverſie to God.* Ariſt. *Rhet.* 1. 48.

Such things a ſerious Oath doth imply, to ſuch purpoſes Swearing naturally ſerveth; and therefore to ſignifie or effectuate them, Divine inſtitution hath devoted it.

God in goodneſs to ſuch ends hath pleaſed to lend us his great Name; allowing us to cite him for a Witneſs, to have recourſe to his Bar, to engage his Juſtice and Power, when-ever the caſe deſerveth and requireth it, or when we cannot by other means well aſſure the ſincerity of our meaning, or ſecure the conſtancy of our reſolutions.

Yea in ſuch exigencies he doth exact this practice from us, as an inſtance of our religious confidence in him, and as a ſervice conducible to his glory: For it is a Precept in his Law, of moral nature, and eternal obligation, *Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God; him ſhalt thou ſerve, and to him ſhalt thou cleave, and ſhalt ſwear by his Name.* Deut. 10. 20. & 6. 13. It is the character of a religious man to ſwear with due reverence and upright conſcience. For, *The King* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *ſhall rejoice in God; every one that ſweareth* Pſal. 63. 11.

ſweareth by him ſhall glory: but the mouth of them that ſpeak lies ſhall be ſtopped. It is a diſtinctive mark of God's people, according to that of the Prophet *Jeremy*, *And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to ſwear by Name-----then ſhall they be built in the midſt of my people.* It is predicted concerning the Evangelical times, *Unto me every knee ſhall bow, every tongue ſhall ſwear:* and, *That he who bleſſeth himſelf in the earth, ſhall bleſs himſelf by the God of truth; and he that ſweareth in the earth, ſhall ſwear by the God of truth.* Jer. 12. 16. Iſa. 45. 23. 65. 16.

As therefore all other Acts of Devotion, wherein immediate application is made to the Divine Majeſty, ſhould never be performed without moſt hearty intention, moſt ſerious conſideration, moſt lowly reverence; ſo neither ſhould this grand one, wherein God is ſo nearly touched, and his chief Attributes ſo much concerned: the which indeed doth involve both Prayer and Praiſe, doth require the moſt devotional acts of Faith and Fear.

We therefore ſhould ſo perform it, as not to incurr that reproof; *This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Mat. 15. 8. Iſa. 29. 13.

When we ſeem moſt formally to avow God, to confeſs his Omniſcience, to confide in his Juſtice; we ſhould not really diſregard him, and in effect ſignifie, that we do not think he doth know what we ſay, or mind what we do.

If we do preſume to offer this ſervice, we ſhould do it in the manner appointed by himſelf, according to the conditions preſcribed in the Prophet, *Thou ſhalt ſwear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteouſneſs: in truth*, taking heed, that our meaning be conformable to the ſenſe of our words, and our words to the verity of things; *in judgment*, having with careful deliberation examined and weighed that which we aſſert or promiſe; *in righteouſneſs*, being ſatisfied in conſcience, that we do not therein infringe any rule of Piety toward God, of Equity toward men, of Sobriety and diſcretion in regard to our ſelves. Jer. 4. 2.

The cauſe of our Swearing muſt be needful, or very expedient; the deſign of it muſt be honeſt and uſeful to conſiderable purpoſes; (tending to God's honour, our Neighbour's benefit, our own welfare;) the matter of it ſhould be not only juſt and lawful, but worthy and weighty; the manner ought to be grave and ſolemn, our mind being framed to earneſt attention, and endued with pious affections ſutable to the occaſion.

Otherwiſe, if we do venture to ſwear, without due advice and care, without much reſpect and awe, upon any ſlight or vain (not to ſay, bad or unlawful) occaſion; we then deſecrate Swearing, and are guilty of profaning a moſt ſacred Ordinance: the doing ſo doth imply baſe hypocriſie, or leud mockery, or abominable wantonneſs and folly; in boldly invading, and vainly trifling with the moſt auguſt Duties of Religion. Such Swearing therefore is very diſhonourable and injurious to God, very prejudicial to Religion, very repugnant to Piety. Matt. 15. 7, 8.

III. We may conſider that the Swearing prohibited is very noxious to humane Society.

The great prop of Society (which upholdeth the ſafety, peace and welfare thereof, in obſerving laws, diſpenſing juſtice, diſcharging truſts, keeping contracts, and holding good correſpondence mutually) is Conſcience, or a ſenſe of Duty toward God, obliging to perform what is right and equal; quickned by hope of rewards, and fear of puniſhments from him: ſecluding which principle, no worldly conſideration is

ſtrong enough to hold men faſt; or can farther diſpoſe many to do right, or obſerve faith, or hold peace, than appetite, or intereſt, or humour (things very ſlippery and uncertain) do ſway them.

That men ſhould live honeſtly, quietly and comfortably together, it is needful that they ſhould live under a ſenſe of God's will, and in awe of the Divine power, hoping to pleaſe God, and fearing to offend him, by their behaviour reſpectively.

That Juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred between men, it is neceſſary that teſtimonies of fact be alledged; and that witneſſes ſhould apprehend themſelves greatly obliged to diſcover the truth, according to their conſcience, in dark and doubtful caſes.

That men ſhould uprightly diſcharge offices ſerviceable to publick good, it doth behove that they be firmly engaged to perform the truſts repoſed in them.

That in affairs of very conſiderable importance, men ſhould deal with one another with ſatisfaction of mind, and mutual confidence, they muſt receive competent aſſurances concerning the integrity, fidelity and conſtancy each of other.

That the ſafety of Governours may be preſerved, and the obedience due to them maintained ſecure from attempts to which they are liable, (by the treachery, levity, perverſneſs, timorouſneſs, ambition, all ſuch luſts and ill humours of men,) it is expedient that men ſhould be tied with the ſtricteſt bands of allegeance.

That controverſies emergent about the intereſts of men ſhould be determined, and an end put to ſtrife by peremptory and ſatisfactory means, is plainly neceſſary for common quiet.

Wherefore for the publick intereſt and benefit of humane Society, it is requiſite that the higheſt obligations poſſible ſhould be laid upon the Conſciences of men.

And ſuch are thoſe of Oaths, engaging them to fidelity and conſtancy in all ſuch caſes, out of regard to Almighty God, as the infallible Patron of truth and right, the unavoidable Chaſtiſer of perfidiouſneſs and improbity.

To ſuch purpoſes therefore Oaths have ever been applied, as the moſt effectual inſtruments of working them; not only among the followers of true and perfect Religion, but even among all thoſe who had any glimmering notions concerning a Divine Power and Providence; who have deemed an Oath the faſteſt tie of Conſcience, and held the violation of it for the moſt deteſtable impiety and iniquity. So that what *Cicero* ſaith of the *Romans*, that *their Anceſtours had no band to conſtrain faith more ſtrait than an Oath*, is true of all other Nations; common Reaſon not being able to deviſe any engagement more obliging than it; it being in the nature of things πλεῖστα πίστις, and ὀχυρώτατον ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, the utmoſt aſſurance, the laſt reſort of humane faith, the ſureſt pledge that any man can yield of his truſtineſs. Hence ever in tranſactions of higheſt moment this hath been uſed to bind the faith of men.

Nullum enim vinculum ad aſtringendam fidem jurejurando majores arctius eſſe voluerunt. Cic. *de Off.* 3.

Dion. Halic. Procop. Diod. Sic.

Hereby Nations have been wont to ratify Leagues of peace and amity between each other: (which therefore the *Greeks* called ὅρκια.)

Πρὸς ἃς εἶσιν ἡμῖν ὅρκοι, καὶ φιλίαι. Polyb.

Hereby Princes have obliged their Subjects to loyalty: and it hath ever been the ſtrongeſt argument to preſs that duty, which the Preacher uſeth; *I counſel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.*

Eccles. 8. 2.

Hereby

Hereby Generals have engaged their Souldiers to stick close to them, in bearing hardships, and encountring dangers. Veget. 2.

Hereby the Nuptial league hath been confirmed; the solemnization whereof in temples before God is in effect a most sacred Oath.

Hereon the decision of the greatest causes concerning the lives, estates and reputations of men have depended; so that (as the Apostle saith) *an Oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife.* Heb. 6. 16.

Indeed such hath the need hereof been ever apprehended, that we may observe, in cases of great importance, no other obligation hath been admitted for sufficient to bind the fidelity and constancy of the most credible persons; so that even the best men hardly could trust the best men without it. For instance,

When *Abimelech* would assure to himself the friendship of *Abraham*, although he knew him to be a very pious and righteous person, whose word might be as well taken as any man's, yet, for entire satisfaction, he thus spake to him; *God is with thee in all that thou doest: Now therefore swear unto me here by God, that thou wilt not deal falsly with me.* Gen. 21. 22, 23.

Abraham, though he did much confide in the honesty of his servant *Eliezer*, having entrusted him with all his estate, yet in the affair concerning the marriage of his son, he could not but thus oblige him: *Put*, (saith he) *I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh, and I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou wilt not take a wife unto my son of the daughters of the Canaanites.* Gen. 15. 3. & 24. 2. Gen. 24. 2, 3.

Laban had good experience of *Jacob*'s fidelity; yet that would not satisfie, but, *The Lord* (said he) *watch between me and thee, when we are absent one from another. If thou shalt afflict my daughters, or if thou shalt take other wives beside my daughters; no man is with us; see, God is witness between thee and me. The God of Abraham, and the God of Nahor, the God of their father judge betwixt us.* Gen. 31. 49, 50, 53.

So did *Jacob make Joseph swear*, that he would *bury him in Canaan*: and *Joseph caused the children of Israel to swear*, that they would *translate his bones*. So did *Jonathan cause* his beloved friend *David to swear*, that he would *shew kindness to him, and to his house for ever*. The prudence of which course the event sheweth, the total excision of *Jonathan*'s family being thereby prevented; for, *The King* ('tis said) *spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan, because of the Lord's Oath that was between them.* Gen. 50. 5. Gen. 50. 25. 1 Sam. 20. 14, 15, 17. 2 Sam. 21. 7.

These instances declare, that there is no security which men can yield comparable to that of an Oath; the obligation whereof no man wilfully can infringe, without renouncing the fear of God, and any pretence to his favour. (1 King. 1. 51. Ezr. 10. 5. Neh. 5. 12. & 13. 25.)

Wherefore humane Society will be extremely wronged and damnified by the dissolving or slackning these most sacred bands of Conscience; and consequently by their common and careless use, which soon will breed a contempt of them, and render them insignificant, either to bind the Swearers, or to ground a trust on their Oaths.

As by the rare and reverent use of Oaths their dignity is upheld, and their obligation kept fast: so by the frequent and negligent application of them, by the prostituting them to every mean and toyish purpose, their respect will be quite lost, their strength will be loosed, they will prove unserviceable to publick use.

If Oaths generally become cheap and vile, what will that of Allegeance signifie? If men are wont to play with Swearing any-where, can we expect they should be serious and strict therein at the Bar, or in the

Church? Will they regard God's testimony, or dread his judgment, in one place, or at one time, when every-where upon any, upon no occasion they dare to confront and contemn them? Who then will be the more trusted for Swearing? what satisfaction will any man have from it? The rifeness of this practice, as it is the sign, so it will be the cause of a general diffidence among men.

Incredible therefore is the mischief which this vain practice will bring in to the publick; depriving Princes of their best security, exposing the estates of private men to uncertainty, shaking all the confidence men can have in the faith of one another.

For which detriments accruing from this abuse to the publick every vain Swearer is responsible; and he would do well to consider, that he will never be able to make reparation for them. And the publick is much concerned that this enormity be retrenched.

IV. Let us consider, that rash and vain Swearing is very apt often to bring the practiser of it into that most horrible sin of Perjury. For * *false swearing* (as the *Hebrew* Wise-man saith) *naturally springeth out of much swearing:* and, *He* (saith Saint *Chrystsostome*) *that sweareth continually, both willingly and unwillingly, both ignorantly and knowingly, both in earnest and in sport, being often transported by anger and many other things, will frequently forswear. It is confessed and manifest, that it is necessary for him that sweareth much, to be perjurious.* Ἀμήχανον γὰρ, ἀμήχανον, *For* (saith he again,) *it is impossible, it is impossible for a mouth addicted to swearing, not frequently to forswear.* He that sweareth at random, as blind passion moveth, or wanton fancy prompteth, or the Tempter suggesteth, often will hit upon asserting that which is false, or promising that which is impossible: that want of Conscience and of consideration which do suffer him to violate God's Law in Swearing, will betray him to the venting of Lies, which backed with Oaths become Perjuries. If sometime what he sweareth doth happen to be true and performable, it doth not free him of guilt; it being his fortune, rather than his care or conscience, which keepeth him from Perjury.

* Φύεται πολυορκίας ψευδορκία. Philo *in Decal. Nè quisquam facili juratione etiam ad perjurium decidisset, & in Ecclesia populo prædicabat, & suos instituerat, nè quis juraret nec ad modicum quidem.* Posid. *in Vit. S.* Aug. *c.* 25.

Ὁ διηνεκῶς ὀμνὺς, &c. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. *p.* 553.

Μὴ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν πέσητε, *quidam legunt*, Jac. 5. 12. *Vid.* Grot.

Οὕτως ἐστὶν ὡμολογημένον καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι τὸν πολύορκον ἀνάγκη καὶ ἐπίορκον εἶναι. Ibid.

Ἀμήχανον γὰρ, ἀμήχανον, στόμα μεμελετηκὸς ὀμνύναι, μὴ συνεχῶς ἐπιορκεῖν. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. *p.* 559.

V. Such Swearing commonly will induce a man to bind himself by Oath to unlawful practices; and consequently will entangle him in a woful necessity, either of breaking his Oath, or of doing worse, and committing wickedness: so that *Swearing* (as S. *Chrysostome* saith) *hath this misery attending it, that both transgressed and observed it plagueth those who are guilty of it.*

Τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν ἔχει ὁ ὅρκος, ὅτι καὶ παροβαινόμενος καὶ φυλαττόμενος κολάζει τοὺς ἁλισκομένους. Chrys. *ibid. p.* 553.

Of this perplexity the Holy Scripture affordeth two notable instances: the one of *Saul*, forced to break his rash Oaths; the other of *Herod*, being engaged thereby to commit a most horrid murther.

(1 Sam. 25. 22. *David.*) διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους. Mat. 14. 9.

Had *Saul* observed his Oaths, what injury had he done, what mischief had he produced, in slaughtering his most worthy and most innocent Son, the prop and glory of his family, the bulwark of his country, and the grand instrument of salvation to it; in forcing the people to violate their cross Oath, and for prevention of one, causing many Perjuries? He was therefore fain to desist, and lie under the guilt of breaking his Oaths.

Vid. Chrys. ιδ'. Ἀνδρ. 1 Sam. 14. 45.

And

And for *Herod*, the excellent Father thus preſſeth the conſideration of his caſe: *Take*, (ſaith he) *I beſeech you, the chopp'd-off head of S.* John, *and his warm bloud yet trickling down; each of you bear it home with you, and conceive that before your eyes you hear it uttering ſpeech, and ſaying, Embrace the murtherer of me, an Oath. That which reproof did not, this an Oath did do; that which the Tyrant's wrath could not, this the neceſſity of keeping an Oath did effect. For when the Tyrant was reprehended publickly in the audience of all men, he bravely did bear the rebuke; but when he had caſt himſelf into the neceſſity of Oaths, then did he cut off that bleſſed head.* Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς πῶς περικαλλῆ τὴν Ἰωάννου λαβόντος--Ἀνδρ. ιδ'. p. 552.

VI. Likewiſe the uſe of raſh Swearing will often engage a man in undertakings very inconvenient and detrimental to himſelf. A man is bound to *perform his vows to the Lord*, what-ever they be, what-ever damage or trouble thence may accrue to him, if they be not unlawful. It is the Law, *That which is gone out of thy lips, thou ſhalt keep and perform.* It is the property of a Good man, that *he ſweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not.* Wherefore 'tis the part of a ſober man, to be well adviſed what he doth ſwear or vow religiouſly; that he do not put himſelf into the inextricable ſtrait of committing great ſin, or underdoing great inconvenience; that he do not ruſh into that ſnare of which the Wiſe-man ſpeaketh, *It is a ſnare to a man to devour that which is holy*, (or, to ſwallow a ſacred obligation,) *and after vows to make enquiry*, ſeeking how he may diſ-engage himſelf: the doing which is a folly offenſive to God, as the Preacher telleth us; *When* (ſaith he) *thou voweſt a vow unto God, defer not to pay it; for he hath no pleaſure in fools: pay that which thou haſt vowed.* God will not admit our folly in vowing, as a plea or an excuſe for non-performance; he will exact it from us both as a due debt, and as a proper puniſhment of our impious folly. Deut. 23. 21. Mat. 5. 33. Pſ. 66. 13, 14. Deut. 23. 23. Pſal. 15. 4. Prov. 20. 25. Ὥσπερ γὰρ παγίδι κατεχόμενοι, καὶ δεσμοῖς ἁλύτοις συνδεδεμένοι, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. Eccles. 5. 4.

For inſtance, into what loſs and miſchief, what ſorrow, what regret and repentance, did the unadviſed vow of *Jephtha* throw him? the performance whereof (as S. *Chryſoſtome* remarketh) God did permit, and order to be commemorated with ſolemn lamentation, that all poſterity might be admoniſhed thereby, and deterred from ſuch precipitant Swearing. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιδ'.

VII. Let us conſider, that Swearing is a ſin of all others peculiarly clamorous, and provocative of Divine judgment. God is hardly ſo much concerned, or in a manner conſtrained, to puniſh any other ſin as this. He is bound in honour and intereſt to vindicate his Name from the abuſe, his Authority from the contempt, his holy Ordinance from the profanation, which it doth infer. He is concerned to take care that his providence be not queſtioned, that the dread of his Majeſty be not voided, that all Religion be not overthrown by the outragious commiſſion thereof with impunity.

It immediately toucheth his Name, it expreſly calleth upon him to mind it, to judge it, to ſhew himſelf in avenging it. He may ſeem deaf, or unconcerned, if, being ſo called and provoked, he doth not declare himſelf.

There is underſtood to be a kind of formal compact between him and mankind, obliging him to interpoſe, to take the matter into his cognizance, being ſpecially addreſſed to him.

The bold Swearer doth importune him to hear, doth rouze him to mark, doth brave him to judge and puniſh his wickedneſs.

Hence

Zech. 5. 2, &c.
Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. 9. p. 525. 15. p. 565. 19. p. 591.
Jer. 23. 10.
Hoſ. 4. 3.

Hence no wonder that *the flying roll*, a quick and inevitable *curſe*, doth ſurprize the *Swearer*, and *cut him off*, as it is in the Prophet. No wonder that ſo many remarkable inſtances do occurr in hiſtory, of ſignal vengeance inflicted on perſons notably guilty of this crime. No wonder that a common practice thereof doth fetch down publick judgments; and that, as the Prophets of old did proclaim, *becauſe of Swearing the land mourneth.*

VIII. Farther, (paſſing over the ſpecial laws againſt it, the miſchievous conſequences of it, the ſore puniſhments appointed to it,) we may conſider, that to common ſenſe vain Swearing is a very unreaſonable and ill-favoured practice, greatly misbecoming any ſober, worthy or honeſt perſon; but eſpecially moſt abſurd and incongruous to a Chriſtian.

For in ordinary converſation what needful or reaſonable occaſion can intervene of violating this command? If there come under diſcourſe a matter of reaſon, which is evidently true and certain, then what need can there be of an Oath to affirm it, it ſufficing to expoſe it to light, or to propoſe the evidences for it? If an obſcure or doubtful point come to be debated, it will not bear an Oath; it will be a ſtrange madneſs to dare, a great folly to hope the perſuading it thereby. What were more ridiculous, than to ſwear the truth of a demonſtrable Theorem? what more vain, than ſo to aſſert a diſputable Problem? Oaths (like wagers) are in ſuch caſes no arguments, except of ſillineſs in the uſers of them.

If a matter of hiſtory be ſtarted, then if a man be taken for honeſt, his word will paſs for atteſtation, without farther aſſurance: but if his veracity or probity be doubted, his Oath will not be relied on, eſpecially when he doth obtrude it. For it was no leſs truly than acutely ſaid by the old Poet, Οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔχει πίστις, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἀνὴρ, *The man doth not get credit from an Oath, but an Oath from the man:* and a greater Authour, *An Oath* (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *doth not make a man credible; but the teſtimony of his life, and the exactneſs of his converſation, and a good repute. Many often have burſt with ſwearing, and perſuaded no man: others only nodding have deſerved more belief, than thoſe who have ſwore ſo mightily.*

Æſchyl.

Οὐκ ὄρκῳ ἀξιόπιστον ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ βίᾳ μαρτυρία, καὶ πολιτείας ἀκρίβεια, καὶ ὑπόληψις ἀγαθή. πολλοὶ πολλάκις διερράγησαν ὀμνύοντες, καὶ οὐδένα ἔπεισαν· ἕτεροι δὲ, ὀπτεύσαντες μόνον, ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν τοσαῦτα ὀμόσαντων ἠφάνισαν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ζ'. p. 514.

Wherefore Oaths, as they are frivolous coming from a perſon of little worth or conſcience, ſo they are ſuperfluous in the mouth of an honeſt and worthy perſon; yea, as they do not encreaſe the credit of the former, ſo they may impair that of the latter.

Δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρὸς τρόπον ὅρκου πιστότερον φαίνεσθαι παρεχόμενον. Socr. *apud* Max. *Serm.* 85.

A good man (as *Socrates* did ſay) *ſhould apparently ſo demean himſelf, that his word may be deemed more credible than an Oath;* the conſtant tenour of his practice vouching for it, and giving it ſuch weight, that no aſſeveration can farther corroborate it.

Ὁ τῇ σπουδαίᾳ λόγῳ ὅρκῳ ἔξω βέβαιος, ἀκλινὴς, ἀψευδέστατος. Philo. *Colendo fidem jurant* (*Scythæ*; *apud* Curt. 7. 8.)

He ſhould τοῖς ἔργοις εὐορκεῖν, *ſwear by his good deeds*, and exhibit βίον ἀξιόπιστον, *a life deſerving belief*, (as *Clemens Alex.* ſaith:) ſo that no man ſhould deſire more from him than his bare aſſertion; but willingly ſhould yield him the privilege which the *Athenians* granted to *Xenocrates*, that he ſhould teſtify without Swearing.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7. p. 524.

Ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξιόπιστος σφόδρα· ὥστε μὴ ἐξὸν ἀνώμοτον μαρτυρεῖν, τούτῳ μόνῳ συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι. Diog. Laert. *in Xenocr.*

He ſhould be like the *Eſſenes*, of whom *Joſephus* ſaith, that every thing ſpoken by them was more valid than an Oath; whence they declined Swearing.

Πᾶν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότερον ὅρκου, τὸ δ' ὀμνύειν αὐτοῖς ἀποπέφευγεν. Joſeph.

He

He ſhould ſo much confide in his own veracity and fidelity, and ſo much ſtand upon them, that he ſhould not deign to offer any pledge for them, implying them to want confirmation.

He ſhould (as S. *Hierome* ſaith) *ſo love truth, that he ſhould ſuppoſe himſelf to have ſworn whatſoever he hath ſaid*; and therefore ſhould not be apt to heap another Oath on his words.

Tantus in te ſit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, juratum putes. Hier. *Ep.* 14.

Upon ſuch accounts common reaſon directed even Pagan wiſe-men wholly to interdict Swearing in ordinary converſation, or about petty matters, as an irrational and immoral practice, unworthy of ſober and diſcreet perſons. *Forbear Swearing about any matter*, (ſaid *Plato*, cited by *Clem. Alex.*) *Avoid Swearing, if you can, wholly*, (ſaid *Epictetus.*) *For mony ſwear by no God, though you ſwear truly*, ſaid *Iſocrates.* And divers the like precepts occurr in other Heathens; the mention whereof may well ſerve to ſtrike ſhame into many looſe and vain people, bearing the name of Chriſtians.

Ὄρκου παντὸς ἀπέχου. Plato *apud* Clem. Alex. *Str.* 5. *p.* 433. Ὄρκον παραίτησαι, εἰ μὴ ὅλως δύνῃ, ἢ ὅλως ἄπαυε. Epict. *Ench. cap.* 44. Ἕνεκα χρημάτων μηδένα θεὸν ὀμόσῃς, μηδ' ἂν ἐπιορκεῖν μέλλῃς. Iſocr. *ad Demon.*

Indeed, for a true and real Chriſtian, this practice doth eſpecially in a far higher degree misbecome him, upon conſiderations peculiar to his high calling and holy profeſſion.

Plutarch telleth us, that among the *Romans* the *Flamen* of *Jupiter* was not permitted to ſwear: of which Law among other reaſons he aſſigneth this; *Becauſe it is not handſome, that he to whom divine and greateſt things are intruſted, ſhould be diſtruſted about ſmall matters.* The which reaſon may well be applied to excuſe every Chriſtian from it, who is a Prieſt to the moſt High God, and hath the moſt celeſtial and important matters concredited to him; in compariſon to which all other matters are very mean and inconſiderable. The dignity of his rank ſhould render his word *verbum honoris*, paſſable without any farther engagement. He hath opinions of things, he hath undertaken practices inconſiſtent with Swearing. For he that firmly doth believe that God is ever preſent with him, an auditour and witneſs of all his diſcourſe; he that is perſuaded that a ſevere judgment ſhall paſs on him, wherein he muſt *give an account for every idle word* which ſlippeth from him, and wherein, among other offenders, aſſuredly *Liars* will be condemned to the burning lake; he that in a great Sacrament (once moſt ſolemnly taken, and frequently renewed) hath engaged and ſworn together with all other Divine Commandments, to obſerve thoſe which moſt expreſly do charge him to be exactly juſt, faithful and veracious in all his words and deeds; who therefore ſhould be ready to ſay with *David, I have ſworn, and am ſtedfaſtly purpoſed to keep thy righteous judgments*; to him * every word hath the force of an Oath; every Lie, every breach of promiſe, every violation of faith doth involve Perjury: for him to ſwear, is falſe heraldry, an impertinent accumulation of one Oath upon another: he of all men ſhould diſdain to allow that his words are not perfectly credible, that his promiſe is not ſecure, without being aſſured by an Oath.

Διατὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ὀμόσαι; ἢ ὅτι περὶ μικρῶν ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὸν τὰ θεῖα καὶ μέγιστα πεπιστευμένον οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν; Plut. *in Qu. Rom. p.* 491.

Mat. 12. 36. Revel. 21. 8. & 22. 15.

Col. 3. 9. Eph. 4. 25. 1 Pet. 2. 1. Pſ. 119. 106.

* *Omnis ſermo fidelis pro jure jurando eſt.* Hier. *in Matt.* 5.

IX. Indeed the practice of Swearing greatly diſparageth him that uſeth it, and derogateth from his credit upon divers accounts.

It ſignifieth, (if it ſignifieth any thing,) that he doth not confide in his own reputation, and judgeth his own bare word not to deſerve credit: for why, if he taketh his word to be good, doth he back it with aſſeverations?

ſeverations? why, if he deemeth his own honeſty to bear proof, doth he cite Heaven to warrant it?

Αἰσχρὸν παντελῶς καὶ ἀνόητον, ἑαυτὸν καταγορεῦσαι ὡς ἀναξίου πίστεως, καὶ τῷ Θεῷ ὅρκων ἀσφάλειαν ἐπιφέρεσθαι. Baſ. *in* Pſ. 14.

It is (ſaith S. *Baſil*) *a very foul and ſilly thing, for a man to accuſe himſelf as unworthy of belief, and to profer an Oath for ſecurity.*

By ſo doing a man doth authorize others to diſtruſt him: for it can be no wrong to diſtruſt him, who doth not pretend to be a credible perſon, or that his ſaying alone may ſafely be taken; who, by ſuſpecting that others are not ſatisfied with his ſimple aſſertion, implieth a reaſon known to himſelf for it.

Ἤδη γὰρ ὁ γε ὀμνὺς εἰς ἀπιστίαν ὑπονοεῖται. Philo.

It rendreth what-ever he ſaith to be in reaſon ſuſpicious, as diſcovering him void of conſcience and diſcretion: for he that flatly againſt the rules of duty and reaſon will ſwear vainly, what can engage him to ſpeak truly? he that is ſo looſe in ſo clear and ſo conſiderable a point of obedience to God, how can he be ſuppoſed ſtaunch in regard to any other? *It being* (as *Ariſtotle* hath it) *the part of the ſame men to do ill things, and not to regard forſwearing.* It will at leaſt conſtrain any man to ſuſpect all his diſcourſe of vanity and unadviſedneſs, ſeeing he plainly hath no care to bridle his tongue from ſo groſs an offence.

Τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων τὰ πονηρὰ πράττειν, καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν ὁπορκοῦντας. Ariſt. *Rhet. ad Alex. c.* 18.

It is ſtrange therefore, that any man of honour or honeſty ſhould not ſcorn, by ſuch a practice, to ſhake his own credit, or to detract from the validity of his word; which ſhould ſtand firm on it ſelf, and not want any atteſtation to ſupport it. It is a privilege of honourable perſons, that they are excuſed from ſwearing, and that their *verbum honoris* paſſeth in lieu of an Oath: is it not then ſtrange, that when others diſpenſe with them, they ſhould not diſpenſe with themſelves; but voluntarily degrade themſelves, and with ſin forfeit ſo noble a privilege?

X. To excuſe theſe faults, the Swearer will be forced to confeſs, that his Oaths are no more than waſte and inſignificant words; deprecating being taken for ſerious, or to be underſtood that he meaneth any thing by them; but only that he uſeth them as expletive phraſes, πρὸς ἀναπλήρωσιν λόγου, to plump his ſpeech, and fill up ſentences. But ſuch pleas do no more than ſuggeſt other faults of Swearing, and good arguments againſt it; its impertinence, its abuſe of ſpeech, its diſgracing the practiſer of it in point of judgment and capacity. For ſo it is, Oaths as they commonly paſs are mere excreſcencies of Speech, which do nothing but encumber and deform it; they ſo embelliſh diſcourſe, as a Wen or a Scab do beautify a face, as a Patch or a Spot do adorn a garment.

Hierocl. Philo.

To what purpoſe, I pray, is God's Name hooked and haled into our idle talk? why ſhould we ſo often mention him, when we do not mean any thing about him? would it not, into every ſentence to foiſt a dog or a horſe, (to intrude *Turkiſh*, or any barbarous gibberiſh,) be altogether as proper and pertinent?

What do theſe ſuperfluities ſignifie, but that the venter of them doth little skill the uſe of ſpeech, or the rule of converſation, but meaneth to ſputter and prate any thing without judgment or wit; that his invention is very barren, his fancy beggarly, craving the aid of any ſtuff to relieve it? One would think a man of ſenſe ſhould grutch to lend his ear, or incline his attention to ſuch motly ragged diſcourſe; that without

out nauſeating he ſcarce ſhould endure to obſerve men laviſhing time, and ſquandring their breath ſo frivolouſly. 'Tis an affront to good company, to peſter it with ſuch talk.

XI. But farther, upon higher accounts this is a very uncivil and unmannerly practice.

Some vain perſons take it for a gentile and graceful thing, a ſpecial accompliſhment, a mark of fine breeding, a point of high gallantry: for who, forſooth, is the brave Spark, the compleat Gentleman, the man of converſation and addreſs, but he that hath the skill and confidence (O heavens! how mean a skill! how mad a confidence!) to lard every ſentence with an Oath or a Curſe; making bold at every turn to ſalute his Maker, or to ſummon him in atteſtation of his rattle; not to ſay, calling and challenging the Almighty to damn and deſtroy him? Such a conceit, I ſay, too many have of Swearing, becauſe a cuſtom thereof, together with divers other fond and baſe qualities, hath prevailed among ſome people, bearing the name and garb of Gentlemen.

But in truth there is no practice more croſſing the genuine nature of Gentileneſs, or misbecoming perſons well born and well bred; who ſhould excell the rude vulgar in goodneſs, in courteſie, in nobleneſs of heart, in unwillingneſs to offend, and readineſs to oblige thoſe with whom they converſe, in ſteddy compoſedneſs of mind and manners, in diſdaining to ſay or do any unworthy, any unhandſome things.

For this practice is not only a groſs rudeneſs toward the main body of men, who juſtly reverence the Name of God, and deteſt ſuch an abuſe thereof; not only (farther) an inſolent defiance of the common Profeſſion, the Religion, the Law of our Country, which diſalloweth and condemneth it; but it is very odious and offenſive to any particular Society or company, at leaſt wherein there is any ſober perſon, any who retaineth a ſenſe of goodneſs, or is any-wiſe concerned for God's honour: for to any ſuch perſon no language can be more diſguſtful; nothing can more grate his ears, or fret his heart, than to hear the ſovereign object of his love and eſteem ſo mocked and ſlighted; to ſee the Law of his Prince ſo diſloyally infringed, ſo contemptuouſly trampled on; to find his beſt Friend and Benefactour ſo outrageouſly abuſed. To give him the lie were a complement, to ſpit in his face were an obligation, in compariſon to this uſage.

Wherefore 'tis a wonder, that any perſon of rank, any that hath in him a ſpark of ingenuity, or doth at all pretend to good manners, ſhould find in his heart or deign to comply with ſo ſcurvy a faſhion; a faſhion much more befitting the ſcumme of the people, than the flower of the Gentry; yea rather much below any man endued with a ſcrap of reaſon, or a grain of goodneſs. Would we bethink our ſelves, modeſt, ſober and pertinent diſcourſe would appear far more generous and maſculine, than ſuch mad Hectoring the Almighty, ſuch boiſterous inſulting over the received Laws and general notions of mankind, ſuch ruffianly ſwaggering againſt ſobriety and goodneſs. If Gentlemen would regard the Vertues of their Anceſtours, the founders of their quality; that gallant courage, that ſolid wiſdom, that noble courteſie, which advanced their families, and ſevered them from the vulgar; this degenerate wantonneſs and ſordidneſs of language would return to the dunghil, or rather (which God grant) be quite baniſhed from the world; the vulgar following their example.

XII. Farther, the words of our Lord, when he forbad this practice, do ſuggeſt another conſideration againſt it, deducible from the cauſes

and ſources of it; from whence it cometh, that men are ſo inclined or addicted thereto: *Let* (ſaith he) *your communication be Yea, yea, Nay, nay; for whatſoever is more than theſe cometh of evil.* The roots of it he aſſureth us are evil, and therefore the fruit cannot be good: it is no grape which groweth from thorns, or fig from thiſtles. Conſult experience, and obſerve whence it doth proceed.

Mat. 5. 37.

Sometimes it ariſeth from exorbitant heats of ſpirit, or tranſports of unbridled paſſion. When a man is keenly peeviſh, or fiercely angry, or eagerly contentious, then he bluſtereth, and diſchargeth his choler in moſt tragical ſtrains; then he would fright the objects of his diſpleaſure by the moſt violent expreſſions thereof. This is ſometime alledged in excuſe of raſh Swearing; (*I was provoked*, the Swearer will ſay, *I was in paſſion:*) but it is ſtrange, that a bad cauſe ſhould juſtify a bad effect; that one crime ſhould warrant another; that what would ſpoil a good action, ſhould excuſe a bad one.

Sometimes it proceedeth from arrogant conceit, and a tyrannical humour; when a man fondly admireth his own opinion, and affecting to impoſe it on others, is thence moved to thwack it on with luſty Aſſeverations.

Ἐλαφρία. 2 Cor. 1. 17.

Sometimes it iſſueth from wantonneſs and levity of mind, diſpoſing a man to ſport with any thing, how ſerious, how grave, how ſacred and venerable ſoever.

Sometimes its riſe is from ſtupid inadvertency, or heady precipitancy; when the man doth not heed what he ſaith, or conſider the nature and conſequence of his words, but ſnatcheth any expreſſion which cometh next, or which his roving fancy doth offer; for want of that caution of the Pſalmiſt, *I ſaid, I will take heed to my ways, that I ſin not with my tongue: I will keep my mouth with a bridle, while the wicked is before me.*

Pſal. 39. 1. & 141. 3.

Sometimes (alas! how often in this miſerable Age?) it doth ſpring from profane boldneſs; when men deſign to put affronts on Religion, and to diſplay their ſcorn and ſpite againſt Conſcience; affecting the reputation of ſtout Blades, of gallant Hectors, of reſolute Giants, who dare do any thing, who are not afraid to defy Heaven, and brave God Almighty himſelf.

(Pſal. 26. 4.)

Sometimes it is derived from apiſh imitation, or a humour to comply with a faſhion current among vain and diſſolute perſons.

It always doth come from a great defect of Conſcience, of reverence to God, of love to goodneſs, of diſcretion and ſober regard to the welfare of a man's Soul.

From ſuch evidently-vicious and unworthy ſources it proceedeth, and therefore muſt needs be very culpable. No good, no wiſe man can like actions drawn from ſuch principles. Farther,

Mat. 7. 16.

XIII. This offence may be particularly aggravated by conſidering, that it hath no ſtrong temptation alluring to it; that it yieldeth no ſenſible advantage; that it moſt eaſily may be avoided or corrected.

Οὐ γὰρ ἡ πᾶν ἁμάρτημα τῷ αὐτῷ φέρκόεικασιν· ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐυκατόρθωτα μείζονα ἡμῖν ἐπάγει τῷ πμαείαν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ι'. p. 489.

Εἶπέ μοι, ποίαν δυσκολίαν, &c. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ιϑ. p. 594. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ε'. p. 499. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. δ'. p. 489.

Every ſin (ſaith S. *Chryſoſtome*) *hath not the ſame puniſhment; but thoſe things which may eaſily be reformed do bring on us greater puniſhment:* and what can be more eaſie, than to reform this fault? *Tell me*, (ſaith he) *what difficulty, what ſweat, what art, what hazard, what more doth it require beſide a little care* to abſtain wholly from it? It is but willing, or reſolving on it, and it is inſtantly done: for there is not any natural inclination diſpoſing to it, any ſtrong appetite to detain us under its power.

It

It gratifieth no sense, it yieldeth no profit, it procureth no honour; for the sound of it is not very melodious, and no man surely did ever get an estate by it, or was preferred to dignity for it. It rather to any good ear maketh a horrid and jarring noise; it rather with the best part of the world produceth displeasure, damage and disgrace. What therefore beside monstrous vanity, and unaccountable perverseness, should hold men so devoted thereto?

Surely of all dealers in sin the Swearer is palpably the silliest, and maketh the worst bargains for himself; for he sinneth *gratis*, and (like those in the Prophet) *selleth his soul for nothing*. An Epicure hath some reason to alledge, an Extortioner is a man of wisdom, and acteth prudently in comparison to him; for they enjoy some pleasure, or acquire some gain here, in lieu of their Salvation hereafter: but this fondling offendeth Heaven, and abandoneth Happiness, he knoweth not why or for what. He hath not so much as the common plea of humane infirmity to excuse him; he can hardly say that he was tempted thereto by any bait.

Isa. 52. 3.

Οὗτος δ', ὀδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν βιαζομένης, ὑπὸ ἀνοίας μόνης εἰς τὸ βάραθρον καταπίπτει τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Chrys. Ανδρ. ι. p. 531. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτοι τινα πρόφασιν ἔχουσι προβουλέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταφρόνησιν μόνον. Ibid.

A phantastick humour possesseth him of spurning at Piety and Soberness; he inconsiderately followeth a herd of wild fops; he affecteth to play the Ape. What more than this can he say for himself?

XIV. Finally, let us consider, that as we our selves, with all our members and powers, were chiefly designed and framed to glorify our Maker; (the which to do is indeed the greatest perfection and noblest privilege of our nature;) so our Tongue and speaking faculty were given to us to declare our admiration and reverence of him, to exhibit our due love and gratitude toward him, to profess our trust and confidence in him; to celebrate his praises, to avow his benefits, to address our supplications to him, to maintain all kinds of devotional intercourse with him, to propagate our knowledge, fear, love and obedience to him, in all such ways to promote his honour and service. This is the most proper, worthy and due use of our Tongue, for which it was created, to which it is dedicated, from whence it becometh, as it is so often styled, our *glory*, and the best member that we have; that whereby we excell all creatures here below, and whereby we are no less discriminated from them, than by our Reason; that whereby we consort with the Blessed Angels above in the distinct utterance of praise, and communication of glory to our Creatour. Wherefore applying this to any impious discourse, with this to profane God's Blessed Name, with this to violate his Holy Commands, with this to unhallow his Sacred Ordinance, with this to offer dishonour and indignity to him, is a most unnatural abuse, an horrid ingratitude toward him.

Psal. 16. 9. & 30. 12. & 57. 8. & 108. 1. *Hoc enim uno præstamus vel maximè feris, quòd colloquimur inter nos, & quòd exprimere dicendo sensa possumus.* Cic. *de Orat.* 1.

It is that indeed whereby we render this noble Organ incapable of any good use. For * how (as the excellent Father doth often urge) can we pray to God for mercies, or praise God for his benefits, or heartily confess our sins, or chearfully partake of the Holy mysteries, with a mouth defiled by impious Oaths, with a heart guilty of so hainous disobedience?

* Πῶς εὐξόμεθα—; Chr. Ἀνδρ. ιδ. p. 559. Ανδρ. ια. p. 538.

Likewise, whereas a secondary, very worthy use of our Speech is, to promote the good of our Neighbour, and especially to edifie him in Piety, according to that wholsome precept of the Apostle, *Let no cor-*

Eph. 4. 29.

rupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the uſe of edifying, that it may miniſter grace unto the hearers; the practice of Swearing is an abuſe very contrary to that good purpoſe, ſerving to corrupt our Neighbour, and to inſtill into him a contempt of Religion; or however grievouſly to ſcandalize him.

XV. I ſhall add but two words more. One is, that we would ſeriouſly conſider, that our Bleſſed Saviour, who loved us ſo dearly, who did and ſuffered ſo much for us, who redeemed us by his bloud, who
John 14. 15. ſaid unto us, *If ye love me, keep my commandments*, he thus poſitively
Matt. 5. 34. hath injoyned, *But I ſay unto you, Swear not at all*: and how then can we find in our heart directly to thwart his word?

The other is, that we would lay to heart the reaſon whereby S. *James* doth enforce the point, and the ſting in the cloſe of our Text, where-
* μὴ ὑπὸ κείσιν πίσητε. with I conclude; *But above all things, my brethren, ſwear not, neither by heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath: but let your Yea be yea, and your Nay nay, leſt you fall into condemnation*, or, * *leſt you fall under damnation.* From the which infinite miſchief, and from all ſin that may cauſe it, God in mercy deliver us through our Bleſſed Redeemer *Jeſus*, to whom for ever be all glory and praiſe.

SERMON XVI.

Of Evil-ſpeaking in General.

TITUS. 3. 2.

----To ſpeak evil of no man.

THESE words do imply a double Duty; one incumbent on Teachers, another on the People who are to be inſtructed by them.

The Teachers Duty appeareth from reflecting on the words of the Context, which govern theſe, and make them up an entire ſentence;
* Υπομίμνησκε αὐτές. * *Put them in mind*, or, Rub up their memory to do thus. It is S. *Paul's* injunction to *Titus*, a Biſhop and Paſtour of the Church, that he ſhould admoniſh the People committed to his care and inſtruction, as of other great Duties, (of yielding obedience to Magiſtrates, of behaving themſelves peaceably, of practiſing meekneſs and equity toward all men, of being *readily* diſpoſed *to every good work*,) ſo particularly of this μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, *to revile*, or *ſpeak evil of no man.*

Whence it is apparent, that this is one of the principal Duties that Preachers are obliged to mind people of, and to preſs upon them. And if this were needful then, when Charity, kindled by ſuch inſtructions and examples, was ſo lively; when Chriſtians, by their Suffe-

rings,

rings, were ſo inured to meekneſs and patience; even every one; for the honour of his Religion, and the ſafety of his perſon, was concerned in all reſpects to demean himſelf innocently and inoffenſively; then is it now eſpecially requiſite, when (ſuch engagements and reſtraints being taken off, Love being cooled, Perſecution being extinct, the tongue being ſet looſe from all extraordinary curbs) the tranſgreſſion of this Duty is grown ſo prevalent and rife, that Evil-ſpeaking is almoſt as common as ſpeaking, ordinary converſation extremely abounding therewith, that Miniſters ſhould diſcharge their office in dehorting and diſſuading from it.

Well indeed it were, if by their example of uſing mild and moderate diſcourſe, of abſtaining from virulent invectives, tauntings and ſcoffings, good for little but to enflame anger, and infuſe ill-will, they would lead men to good practice of this ſort: for no examples can be ſo wholſome, or ſo miſchievous to this purpoſe, as thoſe which come down from the Pulpit, the place of edification, backed with ſpecial authority and advantage.

How-ever, it is to Preachers a ground of aſſurance, and matter of ſatisfaction, that in preſſing this Duty they ſhall perform their duty: their Text being not ſo much of their own chuſing, as given them by S. *Paul*; they can ſurely ſcarce find a better to diſcourſe upon: it cannot be a matter of ſmall moment or uſe, which this great Maſter and Guide ſo expreſsly directeth us to inſiſt upon. And to the obſervance of his Precept, ſo far as concerneth me, I ſhall immediately apply my ſelf.

It is then the Duty of all Chriſtian people, (to be taught, and preſſed on them,) *not to reproach*, or *ſpeak evil of any man*. The which Duty, for your inſtruction, I ſhall firſt endeavour ſomewhat to explain, declaring its import and extent; then, for your farther edification, I ſhall inculcate it, propoſing ſeveral inducements perſuaſive to the obſervance of it.

I. For Explication, we may firſt conſider the Object of it, *no man*; then the Act it ſelf, which is prohibited, *to blaſpheme*, that is, to reproach, to revile, or (as we have it rendred) *to ſpeak evil*.

NO MAN. S. *Paul* queſtionleſs did eſpecially mean hereby to hinder the Chriſtians at that time from reproaching the *Jews* and the Pagans among whom they lived, men in their lives very wicked and corrupt, men in opinion extremely diſſenting from them, men who greatly did hate, and cruelly did perſecute them; of whom therefore they had mighty provocations and temptations to ſpeak ill; their judgment of the perſons, and their reſentment of injuries, making it difficult to abſtain from doing ſo. Whence by a manifeſt analogy may be inferred, that the Object of this Duty is very large, indeed univerſal and unlimited: that we muſt forbear reproach not only againſt pious and vertuous perſons, againſt perſons of our own judgment or party, againſt thoſe who never did harm or offend us, againſt our relations, our friends, our benefactours; in reſpect of whom there is no ground or temptation of ill-ſpeaking; but even againſt the moſt unworthy and wicked perſons, againſt thoſe who moſt diſcoaſt in opinion and practice from us, againſt thoſe who never did oblige us, yea thoſe who have moſt diſobliged us, even againſt our moſt bitter and ſpiteful enemies. There is no exception or excuſe to be admitted from the quality, ſtate, relation, or demeanour of men; the Duty (according to the proper ſenſe, or due qualifications and limits of the Act) doth extend to all men: for, *Speak evil of no man*.

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As for the Act, it may be inquired what the word βλασφημεῖν, *to BLASPHEME*, doth import. I answer, that it is to vent words concerning any person which do signifie in us ill opinion, or contempt, anger, hatred, enmity conceived in our minds toward him; which are apt in him to kindle wrath, and breed ill bloud toward us; which tend to beget in others that hear ill conceit, or ill-will toward him; which are much destructive of his reputation, prejudicial to his interests, productive of damage or mischief to him. It is otherwise in Scripture termed λοιδορεῖν, *to rail* or *revile*, (to use bitter and ignominious language;) ὑβρίζειν, *to speak contumeliously*; φέρειν βλάσφημον κρίσιν, *to bring railing accusation*, or reproachful censure;) καταλαλεῖν, to use *obloquy*, or *obtrectation*; καταρᾶσθαι, *to curse*, that is, to speak words importing that we do wish ill to a person.

Luk. 11. 45. 2 Pet. 2. 11. Jud. 9. Jam. 4. 11. Rom. 12. 14. Luk. 6. 28. (2 Sam. 16. 10.)

Such is the language we are prohibited to use. To which purpose we may observe, that whereas in our conversation and commerce with men, there do frequently occur occasions to speak of men and to men words apparently disadvantageous to them, expressing our dissent in opinion from them, or a dislike in us of their proceedings, we may do this in different ways and terms; some of them gentle and moderate, signifying no ill mind or disaffection toward them; others harsh and sharp, arguing height of disdain, disgust, or despite, whereby we bid them defiance, and shew that we mean to exasperate them. Thus, telling a man that we differ in judgment from him, or conceive him not to be in the right, and calling him a Liar, a Deceiver, a Fool; saying that he doeth amiss, taketh a wrong course, transgresseth the rule, and calling him dishoneſt, unjust, wicked; (to omit more odious and provoking names, unbecoming this place, and not deserving our notice;) are several ways of expressing the same things: whereof the latter, in relating passages concerning our Neighbour, or in debating cases with him, is prohibited: for thus the words *reproaching*, *reviling*, *railing*, *cursing*, and the like, do signifie; and thus our Lord himself doth explain them, in his Divine Sermon, wherein he doth enact this Law; *Whosoever* (saith he) *shall say to his brother*, *RACA*, (that is, Vain man, or Liar, *shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say*, *THOU FOOL*, *shall be in danger of Hell-fire*; that is, he rendreth himself liable to a strict account, and to severe condemnation before God, who useth contemptuous and contumelious expressions toward his Neighbour, in proportion to the malignity of such expressions.

(Acts 23. 3, 4, 5.)

Matt. 5. 22.

The reason of things also doth help to explain those words, and to shew why they are prohibited: because those harsh terms are needless; mild words serving as well to express the same things: because they are commonly unjust, loading men with greater defect or blame than they can be proved to deserve, or their actions do import: (for every man that speaketh falshood is not therefore a Liar, every man that erreth is not thence a Fool, every man that doeth amiss is not consequently Dishoneſt or wicked; the secret intentions and the habitual dispositions of men not being always to be collected from their outward actions: because they are uncharitable, signifying that we entertain the worst opinions of men, and make the worst construction of their doings, and are disposed to shew them no favour or kindness: because also they produce mischievous effects, such as spring from the worst passions raised by them.

This

This in groſs is the meaning of the Precept. But ſince there are ſome other Precepts ſeeming to claſh with this; ſince there are caſes wherein we are allowed to uſe the harſher ſort of terms, there are great examples in appearance thwarting this rule; therefore it may be requiſite for determining the limits of our duty, and diſtinguiſhing it from tranſgreſſion, that ſuch exceptions or reſtrictions ſhould be ſomewhat declared.

1. Firſt then, we may obſerve, that it may be allowable to perſons any-wiſe concerned in the proſecution or adminiſtration of Juſtice, to ſpeak words which in private intercourſe would be reproachful. A Witneſs may impeach of crimes hurtful to juſtice, or publick tranquillity; a Judge may challenge, may rebuke, may condemn an offender in proper terms, (or forms of ſpeech preſcribed by Law,) although moſt diſgraceful and diſtaſtful to the guilty: for it belongeth to the majeſty of publick Juſtice to be bold, blunt, ſevere; little regarding the concerns or paſſions of particular perſons, in compariſon to the publick welfare.

A Teſtimony therefore or Sentence againſt a criminal, which materially is a reproach, and morally would be ſuch in a private mouth, is not yet formally ſo accordingly to the intent of this rule. For practices of this kind, which ſerve the exigencies of Juſtice, are not to be interpreted as proceeding from anger, hatred, revenge, any bad paſſion or humour; but in way of needful diſcipline for God's ſervice, and common benefit of men. It is not indeed ſo much the Miniſter of Juſtice, as God himſelf, our abſolute Lord, as the Sovereign, God's repreſentative, acting in the publick behalf, as the Commonwealth it ſelf, who by his mouth do rebuke the obnoxious perſon.

2. God's Miniſters in Religious affairs, to whom the care of mens inſtruction and edification is committed, are enabled to inveigh againſt ſin and vice, who-ever conſequentially may be touched thereby: yea ſometimes it is their duty, with ſeverity and ſharpneſs to reprove particular perſons, not only privately, but publickly, in order to their correction, and edification of others.

Thus Saint *Paul* directeth *Timothy*; *Them that ſin* (notoriouſly and ſcandalouſly, he meaneth) *rebuke before all, that others may fear*: that is in a manner apt to make impreſſion on the minds of the hearers, ſo as to ſcare them from like offences. And to *Titus* he writes, *Rebuke them ſharply, that they may be ſound in the faith.* And, *Cry aloud, ſpare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and ſhew my people their tranſgreſſions, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins*, ſaith the Lord to the Prophet. Such are the charges and commiſſions laid on and granted to his Meſſengers.

1 Tim. 5. 20.
2 Tim. 4. 2.
Tit. 1. 13.
Iſa. 58. 1.

Thus may we obſerve that God's Prophets of old, S. *John* the Baptiſt, our Lord himſelf, the Holy Apoſtles did in terms moſt vehement and biting reprove the Age in which they lived, and ſome particular perſons in them. The Prophets are full of declamations and invectives againſt the general corruption of their Times, and againſt the particular manners of ſome perſons in them. *Ah ſinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a ſeed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters! They are all adulterers, an aſſembly of treacherous men; and they bend their tongues like their bow for lies.* * *Thy Princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves, every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherleſs, neither doth the cauſe of the widow come before them.* † *The Prophets propheſie falſly, and the Prieſts rule by their means.* ‖ *As troops of robbers wait for a man, ſo the company of Prieſts murther in the way by conſent,*

Vide Hier. *in* Pelag. 1. 9.

Iſa. 1. 4.
Jer. 9. 2, 3.
* Iſa. 1. 23.
Hoſ. 9. 15.
Ezek. 22. 6. 27.
† Jer. 5. 31. & 14. 14.
‖ Hoſ. 6. 9.
Ezek. 22. 26.
Mic. 3. 11.
Zeph. 3. 4.

consent, and commit lewdness. Such is their style commonly. S. *John* the Baptist calleth the Scribes and Pharisees * *a generation of vipers.* Our Saviour speaketh of them in the same terms; calleth them an † *evil and adulterous generation, Serpents, and children of vipers;* || *Hypocrites, painted sepulchres, obscure graves,* (μνημεῖα ἄδηλα,) *blind Guides, Fools and blind, children of the Devil.* S. *Paul* likewise calleth the Schismatical and heretical Teachers, * *Dogs, false Apostles, evil and deceitful workers, men of corrupt minds, Reprobates* and *abominable.* With the like colours do S. *Peter,* S. *Jude,* and other the Apostles paint them. Which sort of speeches are to be supposed to proceed, not from private passion or design, but out of holy zeal for God's honour, and from earnest charity toward men, for to work their amendment and common edification. They were uttered also by special wisdom and peculiar order; from God's authority and in his name: so that as God by them is said to preach, to entreat, to warn, and to exhort, so by them also he may best aid to reprehend and reproach.

* Matt. 3. 7.
† Matt. 16. 4. & 12. 34, 39.
|| Matt. 23. 13, &c.
Matt. 15. 7. 14. & 16. 3. & 22. 18.
Luk. 12. 1. & 11. 44.
Matt. 23. 24, 17.
Joh. 8. 44.
* Phil. 3. 2.
2 Cor. 11. 13.
1 Tim. 6. 5.
2 Tim. 3. 8.
Tit. 1. 16.
2 Cor. 5. 20.
Col. 1. 28.

3. Even private persons in due season, with discretion and temper, may reprove others, whom they observe to commit sin, or follow bad courses, out of charitable design, and with hope to reclaim them. This was an office of charity imposed anciently even upon the *Jews;* much more doth it lie upon Christians, who are obliged more earnestly to tender the spiritual good of those who by the stricter and more holy bands of brotherhood are allied to them. *Thou shalt not hate thy brother; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him,* was a precept of the old Law: and, νουθετεῖν ἀτάκτους, *to admonish the disorderly,* is an Evangelical rule. Such persons we are enjoyned to shun and decline: but first we must endeavour by sober advice and admonition to reclaim them; we must not thus reject them till they appear contumacious and incorrigible, refusing to hear us, or becoming deaf to reproof. This although it necessarily doth include setting out their faults, and charging blame on them, (answerable to their offences,) is not the culpable reproach here meant, it being needful toward a wholsome effect, and proceeding from charitable intention.

Levit. 19. 17.
1 Thess. 5. 14.
1 Tim. 6. 5.
Rom. 16. 17.
Tit. 3. 10.
2 Thess. 3. 6.
Matt. 18. 17.

4. Some vehemency (some smartness and sharpness) of speech may sometimes be used in defence of Truth, and impugning Errours of bad consequence; especially when it concerneth the interest of Truth, that the reputation and authority of its adversaries should somewhat be abased or abated. If by a partial opinion or reverence toward them, however begotten in the minds of men, they strive to overbear or discountenance a good cause, their faults (so far as truth permitteth and need requireth) may be detected and displayed. For this cause particularly may we presume our Lord (otherwise so meek in his temper, and mild in his carriage toward all men) did characterize the *Jewish* Scribes in such terms, that their authority (being then so prevalent with the people) might not prejudice the Truth, and hinder the efficacy of his Doctrine. This is part of that ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ πίστει, that duty of *contending earnestly for the faith,* which is incumbent on us.

Jud 3.

5. It may be excusable upon particular emergent occasions, with some heat of language to express dislike of notorious wickedness. As our Lord doth against the perverse incredulity and stupidity in the Pharisees, their profane misconstruction of his words and actions, their malicious opposing truth, and obstructing his endeavours in God's service. As S. *Peter* did to *Simon Magus,* telling him, that he *was in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity.* As S. *Paul* to *Elimas* the Sorcerer,

Matt. 17. 17.
Acts 8. 23.
Acts 13. 8, 10.

Sorcerer, when he *withſtood him, and deſired to turn away the Deputy, Sergius, from the faith*; O (ſaid he, ſtirr'd with a holy zeal and indignation) *thou full of all ſubtlety and all miſchief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteouſneſs, wilt thou not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord*? The ſame ſpirit which inabled him to inflict a ſore puniſhment on that wicked wretch, did prompt him to uſe that ſharp language toward him; unqueſtionably deſerved, and ſeaſonably pronounced. As alſo, when the High Prieſt commanded him illegally and unjuſtly to be miſuſed, that ſpeech from a mind juſtly ſenſible of ſuch outrage broke forth, *God ſhall ſmite thee, thou whited wall.* So, Acts 23. 3. when Saint *Peter* preſumptuouſly would have diſſuaded our Lord from compliance with God's will, in undergoing thoſe croſſes which were appointed to him by God's decree, our Lord calleth him *Satan*;---Ὑπαγε, Σατανᾶ, *Avant, Satan, thou art an offence unto me; for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but thoſe that are of men.* Matt. 16. 23.

Theſe ſort of ſpeeches, iſſuing from juſt and honeſt indignation, are ſometimes excuſable, oftentimes commendable; eſpecially when they come from perſons eminent in authority, of notable integrity, endued with ſpecial meaſures of Divine grace, of wiſdom, of goodneſs; ſuch as cannot be ſuſpected of intemperate anger, of ill nature, of ill will, of ill deſign.

In ſuch caſes as are above mentioned, a ſort of *Evil-ſpeaking* about our Neighbour may be allowable or excuſable. But for fear of overdoing, great caution and temper is to be uſed; and we ſhould never apply any ſuch limitations as cloaks to pallitate unjuſt or uncharitable dealing. Generally it is more adviſable, to ſuppreſs ſuch eruptions of paſſion, than to vent it; for ſeldom paſſion hath not inordinate motions joyned with it, or tendeth to good ends. And however it will do well to reflect on thoſe caſes, and to remark ſome particulars about them.

Firſt, We may obſerve, that in all theſe caſes all poſſible moderation, equity and candour are to be uſed; ſo that no ill-ſpeaking be practiſed beyond what is needful or convenient. Even in proſecution of offences, the bounds of truth, of equity, of humanity and clemency are not to be tranſgreſſed. A Judge muſt not lay on the moſt criminal perſon more blame, or contumely, than the caſe will bear, or than ſerveth the deſigns of juſtice. However our Neighbour doth incurr the calamities of ſin and of puniſhment, we muſt not be inſolent or contemptuous toward him. So we may learn by that Law of *Moſes*, back'd with a notable reaſon: *And it ſhall be, if the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, that the Judge cauſe him to lie down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number. Forty ſtripes he may give him, and not exceed; leſt if he ſhould exceed, and beat him above thoſe ſtripes, then thy brother ſhould ſeem vile unto thee.* Whence appears, that we ſhould be careful of not vilifying an offender beyond meaſure. And how mildly Governours ſhould proceed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, the example of *Joſhua* may teach us, who thus examineth *Achan*, the cauſe of ſo great miſchief to the publick; *My ſon, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, and make confeſſion unto him; and tell me now what thou haſt done, hide it not from me. My ſon*; what compellation could be more benign and kind? *I pray thee*; what language could be more courteous and gentle? *give glory to God, and make confeſſion*; what words could be more inoffenſively pertinent? And when he ſentenced that great Malefactour, the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, this was all he Deut. 25. 2, 3. Joſh. 7. 19, 25.

said, *Why hast thou troubled us? The Lord will trouble thee;* words void of contumely or insulting, containing only a close intimation of the cause, and a simple declaration of the event he was to undergo.

Secondly, Likewise Ministers, in the taxing sin and sinners, are to proceed with great discretion and caution, with much gentleness and meekness; signifying a tender pity of their infirmities, charitable desires of their good, the best opinion of them, and the best hopes for them, that may consist with any reason; according to those Apostolical rules: *Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thy self, lest thou also be tempted:* and, *We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves:* and more expressly, *A servant of the Lord must not fight, but be gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.* Thus did S. *Peter* temper his reproof of *Simon Magus* with this wholsome and comfortable advice; *Repent therefore from this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee.*

Gal. 6. 1.

Rom. 15. 1.

2 Tim. 2. 24, 25.

Acts 8. 22.

Thirdly, As for fraternal correption and reproof of faults, (when it is just and expedient to use it,) ordinarily the * calmest and mildest way is the most proper, and most likely to obtain good success: it commonly doth || in a more kindly manner convey the sense thereof into the heart, and therein more powerfully worketh remorse, than the fierce and harsh way. Clearly to shew a man his fault, with the reason proving it such so that he becometh throughly convinced of it, is sufficient to breed in him regret, and to shame him before his own mind: to do more (in way of aggravation, of insulting on him, of inveighing against him,) as it doth often not well consist with humanity, so it is seldom consonant to discretion, if we do, as we ought, seek his health and amendment. Humanity requireth, that when we undertake to reform our Neighbour, we should take care not to deform him; (not to discourage or displease him more than is necessary;) when we would correct his manners, that we should also consider his modesty, and consult his reputation; *curam agentes* (as *Seneca* speaketh) *non tantùm salutis, sed & honestæ cicatricis, having care not only to heal the wound, but to leave a comely scar behind. Be* (adviseth S. *Austin*) *so displeased with iniquity, as to consider and consult humanity:* for, *Zeal void of humanity, is not* (saith S. *Chrysostome*) *zeal, but rather animosity; and reproof not mixt with good will, appeareth a kind of malignity.* We should so rebuke those who, by frailty or folly incident to mankind, have fallen into misdemeanours, that they may perceive we do sincerely pity their ill case, and tender their good; that we mean not to upbraid their weakness, or insult upon their misfortune; that we delight not to inflict on them more grief than is plainly needful and unavoidable; that we are conscious and sensible of our own obnoxiousness to the like slips or falls, and do *consider, that we also may be tempted*, and being tempted may be overborn. This they cannot perceive, or be persuaded of, except we temper our speech with

Gal. 6. 1.

* *Reprehensio contumeliâ vacare debet. Neque monitio aspera sit, nec objurgatio contumeliosa.* Ambros. *de Offic.* 3. 16.

|| Prov. 17. 10. *A reproof entreth more into a wise man, than a hundred stripes into a fool.*

Ὁ διδάσκαλος, ὅταν λάβῃ τινὰ πλανώμενον, ἤλεγξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἧττον δέονται· ὀργὴ καταγελάσας ἢ λοιδορησάμενος ἀπῆλθε· καὶ σὺ δείξον αὐτῷ ἧττον ἀληθείαν, καὶ ὄψει ὅτι ἀκολουθεῖ, &c. *Epict.* 2. 12.

Sen. *de Clem.* 1. 7.

Vide Chrys. *in* Matt. 9. 8. *Or.* 29.

Ità succense iniquitati, ut consulere memineris humanitatis. Aug.

Ζῆλος φιλανθρωπίας κενὸς, ὁ ζῆλος, &c.

with benignity and mildneſs. Such ſpeech || prudence alſo dictateth, as moſt uſeful and hopeful for producing the good ends honeſt reprehenſion doth aim at; it mollifieth and it melteth a ſtubborn heart, it ſubdueth and winneth a perverſe will, it healeth diſtempered affections. Whereas roughly handling is apt to defeat or obſtruct the cure; rubbing the ſore doth tend to exaſperate and inflame it. Harſh ſpeech rendreth advice odious and unſavoury; driveth from it, and depriveth it of efficacy: it turneth regret for a fault into diſpleaſure and diſdain againſt the reprover: it looks not like the dealing of a kind friend, but like the perſecution of a ſpiteful enemy: it ſeemeth rather an ebullition of gall, or a defluxion from rancour, than an expreſſion of good will: the offender will take it for a needleſs and pitileſs tormenting, or for a proud and tyrannical domineering over him. He that can bear a friendly touch, will not endure to be laſhed with angry and reproachful words. In fine, all reproof ought to be ſeaſoned with diſcretion, with candour, with moderation and meekneſs.

|| *Pleaſant words are as an hony-comb, ſweet to the ſoul, and health to the bones.* Prov. 16. 24.

A ſoft anſwer turneth away wrath; but grievous words ſtir up anger. Prov. 15. 1.

2 Theſſ. 3. 15. Μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖτε ὡς ἀδελφόν.

Fourthly, Likewiſe in defence of truth, and maintenance of a good cauſe, we may obſerve, that commonly the faireſt language is moſt proper and advantageous, and that reproachful or foul terms are moſt improper and prejudicial. A calm and meek way of diſcourſing doth much advantage a good cauſe, as arguing the patron thereof to have confidence in the cauſe it ſelf, and to rely upon its ſtrength; that he is in a temper fit to apprehend it himſelf, and to maintain it; that he propoundeth it as a friend, wiſhing the hearer for his own good to follow it, leaving him the liberty to judge, and chuſe for himſelf. But rude ſpeech, and contemptuous reflexions on perſons, as they do ſignifie nothing to the queſtion, ſo they commonly bring much diſadvantage and damage to the cauſe, creating mighty prejudices againſt it: they argue much impotency in the advocate, and conſequently little ſtrength in what he maintains; that he is little able to judge well, and altogether unapt to teach others: they intimate a diffidence in himſelf concerning his cauſe, and that, deſpairing to maintain it by reaſon, he ſeeks to uphold it by paſſion; that, not being able to convince by fair means, he would bear down by noiſe and clamour; that, not skilling to get his ſuit quietly, he would extort it by force, obtruding his conceits violently as an enemy, or impoſing them arbitrarily as a Tyrant. Thus doth he really diſparage and ſlur his cauſe, however good and defenſible in it ſelf.

Quid dum dicit, malus videtur, utique malè dicit. Quint. 6. 2.

Niſi quòd imperitos etiam animoſos atque iracundos eſſe manifeſtum eſt, dum per inopiam conſilii & ſermonis ad iracundiam facilè vertuntur. Firmil. *apud* Cyp. *Ep.* 75.

A modeſt and friendly ſtyle doth ſute truth; it, like its authour, doth uſually reſide (not in the rumbling *wind*, nor in the ſhaking *earthquake*, nor in the raging *fire*, but) in *the ſmall ſtill voice*: ſounding in this, it is moſt audible, moſt penetrant, and moſt effectual: thus propounded, it is willingly hearkned to; for men have no averſation from hearing thoſe who ſeem to love them, and wiſh them well. It is eaſily conceived; no prejudice or paſſion clouding the apprehenſive faculties: it is readily embraced; no animoſity withſtanding or obſtructing it. It is *the ſweetneſs of the lips*, which (as the Wiſe-man telleth us) *encreaſeth learning*; diſpoſing a man to hear leſſons of good doctrine, rendring him capable to underſtand

1 King. 19. 11, 12.

——*& inhumanum eſt, & ipſi qui dicit inutile; tum cauſæ contrarium, quia planè & adverſarii fiunt, & inimici; & quantulumcunque his virium eſt, contumeliâ augetur.* Quint. 12. 9.

Prov. 16. 21.

Δεῖ γὰρ τὰ μέλοντα τῆς χρησίμων μαθεῖν, πρὸ τῆς ἄλλων πάντων ἡδέως ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν διδάσκοντα.—ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν τις σχοίη πρὸς τὸν θεραπεύοντα καὶ τὸν εὐβουλότερον. Chrys. *in* 2 Tim. *Or.* 6.

derstand them, insinuating and impressing them upon the mind: the affections being thereby unlocked, the passage becomes open to the Reason.

But it is plainly a very preposterous method of instructing, of deciding controversies, of begetting peace, to vex and anger those concerned by ill language. Nothing surely doth more hinder the efficacy of discourse, and prevent conviction, than doth this course, upon many obvious accounts. It doth first, put in a strong bar to attention: for no man willingly doth afford an ear to him, whom he conceiveth disaffected toward him; which opinion harsh words infallibly will produce: no man can expect to hear truth from him, whom he apprehendeth disordred in his own mind, whom he seeth rude in his proceedings, whom he taketh to be unjust in his dealing; as men certainly will take those to be, who presume to revile others for using their own judgment freely, and dissenting from them in opinion. Again, this course doth blind the hearer's mind, so that he cannot discern what he that pretends to instruct him doth mean, or how he doth assert his doctrine. Truth will not be discerned through the smoak of wrathful expressions; right being defaced by foul language will not appear; passion being excited will not suffer a man to perceive the sense, or the force of an argument. The will also thereby is hardned and hindred from submitting to truth. In such a case, *non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris*; although you stop his mouth, you cannot subdue his heart; although he can no longer fight, yet he never will yield: animosity raised by such usage rendreth him invincibly obstinate in his conceits and courses. Briefly, from this proceeding men become unwilling to mark, unfit to apprehend, indisposed to embrace any good instruction or advice: it maketh them indocil and intractable, averse from better instruction, pertinacious in their opinions, and refractory in their ways.

Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς παιδεύομεν, ἵνα τοῖς ὑβρεσι βάλλωμεν, ὥσπερ πάσχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, μὴ τῷ λόγῳ μαχόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀδέσποτόν ἐστιν ὅτε τὸν λογισμὸν τοῖς ὑβρεσι συγκαλύπτοντες Naz. *Or.* 32.

Ὅταν πρός τινα ἀηδῶς ἔχωμεν, κἂν ἡμεῖς τι λέγωμεν, ἡδέως οὐδὲ μὴθ' ἡδέως δεχόμεθα τὰ λεγόμενα. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

Prov. 24. 26. *Every man* (saith the Wise-man) *shall kiss his lips that giveth a right answer:* but no man surely will be ready to kiss those lips which are embittered with reproach, or defiled with dirty language.

Βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν ἐκύκα τῇ Ἑλλάδα.

Chrys. *in* 2 Tim. 2. 24.

It is said of *Pericles*, that *with thundring and lightning he put Greece into confusion:* such discourse may serve to confound things, it seldom tendeth to compose them. If reason will not pierce, Rage will scarce avail to drive it in. Satyrical virulency may vex men sorely, but it hardly ever soundly converts them. *Few become wiser or better by ill words.* Children may be frighted into compliance by loud and severe increpations; but men are to be allured by rational persuasion back'd with courteous usage: they may be sweetly drawn, they cannot be violently driven to change their judgment and practice.

Ὁ γὰρ σοφὸς ἔλεγχος, ὅταν μεθ' ὁπηκείας γένηται, ἐπὶ τὸ ὃ ἐστιν ὁ μάλιστα δακεῖν δυνάμενος· ἔνεστι γὰρ, ἔνεστι μετὰ πραότητος καθάψασθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ μετὰ θορύβου ἐντεῖναι.

2 Tim. 2. 25. Whence that advice of the Apostle, *With meekness instruct those that oppose themselves*, doth no less savour of wisdom, than of goodness.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, As for the examples of extraordinary perſons, which in ſome caſes do ſeem to authorize the practice of Evil-ſpeaking, we may conſider, that as they had eſpecial commiſſion enabling them to do ſome things beyond ordinary ſtanding rules, wherein they are not to be imitated; as they had eſpecial illumination and direction, which preſerved them from ſwerving in particular caſes from truth and equity; ſo the tenour of their life did evidence, that it was the glory of God, the goodof men, the neceſſity of the caſe, which moved them to it. And of them alſo we may obſerve, that in divers occaſions, (yea generally, whenever only their private credit or intereſt were concerned,) although grievouſly provoked, they did out of meekneſs, patience and charity, wholly forbear reproachful ſpeech. Our Saviour, who ſometimes upon ſpecial reaſon in his diſcourſes, uſed ſuch harſh words, yet when he was moſt ſpitefully accuſed, reproached and perſecuted, *did not open his mouth*, or return one angry word: *Being reviled, he did not* (as S. *Peter*, propoſing his example to us, telleth us) *revile again; ſuffering, he did not threaten.* He uſed the ſofteſt language to *Judas*, to the Souldiers, to *Pilate* and *Herod*, to the Prieſts, *&c.* And the Apoſtles, who ſometimes inveigh ſo zealouſly againſt the oppoſers and perverters of truth, did in their private converſation and demeanour ſtrictly obſerve their own rules of abſtinence from reproach: *Being reviled we bleſs, being perſecuted we ſuffer it*; ſo doth Saint *Paul* repreſent their practice. And in reaſon we ſhould rather follow them in this their ordinary courſe, than in their extraordinary ſallies of practice.

This caſe is like the other caſes, wherein the practice of good and great men, although excuſable, is not yet exemplary: as the heroical acts of David, *of* Sampſon, *of* Ehud, *of* Phineas, *of* Elias, *of* Moſes; David's *Duel*, Sampſon's *Suicide*, Moſes's *ſlaying the* Egyptian, Ehud's *ſtabbing the* K. *of* Moab, Elias's *calling for fire, by extraordinary and peculiar inſtinct.*

1 Pet. 2. 23.

1 Cor. 4. 12. Rom. 12. 14.

In fine, however in ſome caſes and circumſtances the matter may admit ſuch exceptions, ſo that all language diſgraceful to our Neighbour is not ever culpable; yet the caſes are ſo few and rare in compariſon, the practice commonly ſo dangerous and tickliſh, that worthily forbearing to reproach doth bear the ſtyle of a general Rule: and particularly, (for clearer direction,) we are in the following caſes obliged carefully to ſhun it; or in ſpeaking about our Neighbour we muſt obſerve theſe Cautions.

1. We ſhould never in ſevere terms inveigh againſt any man without reaſonable warrant, or preſuming upon a good call and commiſſion thereto. As every man ſhould not aſſume to himſelf the power of adminiſtring juſtice, (of trying, ſentencing and puniſhing offenders,) ſo muſt not every man take upon him to ſpeak againſt thoſe who ſeem to do ill; which is a ſort of puniſhment, including the infliction of ſmart and damage upon the perſons concerned. Every man hath indeed a commiſſion, in due place and ſeaſon, with diſcretion and moderation to admoniſh his Neighbour offending; but otherwiſe to ſpeak ill of him, no private man hath juſt right or authority: and therefore in preſuming to do it, he is diſorderly and irregular, treſpaſſing beyond his bounds, uſurping an undue power to himſelf.

2. We ſhould never ſpeak ill of any man without apparent juſt cauſe. It muſt be juſt: we muſt not reproach men for things innocent or indifferent; for not concurring in diſputable opinions with us, for complying with our humour, for not ſerving our intereſt, for not doing any thing to which they are not obliged, or for uſing their liberty in any caſe: it muſt be at leaſt ſome conſiderable fault, which we can ſo much as tax. It muſt alſo be clear and certain, notorious and palpable:

pable; for to speak ill upon slender conjectures, or doubtful suspicions, is full of iniquity. Jude 10. Ὅσα οὐκ οἴδασι, βλασφημοῦσι, *They rail at things which they know not*, is part of those wicked mens character, whom S. *Jude* doth so severely reprehend. If indeed, these conditions being wanting, we presume to reproach any man, we do therein no less than slander him; which to do is unlawful in any case, is in truth a most diabolical and detestable crime. To impose odious names and characters on any person, which he deserveth not, or without ground of truth, is to play the Devil; and Hell it self scarce will own a fouler practice.

3. We should not cast reproach upon any man without some necessary reason. Prov. 10. 12. 1 Pet. 4. 8. 1 Cor. 13. 4. In charity (that *Charity* which *covereth all sins*, which *covereth a multitude of sins*) we are bound to connive at the defects, and to conceal the faults of our brethren; to extenuate and excuse them, when apparent, so far as we may in truth and equity. We must not therefore ever produce them to light, or prosecute them with severity, except very needful occasion urgeth: such as is the glory and service of God, the maintenance of truth, the vindication of innocence, the preservation of publick justice and peace; the amendment of our Neighbour himself, or securing others from contagion. Barring such reasons, (really being, not affectedly pretended,) we are bound not so much as to disclose, as to touch our Neighbour's faults; much more, not to blaze them about, not to exaggerate them by vehement invectives.

4. We should never speak ill of any man beyond measure: be the cause never so just, the occasion never so necessary, we should yet nowise be immoderate therein, exceeding the bounds prescribed by truth, equity and humanity. We should never speak worse of any man whatever than he certainly deserveth, according to the most favourable construction of his doings; never more than the cause absolutely requireth. We should rather be careful to fall short of what in rigorous truth might be said against him, than in the least to pass beyond it. The best cause had better seem to suffer a little by our reservedness in its defence, than any man be wronged by our aspersing him; for God, the patron of truth and right, is ever able to secure them without the succour of our unjust and uncharitable dealing. The contrary practice hath indeed within it a spice of Slander, that is, of the worst iniquity.

5. We must never speak ill of any man out of bad principles, or for bad ends.

Eph. 4. 31. Col. 3. 8. No sudden or rash anger should instigate us thereto. For, *Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice*, is the Apostolical precept: they are all associates and kindred, which are to be cast away together. Such anger it self is culpable, as a work of the flesh, and therefore to be suppressed; and all its brood therefore is also to be smothered: the daughter of such a mother cannot be legitimate. *The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.* Jam. 1. 20.

We must not speak ill out of inveterate Hatred or ill-will. For this murtherous, this viperous disposition should it self be rooted out of our hearts: whatever issueth from it cannot be otherwise than very bad; it must be a poisonous breath that exhaleth from that foul source.

We must not be provoked thereto by any Revengeful disposition, or rancorous Spleen, in regard to any injuries or discourtesies received. For, as we must not revenge our selves, or render evil in any other way; so particularly not in this, which is commonly the special instance expresly prohibited. *Render not evil for evil* (saith Saint *Peter*) *nor* 1 Pet. 3. 9.

railing

railing for railing; but contrariwiſe bleſs, or ſpeak well: and, *Bleſs them* (ſaith our Lord) *which curſe you: Bleſs* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *and curſe not.* Matt. 5. 44. Rom. 12. 14.

We muſt not alſo do it out of Contempt: for we are not to ſlight our brethren in our hearts. No man really (conſidering what he is, whence he came, how he is related, what he is capable of) can be deſpicable. Extreme naughtineſs is indeed contemptible; but the unhappy perſon that is engaged therein, is rather to be pitied, than deſpiſed. However, Charity bindeth us to ſtifle contemptuous motions of heart, and not to vent them in vilifying expreſſion. Particularly, it is a barbarous practice, out of contempt to reproach perſons for natural imperfections, for meanneſs of condition, for unlucky diſaſters, for any involuntary defects: this being indeed to reproach Mankind, unto which ſuch things are incident; to reproach Providence, from the diſpoſal whereof they do proceed. *Whoſo mocketh the poor, deſpiſeth his Maker*, ſaith the Wiſeman: and the ſame may be ſaid of him that reproachfully mocketh him that is dull in parts, deformed in body, weak in health or ſtrength, or defective in any ſuch way. Deut. 25. 3. *He that is void of wiſdom deſpiſeth his neighbour.* Prov. 11. 12. Prov. 17. 5.

Likewiſe we muſt not ſpeak ill out of Envy; becauſe others do excell us in any good quality, or exceed us in fortune. To harbour this baſe and ugly diſpoſition in our minds is unworthy of a Man, (who ſhould delight in all good ſpringing up any-where, and befalling any man, naturally allied unto him;) it is moſt unworthy of a Chriſtian, who ſhould tender his brother's good as his own, and *rejoyce with thoſe that rejoyce*. From thence to be drawn to caſt reproach upon any man, is horrible and hainous wickedneſs. Rom. 12. 15.

Neither ſhould we ever uſe reproach as a means of compaſſing any Deſign we do affect or aim at: 'tis an unwarrantable engine of raiſing us to wealth, dignity or repute. To grow by the diminution, to riſe by the depreſſion, to ſhine by the eclipſe of others, to build a fortune upon the ruines of our Neighbour's reputation, is that which no honourable mind can affect, no honeſt man will endeavour. Our own wit, courage and induſtry, managed with God's aſſiſtance and bleſſing, are ſufficient, and only lawful inſtruments of proſecuting honeſt enterpriſes; we need not, we muſt not in ſtead of them employ our Neighbour's diſgrace: no worldly good is worth purchaſing at ſuch a rate, no project worth atchieving by ſuch foul ways.

Neither ſhould we out of Malignity, to cheriſh or gratifie ill humour, uſe this practice. It is obſervable of ſome perſons, that not out of any formed diſpleaſure, grudge, or particular diſaffection, nor out of any particular deſign, but merely out of a κακοήθεια, an ill diſpoſition, ſpringing up from nature, or contracted by uſe, they are apt to carp at any action, and with ſharp reproach to bite any man that comes in their way, thereby feeding and ſoothing that evil inclination. But as this inhumane and curriſh humour ſhould be corrected, and extirpated from our hearts; ſo ſhould the iſſues thereof at our mouths be ſtopped: the beſpattering our Neighbour's good name ſhould never afford any ſatisfaction or delight unto us.

Nor out of Wantonneſs ſhould we ſpeak ill, for our divertiſment or ſport. For our Neighbour's reputation is too great and pretious a thing to be played with, or offered up to ſport; we are very fooliſh in ſo diſvaluing it, very naughty in ſo miſuſing it. Our wits are very barren, our brains are ill furniſhed with ſtore of knowledge, if we can find no other matter of converſation.

Nor

Nor out of Negligence and inadvertency should we sputter out reproachful speech; shooting ill-words at rovers, or not regarding who stands in our way. Among all temerities this is one of the most noxious, and therefore very culpable.

In fine, we should never speak concerning our Neighbour from any other principle than Charity, or to any other intent but what is charitable; such as tendeth to his good, or at least is consistent therewith.

1 Cor. 16. 14. *Let all your things* (saith S. *Paul*) *be done in charity*: and words are most of the *things* we do concerning our Neighbour, wherein we may express Charity. In all our speeches therefore touching him, we should plainly shew that we have a care of his reputation, that we tender his interest, that we even desire his content and repose. Even when reason and need do so require, that we should disclose and reprehend his faults, we may, we should by the manner and scope of our speech signifie thus much. Which rule were it observed, if we should never speak ill otherwise than out of charity, surely most Ill-speaking would be cut off; most, I fear, of our tattling about others, much of our gossiping would be marr'd.

Indeed so far from bitter or sour our language should be, that it ought to be sweet and pleasant; so far from rough and harsh, that it

Prov. 15. 26. & 16. 24. should be courteous and obliging; so far from signifying wrath, ill-will, contempt, or animosity, that it should express tender affection, good esteem, sincere respect toward our brethren; and be apt to produce the like in them toward us: the sense of them should be grateful to the heart; the very sound and accent of them should be delightful to the

Rom. 15. 2. 1 Cor. 10. 33. Col. 4. 6. ear. *Every one* should *please his neighbour for his good to edification.* Our *words* should *always be* ἐν χάριτι, *with grace, seasoned with salt*; they should have the grace of courtesie, they should be seasoned with the salt of discretion, so as to be sweet and savoury to the hearers. Commonly ill language is a certain sign of inward enmity and ill-will. Good-will is wont to shew it self in good terms; it cloatheth even its grief handsomely, and its displeasure carrieth favour in its face; its rigour is civil and gentle, temper'd with pity for the faults and errours which it disliketh, with the desire of their amendment and recovery whom it reprehendeth. It would inflict no more evil than is necessary; it would cure its Neighbour's disease without exasperating his patience, troubling his modesty, or imparing his credit. As it always judgeth candidly, so it never condemneth extremely.

Charitas—cùm arguit mitis est, cùm blanditur simplex est: piè solet sævire, sine dolo mulcere; patienter novit irasci, humiliter indignari. S. Bern. *Ep.* 2.

II. But so much for the explication of this Precept, and the directive part of our discourse. I shall now briefly propound some inducements to the observance thereof.

1. Let us consider, that nothing more than railing and reviling is opposite to the nature, and inconsistent with the tenour of our Religion; the which (as even a Heathen did observe of it) *nil nisi justum suadet, & lene, doth recommend nothing but what is very just and mild:* which propoundeth the practices of Charity, Meekness, Patience, Peaceableness, Moderation, Equity, Alacrity or good humour, as its principal laws, and declareth them the chief fruits of the Divine Spirit, and Grace: which chargeth us to curb and compose all our Passions; more particularly to restrain and repress Anger, Animosity, Envy, Malice, and such like dispositions, as the fruits

Ammian. Marcell. *Lingua Christum confessa non sit maledica, non turbulenta, non convitiis & litibus perstrepens audiatur.* Cypr. *de Unit. Eccl.*

Convitiis & maledictis quæso vos abstinete; quia neque maledici regnum Dei consequentur; & lingua quæ Christum confessa est, incolumis & pura cum suo honore servanda est. Cypr. *Ep.* 7.

fruits of carnality and corrupt luſt: which conſequently drieth up all the ſources, or dammeth up the ſluces of bad language. As it doth *above all things* oblige us to bear no ill-will in our hearts, ſo it chargeth us to vent none with our mouths. 1 Pet. 4. 8.

2. It is therefore often expreſly condemned and prohibited as evil. 'Tis the property of the wicked, a character of thoſe who *work iniquity*, to *whet their tongues like a ſword, and bend their bows to ſhoot their arrows, even bitter words.* Pſal. 64. 3.

3. No practice hath more ſevere puniſhments denounced to it than this. The Railer (and it is indeed a very proper and fit puniſhment for him, he being exceedingly-bad company) is to be baniſhed out of all good Society; thereto S. *Paul* adjudgeth him: *I have* (ſaith he) *now written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicatour, or covetous, or an idolater, or a Railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one not to eat.* Ye ſee what company the Railer hath in the Text, and with what a crew of people he is coupled: but no good company he is allowed other-where; every good Chriſtian ſhould avoid him as a blot, and a peſt of converſation: and finally he is ſure to be excluded from the bleſſed Society above in Heaven; for **—neither thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor Revilers, nor extortioners ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God*: and, ‖ *Without* (without the heavenly city) *are Dogs*, (ſaith S. *John* in his *Revelation*,) that is, thoſe chiefly, who out of curriſh ſpite or malignity do frowardly bark at their Neighbours, or cruelly bite them with reproachful language. 1 Cor. 5. 11.

Hinc intelligere poſſumus quàm gravis ſit & pernicioſa maledictio, quando, etiamſi alia bona adfuerint, ſola excludit à cœlo. Salv. *de Guber. Dei, lib.* 3.

* 1 Cor. 6. 10.

‖ Apoc. 22. 15.

4. If we look upon ſuch language in its own nature, what is it but a ſymptome of a foul, a weak, a diſordered and diſtempered mind? 'Tis the ſmoak of inward rage and malice: 'tis a ſtream that cannot iſſue from a ſweet ſpring: 'tis a ſtorm that cannot bluſter out of a calm region. *The words of the pure are pleaſant words*, as the Wiſe-man ſaith. Prov. 15. 26.

5. This practice doth plainly ſignifie low ſpirit, ill breeding and bad manners; and thence misbecometh any wiſe, any honeſt, any honourable perſon. It agreeth to Children, who are unapt and unaccuſtomed to deal in matters conſiderable, to ſquabble; to Women of meaneſt rank, (apt by nature, or cuſtom, to be tranſported with paſſion,) to ſcold. In our modern languages it is termed *Villany*, as being proper for ruſtick Boors, or men of courſeſt education and employment; who, having their minds debaſed by being converſant in meaneſt affairs, do vent their ſorry paſſions, and bicker about their petty concernments, in ſuch ſtrains; who alſo, being not capable of a fair reputation, or ſenſible of diſgrace to themſelves, do little value the credit of others, or care for aſperſing it. But ſuch language is unworthy of thoſe perſons, and cannot eaſily be drawn from them, who are wont to exerciſe their thoughts about nobler matters, who are verſed in affairs manageable only by calm deliberation and fair perſuaſion, not by impetuous and provocative rudeneſs; the which do never work otherwiſe upon maſculine ſouls, than ſo as to procure diſdain, and reſiſtence. Such perſons, knowing the benefit of a good name, being wont to poſſeſs a good repute, prizing their own credit as a conſiderable good, will never be prone to bereave others of the like by opprobrious ſpeech. A noble enemy will never ſpeak of his enemy in bad terms.

In quo admirari ſoleo gravitatem & juſtitiam & ſapientiam Cæſaris, qui nunquam niſi honorificentiſſimè Pompeium appellat. Cic. *Epiſt. Tom.* 6. 6.

We may farther conſider, that all wiſe, all honeſt, all ingenuous perſons have an averſion from ill ſpeaking, and cannot entertain it with any acceptance or complacence; that only ill-natured, unworthy and naughty people are its willing auditours, or do abett it with applauſe. The good man, in the 15. Pſalm, *non accipit opprobrium, doth not take up*, or accept, *a reproach againſt his neighbour:* but *A wicked doer* (ſaith the Wiſe-man) *giveth heed to falſe lips, and a liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue.* And what reaſonable man will do that which is diſguſtful to the wiſe and good, is grateful only to the fooliſh and baſer ſort of men?

Pſal. 15. 3. Prov. 17. 4.

It is always taken as an argument of ill-will. *Maledicus à maleſico non diſtat. niſi occaſione.* Quint. 12. 9.

I pretermit, that uſing this ſort of language doth incapacitate a man for to benefit his Neighbour, and defeateth his endeavours for his edification, diſparaging a good cauſe, prejudicing the defence of truth, obſtructing the effects of good inſtruction and wholeſome reproof; as we did before remark and declare. Farther,

8. He that uſeth this kind of ſpeech doth, as harm and trouble others, ſo create many great inconveniences and miſchiefs to himſelf thereby. Nothing ſo enflameth the wrath of men, ſo provoketh their enmity, ſo breedeth laſting hatred and ſpite, as do contumelious words. They are often * called *ſwords* and *arrows*; and as ſuch they pierce deeply, and cauſe moſt grievous ſmart; which men feeling are enraged, and accordingly will ſtrive to || requite them in the like manner, and in all other obvious ways of revenge. Hence ſtrife, clamour and tumult, care, ſuſpicion and fear, danger and trouble, ſorrow and regret, do ſeiſe on the Reviler; and he is ſufficiently puniſhed for this dealing. No man can otherwiſe than live in perpetual fear of reciprocal like uſage from him, whom he is conſcious of having ſo abuſed. Whence, if not juſtice, or charity toward others, yet love and pity of our ſelves, ſhould perſuade us to forbear it as diſquietful, incommodious and miſchievous to us.

* *The ſcourge of the tongue*, Job. 5. 21. Prov. 12. 18. *There is that ſpeaketh like the piercings of a ſword.* Pſal. 57. 4. & 59. 7. & 64. 3. Pſal. 52. 2. *ſharp raſour.* Prov. 30. 14. *knives.* || *The froward tongue ſhall be cut out*, Prov. 10. 31.

We ſhould indeed certainly enjoy much love, much concord, much quiet, we ſhould live in great ſafety and ſecurity, we ſhould be exempted from much care and fear, if we would reſtrain our ſelves from abuſing and offending our Neighbour in this kind: being conſcious of ſo juſt and innocent demeanour toward him, we ſhould converſe with him in a pleaſant freedom and confidence, not ſuſpecting any bad language or ill uſage from him.

9. Hence with evidently-good reaſon is he that uſeth ſuch language called a *Fool*, and he that abſtaineth from it is commended as *wiſe*. *A fool's lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for ſtrokes. A fool's mouth is his deſtruction, and his lips are the ſnare of his ſoul. He that reſraineth his tongue is wiſe. In the tongue of the wiſe is health. He that keepeth his lips keepeth his life: but he that openeth wide his mouth* (that is, in evil-ſpeaking, gaping with clamour and vehemency) *ſhall have deſtruction. The words of a wiſe man's mouth are gracious: but the lips of a fool will ſwallow up himſelf. Death and life are in the power of the tongue; and they that love it ſhall eat the fruit thereof*; that is, of the one or the other, anſwerably to the kind of ſpeech they chuſe.

Prov. 18. 6, 7. Prov. 10. 19. Prov. 12. 18. Prov. 13. 3. Eccles 10. 12. Prov. 18. 21.

In fine, very remarkable is that advice, or reſolution of the grand point concerning the beſt way of living happily, in the Pſalmiſt: *What man is he that deſireth life, and loveth many days, that he may ſee good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from ſpeaking guile.* Abſtinence from ill ſpeaking he ſeemeth to propoſe as the firſt ſtep toward the fruition of a durably-happy life.

Pſal. 34. 12, 13.

10. Laſtly,

10. Lastly, we may consider, that it is a grievous perverting the design of Speech, (that excellent faculty, which so much distinguisheth us from, so highly advanceth us above other creatures,) to use it to the defaming and disquieting our Neighbour. It was given us as an instrument of beneficial commerce, and delectable conversation; that with it we might assist and advise, might chear and comfort one another: we therefore in employing it, to the disgrace, vexation, damage or prejudice in any kind of our Neighbour, do foully abuse it; and so doing, render our selves indeed worse than dumb beasts: for, * better far it were that we could say nothing, than that we should speak ill.

* *Mutos nasci, & egere omni ratione satius fuisset, quàm providentiæ munera in mutuam perniciem convertere.* Quint. 12. 1.

Now the God of grace and *peace----make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.* Heb. 13. 20, 21.

SERMON XVII.

The Folly of Slander.

PROV. 10. 18.

He that uttereth Slander is a Fool.

GEneral Declamations against Vice and Sin are indeed excellently useful, as rouzing men to consider and look about them: but they do often want effect, because they only raise confused apprehensions of things, and indeterminate propensions to action; the which usually, before men throughly perceive or resolve what they should practise, do decay and vanish. As he that cries out Fire doth stir up people, and inspireth them with a kind of hovering tendency every way, yet no man thence to purpose moveth, until he be distinctly informed where the mischief is; then do they, who apprehend themselves concerned, run hastily to oppose it: So, till we particularly discern where our offences lie, (till we distinctly know the hainous nature and the mischievous consequences of them,) we scarce will effectually apply our selves to correct them. Whence it is requisite, that men should be particularly acquainted with their sins, and by proper arguments be dissuaded from them.

In order whereto I have now selected one sin to describe, and dissuade from, being in nature as vile, and in practice as common, as any other what-ever that hath prevailed among men. It is Slander, a sin

which in all times and places hath been epidemical and rife; but which eſpecially doth ſeem to reign and rage in our Age and Countrey.

There are Principles innate to men, which ever have, and ever will incline them to this offence. Eager appetites to ſecular and ſenſual goods; violent paſſions, urging the proſecution of what men affect; wrath and diſpleaſure againſt thoſe who ſtand in the way of compaſſing their deſires; emulation and envy toward thoſe who hap to ſucceed better, or to attain a greater ſhare in ſuch things; exceſſive ſelf-love; unaccountable malignity and vanity, are in ſome degrees connatural to all men, and ever prompt them to this dealing, as appearing the moſt efficacious, compendious and eaſie way of ſatisfying ſuch appetites, of promoting ſuch deſigns, of diſcharging ſuch paſſions. Slander thence hath always been a principal engine, whereby covetous, ambitious, envious, ill-natured and vain perſons have ſtrove to ſupplant their competitours, and advance themſelves; meaning thereby to procure, what they chiefly prize and like, wealth, or dignity, or reputation, favour and power in the court, reſpect and intereſt with the people.

But from eſpecial cauſes our Age peculiarly doth abound in this practice: for, beſides the common diſpoſitions inclining thereto, there are conceits newly coined, and greedily entertained by many, which ſeem purpoſely levelled at the diſparagement of Piety, Charity and Juſtice, ſubſtituting Intereſt in the room of Conſcience, authorizing and commending, for good and wiſe, all ways ſerving to private advantage. There are implacable diſſenſions, fierce animoſities and bitter zeals ſprung up; there is an extreme curioſity, niceneſs and delicacy of judgment; there is a mighty affectation of ſeeming wiſe and witty by any means; there is a great unſettlement of mind, and corruption of manners, generally diffuſed over people: from which ſources it is no wonder that this floud hath ſo overflown, that no banks can reſtrain it, no fences are able to reſiſt it; ſo that ordinary converſation is full with it, and no demeanour can be ſecure from it.

If we do mark what is done in many (might I not ſay, in moſt?) companies, what is it, but one telling malicious ſtories of, or faſtning odious characters upon another? What do men commonly pleaſe themſelves in ſo much, as in carping and harſhly cenſuring, in defaming and abuſing their Neighbours? Is it not the ſport and divertiſement of many, to caſt dirt in the faces of all they meet with; to beſpatter any man with foul imputations? Doth not in every corner a *Momus* lurk, from the venome of whoſe ſpiteful or petulant tongue no eminency of rank, dignity of place, or ſacredneſs of office, no innocence or integrity of life, no wiſdom or circumſpection in behaviour, no good nature, or benignity in dealing and carriage, can protect any perſon? Do not men aſſume to themſelves a liberty of telling Romances, and framing characters concerning their Neighbour, as freely as a Poet doth about *Hector* or *Turnus*, *Therſites* or *Draucus*? Do they not uſurp a power of playing with, of toſſing about, of tearing in pieces their Neighbour's good name, as if it were the verieſt toy in the world? Do not many, *having a form of godlineſs*, (ſome of them demurely, others confidently, both without any ſenſe of, or remorſe for what they do,) backbite their brethren? Is it not grown ſo common a thing to aſperſe cauſeleſly, that no man wonders at it, that few diſlike, that ſcarce any deteſt it? that moſt notorious Calumniatours are heard, not only with patience, but with pleaſure; yea are even held in vogue and reverence, as men of a notable talent, and very ſerviceable to their party? ſo that Slander

ſeemeth

ſeemeth to have loſt its nature, and not to be now an odious ſin, but a faſhionable humour, a way of pleaſing entertainment, a fine knack, or curious feat of policy; ſo that no man at leaſt taketh himſelf or others to be accountable for what is ſaid in this way? Is not, in fine, the caſe become ſuch, that whoever hath in him any love of truth, any ſenſe of juſtice or honeſty, any ſpark of charity toward his brethren, ſhall hardly be able to ſatisfie himſelf in the converſations he meeteth; but will be tempted, with the Holy Prophet, to wiſh himſelf ſequeſtred from ſociety, and caſt into ſolitude; repeating thoſe words of his, *Oh that I had in the wilderneſs a lodging-place of way-faring men, that I might leave my people, and go from them: for they are---an aſſembly of treacherous men, and they bend their tongues like their bow for lies?* This he wiſhed in an Age ſo reſembling ours, that I fear the deſcription with equal patneſs may ſute both: *Take ye heed* (ſaid he then, and may we not adviſe the like now?) *every one of his neighbour, and truſt ye not in any brother: for every brother will utterly ſupplant, and every neighbour will walk with ſlanders. They will deceive every one his neighbour, and will not ſpeak the truth: they have taught their tongue to ſpeak lies, and weary themſelves to commit iniquity.*

Jer. 9. 2, 3. & 6. 28. Ezek. 22. 9.

Jer. 9. 4, 5.

Such being the ſtate of things, obvious to experience, no diſcourſe may ſeem more needful, or uſeful, than that which ſerveth to correct or check this practice: the which I ſhall endeavour to do, 1. by deſcribing the Nature, 2. by declaring the Folly of it; or ſhewing it to be very true which the Wiſe-man here aſſerteth, *He that uttereth ſlander is a Fool.* The which particulars I hope ſo to proſecute, that any man ſhall be able eaſily to diſcern, and ready heartily to deteſt this practice.

I. For explication of its Nature, we may deſcribe Slander to be the uttering falſe (or equivalent to falſe, morally falſe) ſpeech againſt our Neighbour, in prejudice to his fame, his ſafety, his welfare, or concernment in any kind, out of malignity, vanity, raſhneſs, ill-nature, or bad deſign. That which is in Holy Scripture forbidden and reproved under ſeveral names and notions; of (a) *bearing falſe witneſs*, (b) falſe accuſation, (c) *railing cenſure*, (d) *ſycophantry*, * *tale-bearing*, (f) *whiſpering*, (g) *backbiting*, (h) *ſupplanting*, † *taking up reproach*: which terms ſome of them do ſignifie the nature, others denote the ſpecial kinds, others imply the manners, others ſuggeſt the ends of this practice. But it ſeemeth moſt fully intelligible by obſerving the ſeveral kinds and degrees thereof; as alſo by reflecting on the divers ways and manners of practiſing it.

(a) Exod. 20. 16. (b) Pſ. 35. 11. (c) Jud. 9. 2 Pet. 2. 11. (d) Luk. 3. 14. & 19. 8. * Levit. 19. 16. Prov. 18. 8. & 26. 20. (f) Prov. 16. 28. Rom. 1. 29. 2 Cor. 12. 20. (g) Pſal. 15. 3. Rom. 1. 30. (h) Jer. 9. 4. † Pſal. 15. 3.

The principal kinds thereof I obſerve to be theſe.

1. The groſſeſt kind of Slander is that which in the Decalogue is called *Bearing falſe teſtimony againſt our neighbour*; that is, flatly charging him with facts the which he never committed, and is no-wiſe guilty of. As in the caſe of *Naboth*, when men were ſuborned to ſay, *Naboth did blaſpheme God and the King*: and as was *David*'s caſe, when he thus complained, *Falſe witneſſes did riſe up, they laid to my charge things that I knew not of.* This kind in the higheſt way (that is, in judicial proceedings) is more rare; and of all men, they who are detected to practiſe it, are held moſt vile and infamous; as being plainly the moſt pernicious and perillous inſtruments of injuſtice, the moſt deſperate enemies of all mens right and ſafety that can be. But alſo out of the Court there are many Knights-errant of the poſt, whoſe buſineſs it is to run about ſcattering falſe reports; ſometimes loudly proclaiming them in open companies, ſometimes cloſely whiſpering them in dark corners; thus

1 Kin. 21. 13.

Pſal. 35. 11.

thus infecting converſation with their poiſonous breath: theſe no leſs notoriouſly are guilty of this kind, as bearing always the ſame malice, and ſometimes breeding as ill effects.

Num. 16. 3, 13, 14. Joh. 19. 7, 21. Matt. 26. 65. Matt. 9. 3. & 12. 24. Matt. 11. 19. Luk. 23. 2, 5, 14. John 19. 12. Luk. 23. 2. * Acts 17. 6. & 24. 5.

2. Another kind is, Affixing ſcandalous names, injurious epithets, and odious characters upon perſons, which they deſerve not. As when *Corah* and his complices did accuſe *Moſes* of being ambitious, unjuſt and tyrannical: when the Phariſees called our Lord an Impoſtour, a Blaſphemer, a Sorcerer, a Glutton and Wine-bibber, an Incendiary and Perverter of the people, one that *ſpake againſt Cæſar*, and *forbad to give tribute*: when the Apoſtles were charged of being * peſtilent, turbulent, factious and ſeditious fellows. This ſort being very common, and thence in ordinary repute not ſo bad, yet in juſt eſtimation may be judged even worſe than the former; as doing to our Neighbour more heavy and more irreparable wrong. For it impoſeth on him really more blame, and that ſuch which he can hardly ſhake off: becauſe the charge ſignifieth habit of evil, and includeth many acts; then, being general and indefinite, can ſcarce be diſproved. He, for inſtance, that calleth a ſober man Drunkard, doth impute to him many acts of ſuch intemperance; (ſome really paſt, others probably future;) and no particular time or place being ſpecified, how can a man clear himſelf of that imputation, eſpecially with thoſe who are not throughly acquainted with his converſation? So he that calleth a man unjuſt, proud, perverſe, hypocritical, doth load him with moſt grievous faults, which it is not poſſible that the moſt innocent perſon ſhould diſcharge himſelf from.

At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atq; Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare. Probus quis Nobiſcum vivit? multùm eſt demiſſus homo. Illi. Tardo cognomen pinguis damus. &c. optimé. *Hor.* Serm. 1. 3. Vid. *Sidon. Apoll.*

3. Like to that kind is this, Aſperſing a man's actions with harſh cenſures, and foul terms, importing that they proceed from ill principles, or tend to bad ends; ſo as it doth not, or cannot appear. Thus when we ſay of him that is generouſly hoſpitable, that he is profuſe; of him that is prudently frugal, that he is niggardly; of him that is chearful and free in his converſation, that he is vain or looſe; of him that is ſerious and reſolute in a good way, that he is ſullen or moroſe; of him that is conſpicuous and brisk in vertuous practice, that it is ambition or oſtentation which acts him; of him that is cloſe and baſhful in the like good way, that it is ſneaking ſtupidity, or want of ſpirit; of him that is reſerved, that it is craft; of him that is open, that it is ſimplicity in him: when we aſcribe a man's liberality and charity to vain-glory, or popularity; his ſtrictneſs of life, and conſtancy in devotion, to ſuperſtition, or hypocriſie. When, I ſay, we paſs ſuch cenſures, or impoſe ſuch characters on the laudable or innocent practice of our Neighbours, we are indeed Slanderers, imitating therein the great Calumniatour, who thus did ſlander even God himſelf, imputing his prohibition of the Fruit unto envy toward men; (*God*, ſaid he, *doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, your eyes ſhall be opened, and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil*;) who thus did aſcribe the ſteddy Piety of *Job*, not to a conſcientious love and fear of God, but to policy, and ſelfiſh deſign, *Doth Job fear God for nought?*

Gen. 3. 5.

Job 1. 9. & 2. 4.

Whoever indeed pronounceth concerning his Neighbour's intentions otherwiſe than as they are evidently expreſſed by words, or ſignified by what actions, is a Slanderer; becauſe he pretendeth to know, and dareth to averr, that which he no-ways poſſibly can tell whether it be true; becauſe the heart is exempt from all juriſdiction here, is only ſubject to the government and trial of another world; becauſe no man can judge concerning the truth of ſuch accuſations; becauſe no man

can

can exempt, or defend himself from them: so that apparently such practice doth thwart all course of justice and equity.

4. Another kind is, Perverting a man's words or actions disadvantageously by affected misconstruction. All words are ambiguous, and capable of different senses, (some fair, some more foul;) all actions have two handles, one that candour and charity will, another that disingenuity and spite may lay hold on: and in such cases, to misapprehend is a calumnious procedure, arguing malignant disposition and mischievous design. Thus when two men did witness, that our Lord affirmed, he *could demolish the temple, and rear it again in three days;* although he did indeed speak words to that purpose, meaning them in a figurative sense, (discernible enough to those who would candidly have minded his drift and way of speaking;) yet they who crudely alledged them against him are called false witnesses. (*At last*, saith the Gospel, *came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple*, &c.) Thus also when some certified of St. *Stephen*, as having said, that *Jesus of Nazareth should destroy that place, and change the customs that Moses delivered*; although probably he did speak words near to that purpose, yet are those men called false witnesses: *And* (saith S. *Luke*) *they set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words*, &c. Which instances plainly do shew, if we would avoid the guilt of Slander, how careful we should be to interpret fairly and favourably the words and the actions of our Neighbour.

Jer. 23. 36.

Πᾶν ῥῆμα ἔχει δύο λαβάς. Epict.

Matth. 26. 60, 61. Joh. 2. 19.

Psal. 56. 5. *Every day they wrest my words.* Matt. *ubi supra.* Act. 6. 13, 14.

5. Another sort of this practice is, partial and lame representation of mens discourse, or their practice; suppressing some part of the truth in them, or concealing some circumstances about them, which might serve to explain, to excuse, or to extenuate them. In such a manner easily, without uttering any Logical untruth, one may yet grievously calumniate. Thus suppose that a man speaketh a thing upon supposition, or with exception, or in way of objection, or merely for disputation sake, in order to the discussion or clearing of truth; he that should report him asserting it absolutely, unlimitedly, positively and peremptorily, as his own settled judgment, would notoriously calumniate. If one should be inveagled by fraud, or driven by violence; or slip by chance into a bad place, or bad company; he that should so represent the gross of that accident, as to breed an opinion of that person, that out of pure disposition and design he did put himself there, doth slanderously abuse that innocent person. The reporter in such cases must not think to defend himself by pretending that he spake nothing false; for such propositions, however true in Logick, may justly be deemed lies in morality, being uttered with a malicious and deceitful (that is, with a calumnious) mind, being apt to impress false conceits, and to produce hurtful effects concerning our Neighbour. There are slanderous truths, as well as slanderous falshoods: when truth is uttered with a deceitful heart, and to a base end, it becomes a lie. *He that speaketh truth* (*is a* Wise-man) *sheweth forth righteousness: but a false witness, deceives.* Deceiving is the proper work of Slander; and truth abused to that who putteth on its nature, and will engage into like guilt.

Prov. 12. 17.

Vid. Herm. *Pastor. where the Pastor observes, that the Devil doth in his temptations intersperse some truths, serving to render his delusions passable.*

6. Another kind of Calumny is, by instilling sly suggestions; which although they do not downrightly assert falshoods, yet they breed sinister opinions in the hearers; especially in those who, from weakness or credulity, from jealousie or prejudice, from negligence or inadvertency, are prone to entertain them. This is done many ways; by propounding wily suppositions, shrewd insinuations, crafty questions, and specious

ſpecious compariſons, intimating a poſſibility, or inferring ſome likelihood of, and thence inducing to believe the fact. Doth not (ſaith this kind of Slanderer) his temper incline him to do thus? may not his intereſt have ſwayed him thereto? had he not fair opportunity and ſtrong temptation to it? hath he not acted ſo in like caſes? Judge you therefore whether he did it not. Thus the cloſe Slanderer argueth; and a weak or prejudiced perſon is thereby ſo caught, that he preſently is ready thence to conclude the thing done. Again; He doth well, (ſaith the Sycophant) it is true; but why, and to what end? Is it not, as moſt men do, out of ill deſign? may he not diſſemble now? may he not recoil hereafter? have not others made as fair a ſhew? yet we know what came of it. Thus do calumnious tongues pervert the judgments of men to think ill of the moſt innocent, and meanly of the worthieſt actions. Even commendation it ſelf is often uſed calumniouſly, with intent to breed diſlike and ill-will toward a perſon commended in envious or jealous ears; or ſo as to give paſſage to diſpraiſes, and render the accuſations following more credible. 'Tis an artifice commonly obſerved to be much in uſe there, where the fineſt tricks of ſupplanting are practiſed, with greateſt effect; ſo that, *peſſimum inimicorum genus, laudantes*; there is no more peſtilent enemy, than a * malevolent praiſer. All theſe kinds of dealing, as they iſſue from the principles of Slander, and perform its work, ſo they deſervedly bear the guilt thereof.

* *excuſando exprobraret.* Tac. *Ann.* 1. *p.* 10.

Καινός τις εὕρηται τρόπος ὅταν ἃ διαβολῆς, τὸ μὴ φέροντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦντας λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς πέλας. Polyb. *lib.* 4.

7. A like kind is that of oblique and covert reflexions; when a man doth not directly or expreſly charge his Neighbour with faults, but yet ſo ſpeaketh, that he is underſtood, or reaſonably preſumed to do it. This is a very cunning and very miſchievous way of Slandering; for therein the ſculking Calumniatour keepeth a reſerve for himſelf, and cutteth off from the perſon concerned the means of defence. If he goeth to clear himſelf from the matter of ſuch aſperſions: What need (ſaith this inſidious ſpeaker) of that? muſt I needs mean you? did I name you? why do you then aſſume it to your ſelf? do you not prejudge your ſelf guilty? I did not, but your own Conſcience it ſeemeth doth accuſe you. You are ſo jealous and ſuſpicious, as perſons overwiſe or guilty uſe to be. So meaneth this ſerpent out of the hedge ſecurely and unavoidably to bite his Neighbour; and is in that reſpect more baſe and more hurtful than the moſt flat and poſitive Slanderer.

8. Another kind is that of magnifying and aggravating the faults of others; raiſing any ſmall miſcarriage into a hainous crime, any ſlender defect into an odious vice, and any common infirmity into a ſtrange enormity; turning a ſmall *mote in the eye* of our Neighbour into a huge *beam*, a little dimple in his face into a monſtrous wen. This is plainly Slander, at leaſt in degree, and according to the ſurpluſage whereby the cenſure doth exceed the fault. As he that, upon the ſcore of a ſmall debt, doth extort a great ſumm, is no leſs a thief, in regard to what amounts beyond his due, than if without any pretence he had violently or fraudulently ſeiſed on it: ſo is he a Slanderer, that, by heightning faults or imperfections, doth charge his Neighbour with greater blame, or loads him with more diſgrace than he deſerves. 'Tis not only Slander to pick a hole where there is none, but to make that wider which is, ſo that it appeareth more ugly, and cannot ſo eaſily be mended. For Charity is wont to extenuate faults, Juſtice doth never exaggerate them. As no man is exempt from ſome defects, or can live free from ſome miſdemeanours; ſo by this practice every man may be rendred very odious and infamous.

Matt. 7. 3.

9. Ano-

9. Another kind of Slander is, Imputing to our Neighbour's practice, judgment, or profeſſion, evil conſequences (apt to render him odious, or deſpicable) which have no dependence on them, or connexion with them. There do in every Age occur diſorders and miſhaps, ſpringing from various complications of cauſes, working ſome of them in a more open and diſcernible, others in a more ſecret and ſubtle way; (eſpecially from Divine Judgment and Providence checking or chaſtizing Sin:) from ſuch occurrences it is common to ſnatch occaſion and matter of Calumny. Thoſe who are diſpoſed this way, are ready peremptorily to charge them upon whom-ever they diſlike or diſſent from, although without any apparent cauſe, or upon moſt frivolous and ſenſeleſs pretences; yea, often, when Reaſon ſheweth the quite contrary, and they who are ſo charged are in juſt eſteem of all men the leaſt obnoxious to ſuch accuſations. So uſually the beſt friends of mankind, thoſe who moſt heartily wiſh the peace and proſperity of the world, and moſt earneſtly to their power ſtrive to promote them, have all the diſturbances and diſaſters happening charged on them by thoſe fiery *Vixons*, who (in purſuance of their baſe deſigns, or gratification of their wild paſſions) really do themſelves embroil things, and raiſe miſerable combuſtions in the world. So it is, that they who have the conſcience to do miſchief, will have the confidence alſo to diſavow the blame and the iniquity, to lay the burthen of it on thoſe who are moſt innocent. Thus, whereas nothing more diſpoſeth men to live orderly and peaceably, nothing more conduceth to the ſettlement and ſafety of the publick, nothing ſo much draweth bleſſings down from Heaven upon the Common-weal, as true Religion; yet nothing hath been more ordinary, than to attribute all the miſcarriages and miſchiefs that happened unto it; even thoſe are laid at its door, which plainly do ariſe from the contempt or neglect of it; being the natural fruits, or the juſt puniſhments of Irreligion. King *Ahab* by *forſaking God's Commandments*, and following wicked ſuperſtitions, had *troubled Iſrael*, drawing ſore judgments and calamities thereon; yet had he the heart and the face to charge thoſe events on the great aſſertour of Piety, *Elias: Art thou he that troubleth Iſrael?* The *Jews* by provocation of Divine juſtice had ſet themſelves in a fair way toward deſolation and ruine; this event to come they had the preſumption to lay upon the faith of our Lord's doctrine: *If* (ſaid they) *we let him alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans ſhall come, and take away our place and nation:* when as, in truth, a compliance with his directions and admonitions had been the only means to prevent thoſe preſaged miſchiefs. And, *Si Tibris aſcenderit in mœnia*, if any publick calamity did appear, then *Chriſtianos ad Leones*, Chriſtians muſt be charged and perſecuted as the cauſes thereof. To them it was that *Julian* and other Pagans did impute all the concuſſions, confuſions and devaſtations falling upon the *Roman* Empire. The * ſacking of *Rome* by the *Goths* they caſt upon Chriſtianity: for the vindication of it from which reproach Saint *Auſtin* did write thoſe renowned Books *de Civitate Dei*. So liable are the beſt and moſt innocent ſort of men to be calumniouſly accuſed in this manner.

1 King. 18. 17, 18.

Joh. 11. 48.

Tertull. *Apol.*

* *Chriſtianis temporibus detrahunt, & mala quæ illâ civitas pertulit, Chriſto imputant.* De Civ. D. I. 1. III. 31. *They* (ſaith that great Father) *detract from the Chriſtian times, and impute the evils which that city ſuffered, unto Chriſt.*

Another practice (worthily bearing the guilt of Slander) is, || being aiding and acceſſory thereto, by any-wiſe furthering, cheriſhing, abetting it. He that by crafty ſignifications of ill-will doth prompt the

|| τὸ συναίτιον τῆς διαβολῆς. M. Ant.

Slanderer to vent his poiſon; he that by a willing audience and attention doth readily ſuck it up, or who greedily ſwalloweth it down by credulous approbation and aſſent; he that pleaſingly reliſheth and ſmacketh at it, or expreſſeth a delightful complacence therein; as he is a partner in the fact, ſo is he a ſharer in the guilt. There are not only ſlanderous Throats, but ſlanderous Ears alſo; not only wicked Inventions, which ingender and brood lies, but wicked Aſſents, which hatch and foſter them. Not only the ſpiteful Mother which conceiveth ſuch ſpurious brats, but the Midwife that helpeth to bring them forth, the Nurſe that feedeth them, the Guardian that traineth them up to maturity, and ſetteth them forth to live in the world, as they do really contribute to their ſubſiſtence, ſo deſervedly they partake in the blame due to them, and muſt be reſponſible for the miſchief they do. For indeed were it not for ſuch free entertainers, ſuch nouriſhers, ſuch encouragers of them, Slanders commonly would die in the womb, or prove ſtill-born, or preſently entring into the cold air would expire, or for want of nouriſhment ſoon would ſtarve. It is ſuch friends and patrons of them who are the cauſes that they are ſo rife; they it is who ſet ill-natured, baſe and deſigning people upon deviſing, ſearching after, and picking up malicious and idle ſtories. Were it not for ſuch cuſtomers, the trade of Calumniating would fall. Many purſue it merely out of ſervility and flattery, to tickle the ears, to footh the humour, to gratifie the malignant diſpoſition, or ill-will of others; who upon the leaſt diſcouragement would give over the practice. If therefore we would exempt our ſelves from all guilt of Slander, we muſt not only abſtain from venting it, but forbear to * regard or countenance it: for † *He is* (ſaith the Wiſeman) *a wicked doer*, who *giveth heed to falſe lips; and a liar*, who *giveth ear to a naughty tongue*. Yea, if we thoroughly would be clear from it, we muſt ſhew an averſation from hearing it, an unwillingneſs to believe it, an indignation againſt it; ſo either ſtifling it in the birth, or condemning it to death being uttered. This is the ſure way to deſtroy it, and to prevent its miſchief. If we would * ſtop our ears, we ſhould ſtop the Slanderer's mouth: if we would *reſiſt the Calumniatour, he would fly from us:* if we would reprove him, we ſhould repell him. For, As † *the north-wind driveth away rain, ſo* (the Wiſe-man telleth us) *doth an angry countenance a backbiting tongue.*

David, Pſal. 101. 5. *Whoſo privily ſlandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off*; τὸν ἐξεδίωκον, *him have I driven away*, ſay the LXX.

Neque verò illa juſta eſt excuſatio, Referentibus aliis injuriam facere non poſſum. Nemo invito auditori libenter refert. Sagitta in lapidem nunquam figitur; interdum reſiliens percutit dirigentem. Diſcat detractor, dum te videt non libenter audire, non facilè detrahere. Hier. *ad Nepot. Ep.* 2.

Poſidonius relateth of S. *Auſtin*, that he had upon his table written theſe two verſes,

Quiſquis amat dictis abſentum rodere vitam,
Hanc menſam indignam noverit eſſe ſibi:

(He that loveth by ill ſpeech to gnaw the life of thoſe who are abſent, let him know himſelf unworthy to ſit at this table; or, that this table is unfit for him:) and if any there did uſe detraction, he was offended, and minded them of thoſe verſes, threatning alſo to leave the table, and withdraw to his Chamber. *Poſid.* cap. 22.

* Οὐ παραδέξῃ ἀκοὴν ματαίαν, *Thou ſhalt not receive* (or, take up) *a falſe report*, ſaith the Law, *Exod.* 23. 1.
† Prov. 17. 4.

Beatus eſt, qui ità ſe contra hoc vitium armavit, ut apud eum detrahere nemo audeat. Hier. *ad Celantiam.*

* *Hedge thy ears with thorns*, &c. Ecclus 28. 24. ità legit Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

† Prov. 25. 23. Ἂν μάθωσιν οἱ κακήγοροι ὅτι τῶν διαβαλλομένων μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ ἀποστρεφόμεθα, παύσαιντο ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ πότε τῆς πονηρᾶς ταύτης συνηθείας, καὶ διορθώσοιντο τὸ ἁμάρτημα, καὶ ἐπαινέσοιντο μᾶλλον ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ, ὡς σωτῆρας αὐτῶν γενομένους, καὶ εὐεργέτας ἀναπεύσασιν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Theſe are the chief and moſt common kinds of Slander; and there are ſeveral ways of practiſing them worthy our obſerving, that we may avoid them; namely theſe.

1. The moſt notoriouſly-hainous way is, forging, and immediately venting ill ſtories. As it is ſaid of *Doeg*, *Thy tongue deviſeth miſchief*; and of another like companion, *Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit*: and as our Lord ſaith of the Devil, *When he ſpeaketh a lie*, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων λαλεῖ, *he ſpeaketh of his own; for he is a liar, and*

Pſal. 52. 2. Pſal. 50. 19. Joh. 8. 44. (Iſa. 32. 7.)

and the father of it. This palpably is the ſupreme pitch of Calumny, uncapable of any qualification or excuſe: Hell cannot go beyond this; the curſed Fiend himſelf cannot worſe employ his wit, than in minting wrongful falſhoods.

2. Another way is, receiving from others, and venting ſuch ſtories, which they who do it certainly know, or may reaſonably preſume to be falſe: the becoming huckſters of counterfeit wares, or factours in this vile trade. There is no falſe coiner, who hath not ſome complices and emiſſaries ready to take from his hand, and put off his money: and ſuch Slanderers at ſecond hand are ſcarce leſs guilty than the firſt authours. He that brueth lies may have more wit and skill, but the broacher ſheweth the like malice and wickedneſs. In this there is no great difference between the great Devil, that frameth ſcandalous reports, and the little Imps, that run about and diſperſe them.

3. Another way is, when one without competent examination, due weighing, and juſt reaſon, doth admit, and ſpread tales prejudicial to his Neighbour's welfare; relying for his warrant (as to the truth of them) upon any ſlight or ſlender authority. This is a very common and current practice: men preſume it lawful enough to ſay over whatever they hear; to report any thing, if they can quote an author for it. It is not, ſay they, my invention; I tell it as I heard it: *fit fides penes authorem*; let him that informed me undergo the blame, if it prove falſe. So do they conceive themſelves excuſable for being the inſtruments of injurious diſgrace and damage to their Neighbours. But they greatly miſtake therein: for as this practice commonly doth ariſe from the ſame wicked principles, at leaſt in ſome degree, and produceth altogether the like miſchievous effects, as the wilful deviſing and conveying Slander: ſo it no leſs thwarteth the rules of duty, and laws of equity; God hath prohibited it, and reaſon doth condemn it. *Thou ſhalt not* (ſaith God in the Law) *go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people*: as a tale-bearer, (as *Rachil*, that is,) as a merchant or trader in ill reports and ſtories concerning our Neighbour, to his prejudice. Not only the framing them, but the dealing in them beyond reaſon or neceſſity, is interdicted. And it is part of a Good man's character in the 15. Pſal. *Non accipit opprobrium, He taketh not up a reproach againſt his neighbour*; that is, he doth not eaſily entertain it, much leſs doth he effectually propagate it: and in our Text, *He*, it is ſaid, *that uttereth Slander* (not only he that conceiveth it) *is a Fool.*

Τί διαποῤῥιπτόμεθα τὸν λόγον, &c. Chryſoſt. in Heb. 11. 3.

Δέον συνιέναι καὶ συγχωρεῖν τὰ ἐλαττώματα τῶν πλησίον. οὐ δὲ ἐκπομπεύεις, &c. Ibid.

Levit. 19. 16. Prov. 18. 8. & 26. 22.

Pſal. 15. 3.

And in reaſon, before exact trial and cognizance, to meddle with the fame and intereſt of another, is evidently a practice full of iniquity, ſuch as no man can allow in his own caſe, or brook being uſed toward himſelf, without judging himſelf to be extremely abuſed by ſuch reporters. In all reaſon and equity, (yea in all diſcretion) before we yield credence to any report concerning our Neighbour, or adventure to relate it, many things are carefully to be weighed and ſcanned. We ſhould concerning our Author conſider, whether he be not a particular enemy, or diſaffected to him; whether he be not ill-humoured, or a delighter in telling bad ſtories; whether he be not diſhoneſt, or unregardful of juſtice in his dealings and diſcourſe; whether he be not vain, or careleſs of what he ſaith; whether he be not light and credulous, or apt to be impoſed upon by any ſmall appearance; whether at leaſt in the preſent caſe he be not negligent, or too forward and raſh in ſpeaking. We ſhould alſo concerning the Matter reported mind, whether it be poſſible, or probable; whether ſutable to the diſpoſition of our Neighbour, to

his principles, to the constant tenour of his practice; whether the action imputed to him be not liable to misapprehension, or his words to misconstruction. All reason and equity do, I say, exact from us, diligently to consider such things, before we do either embrace our selves, or transmit unto others any story concerning our Neighbour; lest unadvisedly we do him irreparable wrong and mischief. Briefly, we should take his case for our own, and consider whether we our selves should be content, that upon like grounds or testimonies any man should believe, or report disgraceful things concerning us. If we fail to do thus, we do (vainly, or rashly, or maliciously) conspire with the Slanderer to the wrong of our innocent Neighbour; and that in the Psalmist (by a parity of reason) may be transferred to us, *Thou hast consented unto the* Liar, *and hast partaken with the* authour of Calumny.

Psal. 50. 18.

4. Of kin to this way is the assenting to popular rumours, and thence affirming matters of obloquy to our Neighbour. Every one by experience knows how easily false news do rise, and how nimbly they scatter themselves; how often they are raised from nothing, how soon they from small sparks grow into a great blaze, how easily from one thing they are transformed into another: especially news of this kind, which do suite and feed the bad humour of the vulgar. 'Tis obvious to any man how true that is of *Tacitus*, how * void of consideration, of judgment, of equity, the busie and talking part of mankind is. Whoever therefore gives heed to flying tales, and thrusts himself into the herd of those who spread them, is either strangely injudicious, or very malignantly disposed. If he want not judgment, he cannot but know, that when he complieth with popular fame, it is mere chance that he doth not slander, or rather it is odds that he shall do so: he consequently sheweth himself to be indifferent whether he doth it or no, or rather that he doth encline to do it: whence, not caring to be otherwise, or loving to be a Slanderer, he in effect and just esteem is such; having at least a slanderous heart and inclination. He that puts it to the venture whether he lieth or no, doth *eo ipso* lie morally, as declaring no care or love of truth. *Thou shalt not* (saith the Law) *follow a multitude to do evil*: and with like reason we should not follow the multitude in speaking evil of our Neighbour.

* *Plebi non judicium, non veritas.* Tac. *Ann.* 16.
Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen, non diligentia—ex opinione plurima, ex veritate pauca judicat. Cic. *pro Planco.*
Λαῷ μὴ πίσευε· πολύτροπός ἐστιν μιλῶ. Phocyl.
Prov. 14. 15. *The simple believeth every word.*

Exod. 23. 2.

5. Another slanderous course is, to build censures and reproaches upon slender conjectures, or uncertain suspicions, (those ὑπόνοιαι πονηραὶ *evil surmises*, which S. *Paul* condemneth.) Of these occasion can never be wanting to them who seek them, or are ready to embrace them; no innocence, no wisdom can any-wise prevent them; and if they may be admitted as grounds of defamation, no man's good name can be secure. But he that upon such accounts dareth to asperse his Neighbour; is in moral computation no less a Slanderer, than if he did the like out of pure invention, or without any ground at all: for doubtful and false in this case differ little; to devise, and to divine, in matters of this nature, do import near the same. He that will judge or speak ill of others, ought to be well assured of what he thinks or says; he that asserteth that which he doth not know to be true, doth as well lie, as he that affirmeth that which he knoweth to be false; (for he deceiveth the hearers, begetting in them an opinion that he is assured of what he affirms;) especially in dealing with the concernments of others, whose right and repute justice doth oblige us to be wary of infringing, charity should dispose

1 Tim. 6. 4. Matt. 9. 4.

Ziba. 2 Sam. 16. 3. & 19. 27.

diſpoſe us to regard and tender as our own. It is not every poſſibility, every ſeeming, every faint ſhew or glimmering appearance, which ſufficeth to ground bad opinion, or reproachful diſcourſe concerning our Brother: the matter ſhould be clear, notorious and palpable, before we admit a diſadvantageous conceit into our head, a diſtaſtful reſentment into our heart, a harſh word into our mouth about him. Men may fanſie themſelves ſagacious and ſhrewd, (perſons of deep judgment and fine wit they may be taken for,) when they can dive into others hearts, and ſound their intentions; when through thick miſts or at remote diſtances they can deſcry faults in them; when they collect ill of them by long trains, and ſubtle fetches of diſcourſe: but in truth they do thereby rather bewray in themſelves ſmall love of truth, care of juſtice, or ſenſe of charity, together with little wiſdom and diſcretion: for Truth is only ſeen in a clear light; Juſtice requireth ſtrict proof; *Charity thinketh no evil*, and *believeth all things* for the beſt; Wiſdom is not forward to pronounce before full evidence. (*He*, ſaith the Wiſe-man, *that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is folly and ſhame unto him.*) In fine, they who proceed thus, as it is uſual that they ſpeak falſely, as it is caſual that they ever ſpeak truly, as they affect to ſpeak ill, true or falſe; ſo worthily they are to be reckoned among Slanderers.

1 Cor. 13. 5. 7.

Prov. 18. 13.

6. Another like way of Slandering is, impetuous or negligent ſputtering out of words, without minding what truth or conſequence there is in them, how they may touch or hurt our Neighbour. To avoid this ſin, we muſt not only be free from intending miſchief, but wary of effecting it; not only careful of not wronging one diſtinct perſon, but of harming any promiſcuouſly; not only abſtinent from aiming directly, but provident not to hit caſually any perſon with obloquy. For as he that diſchargeth ſhot into a crowd, or ſo as not to look about regarding who may ſtand in the way, is no leſs guilty of doing miſchief, and bound to make ſatisfaction to them he woundeth, than if he had aimed at ſome one perſon: ſo if we fling out bad words at random, which may light unluckily, and defame ſome-body, we become Slanderers unawares, and before we think on it. This practice hath not ever all the malice of the worſt Slander, but it worketh often the effects thereof, and therefore doth incurr its guilt, and its puniſhment; eſpecially it being commonly derived from ill temper, or from bad habit, which we are bound to watch over, to curb, and to correct. The Tongue is a ſharp and parlous weapon, which we are bound to keep up in the ſheath, or never to draw forth but adviſedly, and upon juſt occaſion; it muſt ever be wielded with caution and care: to brandiſh it wantonly, to lay about with it blindly and furiouſly, to laſh and ſmite therewith any that happeth to come in our way, doth argue malice or madneſs.

7. It is an ordinary way of proceeding to calumniate, for men, reflecting upon ſome bad diſpoſition in themſelves, (although reſulting from their own particular temper, from their bad principles, or from their ill cuſtome,) to charge it preſently upon others; preſuming others to be like themſelves: like the wicked perſon in the Pſalm, *Thou thoughteſt that I was altogether ſuch an one as thy ſelf.* This is to ſlander Mankind firſt in the groſs; then in retail, as occaſion ſerveth, to aſperſe any man: this is the way of half-witted *Machiavilians*, and of deſperate reprobates in wickedneſs, who, having proſtituted their conſciences to vice, for their own defence and ſolace, would * ſhrowd themſelves from blame under the ſhelter of common pravity and infirmity; accuſing

Pſal. 50. 21.

* *Remedium pœnæ ſuæ arbitrantur, ſi nemo ſit ſanctus, ſi omnibus detrahatur, ſi turba ſit pereuntium*, &c. Hier. *ad Aſellam, Ep. 99.*

accuſing all men of that whereof they know themſelves guilty. But ſurely there can be no greater iniquity than this, that one man ſhould undergo blame for the ill conſcience of another.

Theſe ſeem to be the chief kinds of Slander, and moſt common ways of practiſing it. In which deſcription the Folly thereof doth, I ſuppoſe, ſo clearly ſhine, that no man can look thereon without loathing and deſpiſing it, as not only a very ugly, but a moſt fooliſh practice. No man ſurely can be wiſe, who will ſuffer himſelf to be defiled therewith. But to render its Folly more apparent, we ſhall diſplay it; declaring it to be extremely fooliſh upon ſeveral accounts. But the doing this, in regard to your patience, we ſhall forbear at preſent.

SERMON XVIII.

The Folly of Slander.

PROV. 10. 18.

He that uttereth Slander is a Fool.

I Have formerly in this place, diſcourſing upon this Text, explained the Nature of the Sin here condemned, with its ſeveral kinds and ways of practiſing.

II. I ſhall now proceed to declare the Folly of it; and to make good by divers reaſons the aſſertion of the Wiſe-man, that *He who uttereth Slander is a Fool.*

1. Slandering is Fooliſh, as ſinful and wicked.

All Sin is fooliſh upon many accounts; as proceeding from ignorance, errour, inconſiderateneſs, vanity; as implying weak judgment, and irrational choice; as thwarting the dictates of Reaſon, and beſt rules of Wiſdom; as producing very miſchievous effects to our ſelves, bereaving us of the chief goods, and expoſing us to the worſt evils. What can be more egregiouſly abſurd, than to diſſent in our opinion and diſcord in our choice from infinite Wiſdom; to provoke by our actions ſovereign Juſtice, and immutable Severity; to oppoſe Almighty Power, and offend immenſe Goodneſs; to render our ſelves unlike, and contrary in our doings, our diſpoſition, our ſtate, to abſolute Perfection and Felicity? What can be more deſperately wild, than to diſoblige our beſt Friend, to forfeit his love and favour, to render him our Enemy, who is our Lord and our Judge, upon whoſe mere will and diſpoſal all our ſubſiſtence, all our well-fare does abſolutely depend? What greater madneſs can be conceived, than to deprive our Minds of all true content here, and to ſeparate our Souls from eternal Bliſs hereafter;

after; to gall our Conſciences now with ſore Remorſe, and to engage our ſelves for ever in remedileſs Miſeries? Such Folly doth all Sin include: whence in Scripture-ſtyle worthily Goodneſs and Wiſdom are terms equivalent; Sin and Folly do ſignifie the ſame thing.

If thence this practice be proved extremely ſinful, it will thence ſufficiently be demonſtrated no leſs fooliſh. And that it is extremeley ſinful may eaſily be ſhewed. It is the character of the ſuperlatively-wicked man; *Thou giveſt thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue frameth deceit: Thou ſitteſt and ſpeakeſt againſt thy brother; thou ſlandereſt thine own mother's ſon.* It is indeed plainly the blackeſt and moſt helliſh ſin that can be; that which giveth the grand Fiend his names, and moſt expreſſeth his nature. He is ὁ Διάβολος, *the Slanderer*; *Satan*, the ſpiteful *Adverſary*; the *old Snake*, or *Dragon*, hiſſing out lies, and ſpitting forth venome of calumnious accuſation; *the Accuſer of the brethren*, a murtherous, envious, malicious Columniatour; *the Father of lies*; the grand defamer of God to Man, of Man to God, of one Man to another. And highly wicked ſurely muſt that practice be, whereby we grow Nameſakes to him, conſpire in proceeding with him, reſemble his diſpoſition and nature. It is a complication, a compriſal, a collection and ſumm of all wickedneſs; oppoſite to all the principal Vertues, (to Veracity and Sincerity, to Charity and Juſtice,) tranſgreſſing all the great Commandments, violating immediately and directly all the Duties concerning our Neighbour.

Pſ. 50. 19, 20. Apoc. 12. 10. Joh. 8. 44.

To Lie ſimply is a great fault, being a deviation from that good Rule which preſcribeth truth in all our words; rendring us unlike and diſagreeable to God, who is *the God of truth*; (who * loveth truth, and practiſeth it in all his doings, who abominateth all falſehood;) including a treacherous breach of faith toward mankind; (we being all, in order to the maintenance of ſociety, by an implicit compact, obliged by ſpeech to declare our mind, to inform truly, and not to impoſe upon our Neighbour;) arguing puſillanimous timorouſneſs and impotency of mind, a diſtruſt in God's help, and diffidence in all good means to compaſs our deſigns; begetting deception and errour, a foul and ill-favour'd brood: Lying, I ſay, is upon ſuch accounts a ſinful and blameable thing: and of all Lies thoſe certainly are the worſt, which proceed from malice, or from vanity, or from both, and which work miſchief; ſuch as Slanders are.

Eph. 4. 25. 1 Pet. 2. 1. Pſal. 31. 5. & 25. 10. & 86. 15. & 89. 14. & 146. 6. * Prov. 12. 22. & 6. 17.

Again, to bear any hatred or ill-will, to exerciſe enmity toward any man, to deſign or procure any miſchief to our Neighbour, whom even *Jews* were commanded to *love as themſelves*, whoſe good, by many laws, and upon divers ſcores, we are obliged to tender as our own, is a hainous fault: and of this apparently the Slanderer is moſt guilty in the higeſt degree. For evidently true it is which the Wiſe-man affirmeth, *A lying tongue hateth thoſe that are afflicted with it*; there is no ſurer argument of extreme hatred; nothing but the height of ill-will can ſuggeſt this practice. The Slanderer is an enemy, as the moſt fierce and outrageous, ſo the moſt baſe and unworthy that can be: he fighteth with the moſt perillous and moſt unlawful weapon in the moſt ſurious and foul way that can be. His weapon is an envenomed *arrow, full of deadly poiſon*, which *he ſhooteth ſuddenly, and feareth not*; a weapon which by no force can be reſiſted, by no art declined, whoſe impreſſion is altogether inevitable and unſuſtainable. It is a moſt inſidious, moſt treacherous and cowardly way of fighting; wherein manifeſtly the weakeſt and baſeſt Spirits have extream advantage, and may eaſily

Levit. 19. 18. Prov. 26. 28. Jam. 3. 8. Pſal. 64. 3, 4. & 57. 4.

easily prevail against the bravest and worthiest: for no man of honour or honesty can in way of resistence or requital deign to use it, but must infallibly without repugnance be born down thereby. By it the vile practiser atchieveth the greatest mischief that can be. His words are, as the Psalmist saith of *Doeg*, *devouring words*, (*Thou lovest all devouring words, O thou deceitful tongue:*) and, *A man* (saith the Wise-man) *that beareth false witness against his neighbour is a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow*; that is, he is a complicated instrument of all mischiefs: he smiteth and bruiseth like a *maul*, he cutteth and pierceth like a *sword*, he thus doth hurt near at hand; and at distance he woundeth like a *sharp arrow*, it is hard any-where to evade him, or to get out of his reach. *Many* (saith another Wise-man, the imitatour of *Solomon*) *have fallen by the edge of the sword: but not so many as have fallen by the tongue. Well is he that is defended from it, and hath not passed through the venome thereof; who hath not drawn the yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in its bands. For the yoke thereof is as a yoke of iron, and the bands thereof are bands of brass. The Death thereof is an evil death, the grave were better than it.* Incurable are the wounds which the Slanderer inflicteth, irreparable the damages which he causeth, indeleble the marks which he leaveth. *No balsam can heal the biting of a Sycophant*; no thread can stitch up a good name torn by calumnious defamation; no soap is able to cleanse from the stains aspersed by a foul mouth. *Aliquid adhærebit*; somewhat always of suspicion and ill opinion will stick in the minds of those who have given ear to slander. So extremely opposite is this practice unto the Queen of Virtues, *Charity*. Its property indeed is, to *believe all things*, that is, all things for the best, and to the advantage of our Neighbour; Not so much as to suspect any evil of him, without unavoidably-manifest cause: how much more not to devise any falsehood against him? It *covereth* all things, studiously conniving at real defects, and concealing assured miscarriages: how much more not divulging imaginary or false scandals? It disposeth to seek and further any the least good concerning him: how much more will it hinder committing grievous outrage upon his dearest good name?

Pſal. 52. 4. Prov. 25. 18. & 12. 6. *An ungodly man diggeth up evil, and in his lips there is a burning fire.* Prove 16. 27. Ecclus 28. 18, &c. *Adversus Sycophantæ morsum nullum est remedium.* 1 Cor. 13. 7. Prov. 17. 9.

Again, all injustice is abominable; to do any sort of wrong is a hainous crime; that crime, which of all most immediately tendeth to the dissolution of society, and disturbance of humane life; which God therefore doth most loath, and men have reason especially to detest. And of this the Slanderer is most deeply guilty. *A witness of Belial scorneth judgment, and the mouth of the wicked devoureth iniquity*, saith the Wise-man. He is indeed, according to just estimation, guilty of all kinds whatever of injury, breaking all the Second Table of Commands respecting our Neighbour. Most formally and directly he *beareth false witness against his neighbour*: He doth *covet his neighbour's goods*; for 'tis constantly out of such an irregular desire, for his own presumed advantage, to dispossess his Neighbour of some good, and transfer it on himself, that the Slanderer uttereth his tale: He is ever a thief and robber of his good name, a deflowrer and defiler of his reputation, an * assassine and murtherer of his honour. So doth he violate all the rules of Justice, and perpretateth all sorts of wrong against his Neighbour.

Prov. 19. 28. * *Dei Episcopos linguæ gladio jugulaſtis, fundentes sanguinem non corporis, sed honoris.* Opt. *lib.* 2. *We be to them who justifie the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him.* Isa. 5. 23.

He may indeed perhaps conceive it no great matter that he committeth; because he doth not act in so boisterous and bloody away, but only

only by words, which are ſubtle, ſlimme, and tranſient things; upon his Neighbour's credit onely, which is no ſubſtantial or viſible matter. He draweth (thinks he) no bloud, nor breaketh any bones, nor impreſſeth any remarkable ſcar: 'tis onely the ſoft air he breaketh with his tongue, 'tis onely a ſlight character that he ſtampeth on the fancy, 'tis onely an imaginary ſtain that he daubeth his Neighbour with: therefore he ſuppoſeth no great wrong done, and ſeemeth to himſelf innocent or very excuſable. But theſe conceits ariſe from great inconſiderateneſs, or miſtake; nor can they excuſe the Slanderer from grievous injuſtice. For in dealing with our Neighbour, and medling with his property, we are not to value things according to our fancy, but according to the price ſet on them by the owner: we muſt not reckon that a trifle, which he prizeth as a jewel. Since then all men (eſpecially men of honour and honeſty) do, from a neceſſary inſtinct of nature, eſtimate their good name beyond any of their goods, yea do commonly hold it more dear and pretious than their very lives: we, by violently or fraudulently bereaving them of it, do them no leſs wrong, than if we ſhould rob or couzen them of their ſubſtance, yea than if we ſhould maim their body, or ſpill their bloud, or even ſtop their breath. If they as grievouſly feel it, and reſent it as deeply, as they do any other outrage, the injury is really as great to them. Even the Slanderers own judgment and conſcience might tell him ſo much: for they who moſt ſlight another's fame, are uſually very tender of their own, and can with no patience endure that others ſhould touch it: which demonſtrates the inconſiderateneſs of their judgment and the iniquity of their practice It is an injuſtice not to be corrected or cured. Theſts may be reſtored, Wounds may be cured; but there is no reſtitution or cure of a loſt good name: it is therefore an irreparable injury.

Nor is the thing it ſelf, in true judgment, contemptible; but in it ſelf really very conſiderable. *A good name*, ſaith *Solomon* himſelf, (no fool,) *is rather to be choſen than great riches; and loving favour rather than ſilver and gold.* In its conſequences it is much more ſo; the chief intereſts of a man, the ſucceſs of his affairs, his ability to do good (for himſelf, his friends, his neighbour,) his ſafety, the beſt comforts and conveniences of his life, ſometimes his life it ſelf, depending thereon: ſo that whoever doth ſnatch or filch it from him, doth not onely according to his opinion, and in moral value, but in real effect commonly rob, ſometime murther, ever exceedingly wrong his Neighbour. It is often the ſole reward of a man's Vertue and all the fruit of his induſtry; ſo that by depriving him of that, he is robb'd of all his eſtate, and left ſtark naked of all, excepting a good Conſcience, which is beyond the reach of the world, and which no malice or misfortune can deveſt him of. Full then of iniquity, full of uncharitableneſs, full of all wickedneſs is this practice; and conſequently full it is of folly. No man, one would think, of any tolerable ſenſe, ſhould dare, or deign to incurr the guilt of a practice ſo vile and baſe, ſo indeed diabolical and deteſtable. But farther more particularly,

Prov. 22. 1. & 15. 30. Eccles. 7. 1.

Prov. 12. 6.

2. The Slanderer is plainly a Fool; becauſe he maketh wrong judgments and valuations of things, and accordingly driveth on ſilly bargains for himſelf, in reſult whereof he proveth a great loſer. He means by his calumnious ſtories either to vent ſome paſſion boiling in him, or to compaſs ſome deſign which he affects, or to pleaſe ſome humour that he is poſſeſſed with: but is any of theſe things worth purchaſing at ſo dear a rate? can there be any valuable exchange for our honeſty? Is it

not more advisable to suppress our passion, or to let it evaporate otherwise, than to discharge it in so foul a way? Is it not better to let go a petty interest, than to further it by committing so notorious and hainous a sin; to let an ambitious project sink, than to buoy it up by such base means? Is it not wisdom rather to smother, or curb our humour, than by satisfying it thus to forfeit our innocence? Can any thing in the world be so considerable, that for its sake we should defile our Souls by so foul a practice, making shipwreck of a good Conscience, abandoning honour and honesty, incurring all the guilt and all the punishment due to so enormous a crime? Is it not far more wisdom, contentedly to see our Neighbour to enjoy credit and success, to flourish and thrive in the world, than by such base courses to sully his reputation, to rifle him of his goods, to supplant or cross him in his affairs? we do really, when we think thus to depress him, and to climb up to wealth or credit by the ruines of his honour, but debase our selves. Whatever comes of it, (whether he succeeds or is disappointed therein) assuredly he that useth such courses will himself be the greatest loser, and deepest sufferer. 'Tis true which the Wise-man saith, *the getting of treasures by a lying tongue, is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death.* And, *Woe unto them* (saith the Prophet) *that draw iniquity with cords of vanity*; that is, who by falsehood endeavour to compass unjust designs.

Prov. 21. 6.

Isa. 5. 18.

But it is not, perhaps he will pretend, for to assuage a private passion, or to promote his particular concernment, that he makes so bold with his Neighbour, or deals so harshly with him; but for the sake of orthodox Doctrine, for advantage of the true Church, for the advancement of publick Good, he judgeth it expedient to asperse him. This indeed is the covert of innumerable Slanders: zeal for some Opinion, or some party, beareth out men of Sectarian and factious spirits in such practices; they may do, they may say any thing for those fine ends. What is a little truth, what is any man's reputation in comparison to the carrying on such brave designs? But (to omit that men do usually prevaricate in these cases; that it is not commonly for love of truth, but of themselves, not so much for the benefit of their sect, but for their own interest, that they calumniate) this plea will no-wise justifie such practice. For Truth and Sincerity, Equity and Candour, Meekness and Charity are inviolably to be observed, not onely toward dissenters in opinion, but even toward declared enemies of truth it self; we are to *bless them*, (that is, to speak well of them, and to wish well to them,) *not to curse* them, (that is, not to reproach them, or to wish them ill, much less to bely them.) Truth also, as it cannot ever need, so doth it alwayes loath and scorn the patronage and the succour of lies; it is able to support and protect it self by fair means; it will not be killed upon a pretence of saving it, or thrive by its own ruine. Nor indeed can any party be so much strengthned and underpropt, as it will be weakned and undermined, by such courses: No cause can stand firm upon a bottom so loose and slippery, as falshood is: All the good a Slanderer can do is, to disparage what he would maintain. In truth, no Heresie can be worse, than that would be which should allow to play the Devil in any case. He that can dispense with himself to slander a *Jew* or a *Turk*, doth in so doing render himself worse than either of them by profession are: for even they (and even Pagans themselves) disallow the practice of inhumanity and iniquity. All men by light of nature avow Truth to be honourable, and Faith to be indispensably observed. He doth not understand what it is to be *Christian*, or careth not to practise according thereto,

who

who can find in his heart in any caſe, upon any pretence, to calumniate. In fine, to proſtitute our conſcience, or ſacrifice our honeſty, for any cauſe, to any intereſt what-ever, can never be warrantable or wiſe. Farther,

3. The Slanderer is a Fool, becauſe he uſeth improper means and prepoſterous methods of effecting his purpoſes. As there is no deſign worth the carrying on by ways of falſhood and iniquity; ſo is there ſcarce any (no good or lawful one at leaſt) which may not more ſurely, more ſafely, more cleverly be atcheived by means of truth and juſtice. Is not always the ſtreight way more ſhort than the oblique and crooked? is not the plain way more eaſie than the rough and cragged? is not the fair way more pleaſant and paſſable than the foul? Is it not better to walk in paths that are open and allowed, than in thoſe that are ſhut up and prohibited; than to clamber over walls, to break through fences, to treſpaſs upon encloſures? Surely yes: *He that walketh uprightly walketh ſurely.* Uſing ſtrict veracity and integrity, candour and equity is the beſt method of accompliſhing good deſigns. Our own induſtry, good uſe of the parts and faculties God hath given us, embracing fair opportunities, God's bleſſing and Providence, are ſufficient means to rely upon for procuring, in an honeſt way, what-ever is convenient for us. Theſe are ways approved, and amiable to all men; they procure the beſt friends, and feweſt enemies; they afford to the practiſer a chearful courage, and good hope; they meet with leſs diſappointment, and have no regret or ſhame attending them. He that hath recourſe to the other baſe means, and *maketh lies his refuge*, as he renounceth all juſt and honeſt means, as he diſclaimeth all hope in God's aſſiſtence, and forfeiteth all pretence to his bleſſing; ſo he cannot reaſonably expect good ſucceſs, or be ſatisfied in any undertaking. The ſupplanting way indeed ſeems the moſt curt and compendious way of bringing about diſhoneſt or diſhonourable deſigns: but as a good deſign is certainly diſhonoured thereby, ſo is it apt thence to be defeated; it raiſing up enemies and obſtacles, yielding advantages to who-ever is diſpoſed to croſs us. As in trade it is notorious, that the beſt courſe to thrive is by dealing ſquarely and truly; any fraud or cozenage appearing there doth overthrow a man's credit, and drive away cuſtome from him: ſo in all other tranſactions, as he that dealeth juſtly and fairly will have his affairs proceed roundly, and ſhall find men ready to comply with him; ſo he that is obſerved to practiſe falſhood, will be declined by ſome, oppoſed by others, diſliked by all: no man ſcarce willingly will have to do with him; he is commonly forced to ſtand out in buſineſs, as one that plays foul play.

Prov. 10. 9.

Iſa. 28. 15, 17. Jer. 28. 15.

4. Laſtly, the Slanderer is a very Fool, as bringing many great inconveniences, troubles and miſchiefs on himſelf.

Firſt, *A fool's mouth* (ſaith the wiſeman) *is his deſtruction, his lips are the ſnare of his ſoul:* and if any kind of ſpeech is deſtructive and dangerous, then is this certainly moſt of all; for by no means can a man enflame ſo fierce anger, impreſs ſo ſtiff hatred, raiſe ſo deadly enmity againſt himſelf, and conſequently ſo endanger his ſafety, eaſe and welfare, as by this practice. Men can more eaſily endure, and ſooner will forgive, any ſort of abuſe than this; they will rather pardon a robber of their goods, than a defamer of their good name.

Prov. 18. 7. & 13. 3. & 18. 21.

Secondly, Such an one indeed is not onely odious to the perſon immediately concerned, but generally to all men that obſerve his practice, every man preſently will be ſenſible how eaſily it may be his own

case, how liable he may be to be thus abused, in a way against which there is no guard or defence. The Slanderer therefore is apprehended a common enemy, dangerous to all men; and thence rendreth all men averse from him, and ready to cross him. Love and peace, tranquility and security can only be maintained by innocent and true dealing: so the Psalmist hath well taught us; *What Man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days, that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile.*

——*ecquid*
Ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
Hor. *Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 18.

——*Sibi quisque timet, quanquam est intactus & odit.* Idem.

Ps. 34. 12, 13.

Thirdly, All wise, all noble, all ingenuous and honest Persons have an aversation from this practice, and cannot entertain it with any acceptance or complacence. (*A righteous man hateth lying*, saith the Wise-man.) It is only ill-natured and ill-nurtured, unworthy and naughty people that are willing auditours or encouragers thereof. *A wicked doer* (saith the Wise-man again) *giveth heed to false lips; and a liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue.* All love of truth, and regard to justice, and sense of humanity, all generosity and ingenuity, all charity and good will to Men, must be extinct in those who can with delight, or indeed with patience lend an ear, or give any countenance to a Slanderer: and is not he a very Fool, who chuseth to displease the best, only soothing the worst of men?

Prov. 13. 5.

Prov. 17. 4.

Fourthly, The Slanderer indeed doth Banish himself from all conversation and company, or intruding into it becomes very disgustful thereto: for he worthily is not only looked upon as an enemy to those whom he slandereth; but to those also upon whom he obtrudeth his calumnious discourse. He not only wrongeth the former by the injury, but he mocketh the latter by the falshood of his stories; implicitly charging his hearers with weakness and credulity, or with injustice and pravity.

Fifthly, He also derogateth wholly from his own Credit, in all matters of discourse. For he that dareth thus to injure his Neighbour, who can trust him in any thing he speaks? what will not he say to please his vile humour, or further his base interest? what (thinks any man) will he scruple or boggle at, who hath the heart in thus doing wrong and mischief to imitate the Devil? Farther,

Sixthly, This practice is perpetually haunted with most troublesome companions, inward regret and self-condemnation, fear and disquiet: * the conscience of dealing so unworthily doth smite and rack him; he is ever in danger, and thence in fear to be discovered, and requited for it. Of these passions the manner of his behaviour is a manifest indication: for men do seldom vent their slanderous reports openly and loudly, to the face, or in the ear of those who are concern'd in them; but do utter them in a low voice, in dark corners, out of sight and hearing, where they conceit themselves at present safe from being called to an account. *Swords* (saith the Psalmist of such persons) *are in their lips; Who, say they, doth hear?* And *whoso privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off*, saith *David* again, intimating the common manner of this practice. Calumny is like *the plague, that walketh in darkness.* Hence appositely are the practisers thereof termed whisperers and backbiters: their heart suffers them not openly to avow, their conscience tells them they cannot fairly defend their practice. Again,

* Ὁ κακῶς εἰπὼν ἐναγώνιος λοιπόν ἐστιν, ὑποπτύει τε, καὶ δέδοικε, καὶ μετανοεῖ, καὶ κατεσθίει τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ γλῶτταν, δεδοικὼς καὶ τρέμων, μήποτε εἰς ἑτέρους ἐξενεχθὲν τὸ ῥῆμα μέγαν ἐπαγάγῃ τὸν κίνδυνον. καὶ περιττὴν ἔχθραν καὶ ἀνόνητον ἐργάσηται, τοῖς εἰρηκάσι, &c. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. γ.

Psal. 59. 7.

101. 5.

91. 6.

Seventhly,

Seventhly, The conſequent of this practice is commonly ſhameful diſgrace, with an obligation to retract, and render ſatisfaction: for ſeldom doth Calumny paſs long without being detected and ‖ confuted, † *He that walketh uprightly walketh ſurely: but he that perverteth his ways ſhall be known:* and, **The lip of truth ſhall be eſtabliſhed for ever; but a lying lip is but for a moment*, ſaith the great obſerver of things. And when the Slander is diſcloſed, the Slanderer is obliged to excuſe, (that is, to palliate one lie with another, if he can do it,) or forced to recant, with much diſgrace and extreme diſpleaſure to himſelf: he is alſo many times conſtrained with his loſs and pain, to repair the miſchief he hath done.

‖ Pſal. 63. 11. *The mouth of them that ſpeak lies ſhall be ſtopped.*
† Prov. 10. 9.
* Prov. 12. 19. (Prov. 26. 26.) ——*Refrain your tongue from backbiting: for there is no word ſo ſecret that ſhall go for nought; and the mouth that ſlandereth, ſlayeth the ſoul.* Sap. 1. 11.
Et delator habet quod dedit exitium, Vide Tac. *An.* 1. *p.* 45.

Eighthly, To this in likelihood the concernments of men, and the powers which guard juſtice will forcibly bring him: and certainly his Conſcience will bind him thereto; God will indiſpenſably exact it from him. He can never have any ſound quiet in his mind, he can never expect pardon from Heaven without acknowledging his fault, repairing the wrong he hath done, reſtoring that good name of which he diſpoſſeſſed his Neighbour: for in this no leſs than in other caſes Conſcience cannot be ſatisfied, remiſſion will not be granted, except due reſtitution be performed: and of all reſtitutions this ſurely is the moſt difficult, moſt laborious and moſt troubleſome. 'Tis no-wiſe ſo hard to reſtore goods ſtollen or extorted, as to recover a good opinion loſt, to wipe off aſperſions caſt on a man's name, to cure a wounded reputation: the moſt earneſt and diligent endeavour can hardly ever effect this, or ſpread the plaiſter ſo far as the ſore hath reached. The Slanderer therefore doth engage himſelf into great ſtraits, incurring an obligation to repair an almoſt irreparable miſchief.

Ninthly, This practice doth alſo certainly revenge it ſelf, impoſing on its actour a perfect retaliation; *a tooth for a tooth*; an irrecoverable infamy to himſelf, for the infamy he cauſeth to others. Who will regard his fame, who will be concerned to excuſe his faults, who ſo outrageouſly abuſeth the reputation of others? He ſuffereth juſtly, he is paid in his own coin, will any man think, who doth hear him reproached.

He that diligently ſeeketh good, procureth favour: but he that ſeeketh miſchief, it ſhall come unto him. Prov. 11. 27.

Prov. 26. 27. It was the puniſhment of Slanderers in the Law.—— *Then ſhall ye do unto him as he had thought to have done unto his Brother.* Deut. 19. 19. Prov. 19. 5. *A falſe witneſs ſhall not be unpuniſhed; and he that telleth lies ſhall not eſcape.* Pſal. 52. 4, 5. *God ſhall deſtroy thee for ever, thou falſe tongue. Lying Lips are an abomination to the Lord; but they that deal truly are his delight.* Prov. 12. 22.

Tenthly, In fine, the Slanderer (if he doth not by ſerious and ſore repentance retract his practice) doth baniſh himſelf from Heaven and happineſs, doth expoſe himſelf to endleſs miſeries and ſorrows. For, if none that *maketh a lie ſhall enter into the heavenly city*; if *without* thoſe manſions of joy and bliſs *every one* muſt eternally abide *that loveth, or maketh a lie*; if πᾶσι τοῖς ψεύδεσι, *to all liars their portion* is aſſigned *in the lake which burneth with fire and brimſtone*; then aſſuredly the capital Liar, the Slanderer, (who lieth moſt injuriouſly and miſchievouſly,) ſhall be far excluded from felicity, and thruſt down into the depth of that miſerable place. If (as S. *Paul* ſaith) no *railer*, or evil-ſpeaker, *ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God*; how far thence ſhall they be removed,

Apoc. 21. 27. 22. 15.

* Apoc. 21. 8. It is one of thoſe things which God eſpecially doth abominate. Prov. 6. 19. & 12. 22. *A falſe witneſs ſhall periſh.* Prov. 21. 28.

1 Cor. 6. 10. & 5. 11.

removed, who without any truth or juſtice do ſpeak ill of and reproach
Matth. 12. 36. their Neighbour? If for every ἀργὸν ῥῆμα, *idle*, or vain, *word* we muſt *render a* ſtrict *account*; how much more ſhall we be ſeverely reckoned with for this ſort of words, ſo empty of truth and void of equity; words that are not only negatively vain, or uſeleſs, but poſitively vain, as falſe, and ſpoken to bad purpoſe? If Slander perhaps here may evade detection, or ſcape deſerved puniſhment; yet infallibly hereafter, at the dreadful Day, it ſhall be diſcloſed, irreverſibly condemned, inevitably perſecuted with condign reward of utter ſhame and ſorrow.

Is not he then, he who, out of malignity, or vanity, to ſerve any deſign, or ſooth any humour in himſelf or others, doth by committing this ſin involve himſelf into all theſe great evils, both here and hereafter, a moſt deſperate and deplorable Fool?

Having thus deſcribed the Nature of this Sin, and declared the Folly therefore, we need, I ſuppoſe, to ſay no more for diſſuading it; eſpecially to perſons of a generous and honeſt mind, who cannot but ſcorn to debaſe and defile themſelves by ſo mean and vile a practice; or to thoſe who ſeriouſly do profeſs Chriſtianity, that is, the Religion which peculiarly above all others preſcribeth conſtant Truth, ſtricteſt Juſtice, and higheſt Charity.

I ſhall only add, that ſince our faculty of Speech (wherein we do excell all other creatures) was given us, as in the firſt place to praiſe and glorifie our Maker, ſo in the next to benefit and help our Neighbour; as an inſtrument of mutual ſuccour and delectation, of friendly commerce and pleaſant converſe together; for inſtructing and adviſing, comforting and chearing one another; it is an unnatural perverting, and an irrational abuſe thereof, to employ it to the damage, diſgrace, vexation, or wrong in any kind of our brother. Better indeed had we been as Brutes without its uſe, than we are, if ſo worſe than brutiſhly we abuſe it.

Finally, all theſe things being conſidered, we may, I think, reaſonably conclude it moſt evidently true, that, *He which uttereth Slander, is a Fool.*

SER-

SERMON XIX.

Againſt Detraction.

S. JAMES 4. 11.

Speak not evil one of another, Brethren.

ONE half of our Religion conſiſteth in Charity toward our Neighbour; and of that Charity much the greater part ſeemeth exerciſed in Speech; for as ſpeaking doth take up the greateſt part of our life, (our quick and active Mind continually venting its Thoughts, and diſcharging its Paſſions thereby; all our converſation and commerce paſſing through it, it having a large influence upon all our practice) ſo Speech commonly having our Neighbour and his Concernments for its Objects, it is neceſſary, that either moſt of our Charity will be employed therein, or that by it we ſhall moſt offend againſt that great Duty, together with its Aſſociates, Juſtice and Peace. Μὴ καταλαλεῖτε ἀλλήλων, ἀδελφοί.

And all Offences of this kind (which tranſgreſs Charity, violate Juſtice, or infringe Peace) may perhaps be forbidden in this Apoſtolical Precept; for the word καταλαλεῖν, according to its origination, and according to ſome uſe, doth ſignifie all kind of Obloquy, and ſo may comprize ſlander, harſh cenſure, reviling, ſcoffing, and the like kinds of ſpeaking againſt our Neighbour; but in ſtricter acceptation, and according to peculiar uſe, it denoteth that particular ſort of Obloquy, which is called *Detraction*, or *Backbiting*: So therefore we may be allowed to underſtand it here; and accordingly I now mean to deſcribe it, and to diſſuade from its practice.

There is between this, and the other chief ſorts of Obloquy, (Slander, Cenſuring and Reviling) much affinity, yet there is ſome difference; for Slander involveth an imputation of falſhood; Reviling includeth bitter and foul language; but Detraction may be couched in Truth, and cloathed in fair Language; it is a Poiſon often infuſed in ſweet Liquor, and miniſtred in a Golden Cup. It is of nearer kin to Cenſuring, and accordingly S. *James* here coupleth it thereto: *He that detracteth from a Brother, and he that cenſureth his Brother, backbiteth the Law, and cenſureth the Law:* yet may theſe two be diſtinguiſhed; for cenſuring ſeemeth to be of more general purport, extending indifferently to all kinds of Perſons, Qualities and Actions, which it unduly taxeth; but Detraction eſpecially reſpecteth worthy Perſons, good Qualities, and laudable Actions, the reputation of which it aimeth to deſtroy, or to impair.

This ſort of ill practice (ſo rife in uſe, ſo baſe in its nature, ſo miſchievous in its effects) it ſhall be my endeavour to deſcribe, that we may know it, and to diſſwade, that we may ſhun it.

It

It is the fault (oppoſite to that part of Charity and Goodneſs, which is called Ingenuity or Candour), which out of naughty diſpoſition or deſign, ſtriveth to diſgrace worthy Perſons, or to diſparage good Actions, looking for blemiſhes and defects in them, uſing care and artifice to pervert and miſrepreſent things to that purpoſe.

An honeſt and charitable Mind diſpoſeth us, when we ſee any Man endued with good Qualities, and purſuing a tenour of good practice, to eſteem ſuch a perſon, to commend him, to interpret what he doeth to the beſt, not to ſuſpect any ill of him, or to ſeek any exception againſt him; it inclineth us, when we ſee any action materially good, to yield it ſimply due approbation and praiſe, without ſearching for, or ſurmiſing any defect in the cauſe or Principle, whence it cometh, in the deſign or end to which it tendeth, in the way or manner of performing it. A good man would be ſorry to have any good thing ſpoiled: as to find a crack in a fair Building, a flaw in a fine Jewel, a canker in a goodly Flower, is grievous to any indifferent man; ſo would it be diſpleaſing to him to obſerve defects in a worthy perſon, or commendable action; he therefore will not eaſily entertain a ſuſpicion of any ſuch, he never will hunt for any. But on the contrary, 'tis the property of a Detractour, when he ſeeth a worthy perſon, (whom he doth not affect, or whom he is concerned to wrong) to ſurvey him throughly, and to ſift all his actions, with intent to deſcry ſome failing, or any ſemblance of a fault, by which he may diſparage him; when he vieweth any good action, he peereth into it, labouring to eſpy ſome pretence to derogate from the commendation apparently belonging to it. This in general is the nature of this fault. But we may get a fuller underſtanding of it. by conſidering more diſtinctly ſome particular Acts, wherein it is commonly exerciſed, or the ſeveral paths, in which the detracting ſpirit treadeth; ſuch are theſe following:

1. A Detractour is wont to repreſent perſons and actions under the moſt diſadvantageous circumſtances he can, ſetting out thoſe which may cauſe them to appear odious or deſpicable, ſlipping over thoſe which may commend or excuſe them. There is no perſon ſo excellent, who is not by his circumſtances forced to omit ſome things, which would become him to do, if he were able; to perform ſome things lamely, and otherwiſe than he would do, if he could reach it; no action ſo worthy, but may have ſome defect in matter, or manner, uncapable of redreſs; and he that repreſenteth ſuch perſon or action, leaving out thoſe excuſing circumſtances, doth tend to beget a bad or mean opinion of them, robbing them of their due value and commendation: thus to charge a man of not having done a good work, when he had not the power or opportunity to perform it, or is by croſs accidents hindered from doing it according to his deſire; to ſuggeſt the action was not done exactly, in the beſt ſeaſon, in the righteſt mode, in the moſt proper place, with expreſſions, looks or geſtures moſt convenient, theſe are tricks of a Detractour; who when he cannot deny the Metal to be good, and the Stamp true, he clippeth it, and ſo would reject it from being current.

Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑποκεῖον. οὐδὲ δεξάμενον τὸ εὖ. Theoph.

2. He is wont to miſconſtrue ambiguous words, or to miſinterpret doubtful appearances of things; Let a man ſpeak never ſo well, or act never ſo fairly, yet a Detractuor will ſay his words may bear this ill ſenſe, his actions may tend to that bad purpoſe; we may therefore ſuſpect his meaning, and cannot yield him a full approbation.

3. He

3. He is wont to miſ-name the qualities of perſons or things, aſſigning bad appellations or epithets to good or indifferent qualities: the names of Vertue and Vice do ſo nearly border in ſignification, that it is eaſie to transfer them from one to another, and to give the beſt quality a bad name: Thus, by calling a ſober man ſour, a chearful man vain, a conſcientious man moroſe, a devout man ſuperſtitious, a free man prodigal, a frugal man ſordid, an open man ſimple, a reſerved man crafty, one that ſtandeth upon his honour and honeſty proud, a kind man ambitiouſly popular, a modeſt man ſullen, timorous or ſtupid, is a very eaſie way to detract, and no man thereby can ſcape being diſparaged.

At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atq; Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare; probus quis Nobiſcum vivit? multum eſt demiſſus homo; illi Tardo cognomen pinguis damus, &c. Hor. *Ser. l. 1. Sat. 3.*

4. He doth imperfectly characterize perſons, ſo as ſtudiouſly to vail, or faintly to diſcloſe their Vertues, and good qualities, but carefully to expoſe, and fully to aggravate or amplifie any defects or failings in them. The Detractour will pretend to give a character of his Neighbour, but in ſo doing he ſtifleth what may commend him, and blazoneth what may diſgrace him; like an envious Painter he hideth, or in dusky colours ſhadoweth all the graceful parts and goodly features, but ſetteth out all blemiſhes in the briskeſt light, and moſt open view. Every face hath in it ſome mole, ſpot or wrinkle; there is no man, that hath not (as they ſpeak) ſome blind place; ſome blemiſhes in his nature or temper, ſome faults corrected by education or cuſtom, ſomewhat amiſs proceeding from ignorance, or miſapprehenſion of things; theſe (although they be in themſelves ſmall and inconſiderable, although they are ſome of them involuntary and thence inculpable, although they be much corrected or reſtrained by vertuous diſcipline, although they are compenſated by greater vertues, yet theſe) the Detractour ſnatcheth, mouldeth, and out of them frameth an Idea of his Neighbour, apt to breed hatred, or contempt of him in an unwary ſpectator; whereas were Charity, were Equity, were Humanity to draw the perſon, it repreſenting his qualities with juſt advantage, would render him lovely and venerable.

5. He is wont not to commend or allow any thing abſolutely and clearly, but always interpoſing ſome exception, to which he would have it ſeem liable: the man indeed, ſaith he, doth ſeem to have this or that laudable quality; the action hath a fair appearance, but then if he can, he blurteth out ſome ſpiteful objection; if he can find nothing colourable to ſay againſt it, yet he will ſeem to know, and to ſuppreſs ſomewhat; but (ſaith he) I know what I know, I know more than I'le ſay ------ ſo (adding perhaps a crafty Nod or Shrug, a malicious Sneer or Smile) he thinks to blaſt the faireſt performance.

Non audes repetere, qui tacendo amplius criminaris: & quia non habes quod objicias, ſimulas verecundiam; ut lector te putet mihi parcere, qui mentiens nec tuæ animæ pepercisti. Hier. *in Ruff. 3. 6.*

6. He is ready to ſuggeſt ill cauſes and principles (latent in the heart) of practices apparently good; aſcribing what is well done to bad diſpoſition, or bad purpoſe: So to ſay of a liberal man, that he is ſo from an ambitious temper, or out of a vain-glorious deſign; of a religious man, that his conſtant exerciſes of devotion proceed not from a conſcientious love and fear of God, or out of intention to pleaſe God and work out his Salvation, but from hypocriſie, from affectation to gain the favour and good opinion of men, from deſign to promote worldly intereſts; this is the way of Detraction: He doeth well (ſaith the Detractour) it cannot be denied; but for what reaſon doth he ſo? is it not plainly his intereſt to do ſo? doth he not mean to get applauſe, or preferment

thereby? *Doth Job serve God for nought?* so said the Father of detracting Spirits.

7. He derogateth from good actions by pretending to correct them, or to shew better that might have been done in their room: it is, saith he, done in some respect well or tolerably; but it might have been done better, with as small trouble and cost; he was overseen in chusing this way, or proceeding in this manner: Thus did *Judas* blame the good woman, who anointed our Lord's feet; *Why* (said he) *was not this Ointment sold, and given to the poor?* so did his covetous baseness prompt him to detract from that performance, of which our Saviour's goodness did pronounce, that it was a *good work*, which should perpetually *through the whole world* pass for *memorable*.

Joh. 12. 5.

Matth. 26. 10, 13.

8. A Detractour not regarding the general course and constant tenour of a man's Conversation, which is conspicuously and clearly good, will attaque some part of it, the goodness whereof is less discernable, or more subject to contest and blame; as if in a body admirably handsome, one overlooking that curious harmony, that delicate complection, those fine lineaments, and goodly features which running through the whole, do conspire to render it a lovely Spectacle, should pitch on an Eye, or a Nose to carp at; or as if in a Town, otherwhere begirt with impregnable defences, one should search for the weakest place, to form a battery against it.

9. In fine, the Detractour injecteth suggestions of every thing anywise plausible or possible, that can serve to diminish the worth of a person, or value of an action, which he would discountenance; he pryeth into every nook, he bolteth every circumstance, he improveth every pretence, he alledgeth any report or rumour, he useth all the tricks imaginable to that end. Such is the nature and way of Detraction; in enlarging upon which I am the more sparing, because the arts and methods of Detraction being in great part common with those of Slander and Censure, I have otherwhile in treating upon those Offences more fully declared them.

Now for dissuading from its practice, I shall propound to your consideration the causes whence it proceedeth, the irregularities and pravities which it involveth, the effects which it produceth; the which will appear so base and ugly, that whoever shall consider them, cannot I suppose but loath the Daughter of such Parents, the subject of such qualities, and the Mother of such Children.

The causes of detraction are

I. 1. Ill nature, and bad humour: As good nature and ingenuous disposition incline men to observe, like and commend what appeareth best in our Neighbour; so malignity of temper and heart prompteth to espy, and catch at the worst: one, as a Bee, gathereth Honey out of any Herb; the other, as a Spider, sucketh Poison out of the sweetest Flower.

Expedit vobis neminem videri bonum, quasi aliena virtus exprobatio vestrorum delictorum sit. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 19.

2. Pride, Ambition, and inordinate Self-love: the Detractour would engross praise, and derive all glory to himself; he would be the chief, the only excellent person; therefore he would justle another's worth out of the way, that it may not endanger standing in competition with his, or lessening it by a partnership; that it may not outshine his reputation, or dim it by the lustre thereof.

3. Envy: A Detractour liketh not to see another thrive, and flourish in the good esteem of men, therefore he would gladly blast his worth, and vertue; his *Eye* is *evil* and sore, therefore would he quench, or cloud the light that dazleth it.

4. Mali-

4. Malicious Revenge and Spite: his Neighbour's good practice condemneth his bad life; his Neighbour's worth diſparageth his unworthineſs; this he conceiveth highly prejudicial to him; hence in revenge he will labour to vilifie the worth and good works of his Neighbour.

5. Senſe of weakneſs, want of Courage, or deſpondency of his own Ability: He that in any kind deemeth himſelf able, or confideth in his own ſtrength and induſtry, will allow to others the commendation beſeeming their ability; for he thinketh himſelf in capacity to deſerve the ſame, and as he would not loſe the fruits of his own deſerts, ſo he taketh it for equitable, that another ſhould enjoy them; to deprive another of them, he ſeeth were in conſequence to prejudice his own capacity and hope: but he that feeleth himſelf deſtitute of worth, and deſpaireth to arrive to the credit of others, is thence tempted to diſparage and defame ſuch perſons: this courſe he taketh as the beſt allay of his contemptibleneſs, the only ſolace for his defects that he can hope for; being he cannot ariſe to another's pitch, he would bring down that other to his; he cannot directly get any praiſe, therefore he would indirectly find excuſe by ſhrouding his unworthineſs under the blame of others: Hence Detraction is a ſign of the weakeſt and baſeſt ſpirit; 'tis an impotent and groveling Serpent, that lurketh in the Hedge, waiting opportunity to bite the heel of any nobler Creature that paſſeth by.

Οἱ ἐυτελεῖς καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μὴ δυνάμενοι φαίνεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ ψέγειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν κρείττονας δείκνυσθαι βέλονται. Socr. *Hiſt. Eccl.* 6. 13.

6. Evil Conſcience: A man that is conſcious to himſelf of a ſolid worth and vertue of having honeſt intentions, of having performed good deeds, is ſatisfied with the fruits of inward comfort, and outward approbation, which they do yield; he therefore will ſcorn to ſeek the bettering himſelf by the diſcredit of others; he will not by ſo mean a practice adulterate that worth, in which he feeleth ſufficient complacence; he rather doth like that others ſhould enjoy their due commendation, as juſtifying his own claim thereto; he willingly payeth it, becauſe he may juſtly demand it; and becauſe with-holding it from another, may prejudice his own right thereto: But he that is ſenſible of no good qualities in himſelf, that is conſcious of no worthy actions that he hath done, to breed a ſatisfaction of mind, or build a reputation upon, would pleaſe himſelf in making others as little better than himſelf as he can, would ground a kind of credit upon the ruins and rubbiſh of another's fame. When he knoweth he cannot ſhine by his own Light, he would ſeem leſs obſcure by eclipſing the brightneſs of others, and ſhutting out the day from about him; conceiving that all things look alike in the dark, and that bad appeareth not bad where no good is near.

Remedium pœnæ ſuæ arbitrantur ſi nemo ſit ſanctus, ſi omnibus detrahatur, ſi turba ſit pereuntium, ſi multitudo peccantium, Hier. *ad* Aſellam. *Ep.* 99.

As alſo a good man liketh worth and virtue, becauſe they reſemble what he diſcerneth in himſelf; ſo evil men hate them, becauſe they do not find themſelves maſters of them; they are like the Fox, who ſaid, the Grapes were ſowr, becauſe he could not reach them; and that the Hare was dry meat, becauſe he could not catch her. A Detractour therefore is always a bad man, and wanteth thoſe good qualities which he would diſparage.

7. Bad ſelfiſh Deſign: Detraction is a common Engine, whereby naughty men ſtrive to compaſs their ends; when by fair means, by their own wit, induſtry, courage, worthy behaviour, they cannot promote their intereſts, they cannot drive on their ambitious or covetous projects, they cannot attain that preferment or that gain which they affect, then they betake themſelves to this crooked and foul way of ſupplanting, by detracting thoſe whom they conceit to ſtand in the way of their Deſigns. It was the firſt piece of wicked policy that ever was

practiſed in the world, the Devil by detracting from the goodneſs and veracity of God (miſrepreſenting his intentions, and miſconſtruing his commands) ſtrove to atchieve his miſchievous deſign of ſeducing our Fore-fathers; and in his footſteps his ſerpentine progeny (the race of malicious, envious, ambitious, covetous and crafty Politicians) do tread. It is obſerved to be a fault that uſually haunteth Courts, wherein there is competition for the favour of a Prince, and the conſequences thereof, (for dignity, power, wealth, repute;) to get which to themſelves, they ſtrive to diſpoſſeſs, or prevent others by this inſtrument of Detraction. It is alſo rife among Scholars, that is, among Competitours for wit, learning, induſtry, and the rewards of them, reputation or preferment. From ſuch principles and cauſes uſually doth this practice ſpring.

II. It doth involve theſe kinds of irregularity and pravity.

1. Injuſtice: A Detractour careth not how he dealeth with his Neighbour, what wrong he doeth him. Juſtice obligeth to render every man his due; *honour to whom honour is due*, and praiſe to him that deſerveth praiſe. There can be no greater injury done a man, than to ſpoil his beſt good, his vertue; than to rob him of the beſt reward of his pains and cares, which is a fair reputation; (I ſpeak of rewards which lie in the reach of men.) No man prizes any thing comparably to his honeſty and honour; who therefore by any means blurreth them, is moſt injurious. *Wo unto them---- who take the righteouſneſs of the righteous from him*, Iſa. 5. 23. Prov. 17. 15.

Injurious indeed he is not only to the vertuous perſon, but to Vertue it ſelf; for commendation is a debt we owe to it whereever it is found; which conduceth to its encouragement and advancement; and to wrong Goodneſs it ſelf, is the moſt heinous injuſtice.

2. Uncharitableneſs; It is evident that the Detractour doth not love his Neighbour; for Charity maketh the beſt of every thing: *Charity believeth every thing, hopeth every thing* to the advantage of its Object; Charity delighteth to ſee the beloved to proſper and flouriſh; and will therefore contribute its endeavour to the procuring it to do ſo: the Detractour therefore (who would defile the beſt, and diſplay the worſt in his Neighbour) can have no Charity; he indeed manifeſteth the greateſt hatred, ſeeing he ſtriveth to do the greateſt miſchief, to cauſe the greateſt vexation to his Neighbour, in bereaving him of his moſt pretious and dear enjoyments. 1 Cor. 13.

3. Impiety: He that loveth and reverenceth God, will acknowledge and approve his goodneſs, in beſtowing excellent Gifts and graces to his Brethren; when ſuch appear, he will be afraid to diſavow, or diſgrace them, that he may not rob God himſelf of the Glory thence due to his favour and mercy, or through his Neighbour's ſide wound the Divine Benignity: he will be ready to bleſs and praiſe God for all ſuch emanations of his goodneſs; as thoſe did in the Goſpel, who beholding our Saviour's miraculous works of grace, did *glorifie God, who had given ſuch Gifts unto men:* but the Detractour careth not for that; he feareth not to bereave God of the honour of diſpenſing good gifts, that his Brother may not have the honour of receiving them; he will rather deny God to be good, than allow a man to be ſo by his Grace and bleſſing; ſo is he no leſs a Detractour from God, than from his Neighbour.

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Hence of all offences, Detraction certainly muſt be moſt odious to God: He is the God of Truth, and therefore deteſteth Lying, of which Detraction ever (eſpecially in moral eſteem) hath a ſpice: He is the God of Juſtice, and therefore eſpecially doth abhor wronging the beſt perſons and actions; he is the God of Love, and therefore cannot but loath this capital violation of Charity; he is jealous of his Glory, and cannot therefore endure it to be abuſed by ſlurring his good Gifts and Graces; he cannot but hate that Offence, which approacheth to that moſt heinous and unpardonable ſin, that conſiſteth in defaming the excellent works performed by Divine power and goodneſs, aſcribing them to bad cauſes. Matth. 12.

4. Detraction involveth degenerous baſeneſs, meanneſs of ſpirit, and want of god manners. All men affect to ſeem generous, and will ſay, they ſcorn to be baſe; but Generoſity is in nothing more ſeen, than in a candid eſtimation of other mens vertues and good qualities; to this generoſity of Nature, generoſity of Education, generoſity of Principles and Judgment do all conſpiringly diſpoſe: 'Tis the nobleſt kind of courteſie, to tender and farther the reputation of others; to be liberal in beſtowing commendation on deſerving perſons; it obligeth men more than any other benefit can do, procuring them commonly real advantage, always chearing and ſatisfying their mind; for in nothing more do they pleaſe themſelves, than in reaping this fruit of their good intention, and honeſt induſtry, the approbation of worthy men; it is therefore a moſt gentile thing thus to oblige men. But on the other ſide, nothing more plainly argueth a degenerate and ignoble heart, ill-breeding and ill-formed manners, a ſorry mind and poor judgment, than to diſeſteem or diſparage worth and virtue in others: 'Tis the moſt ſavage rudeneſs, the moſt ſordid illiberality, the moſt ugly clowniſhneſs that can be; of all men therefore it moſt doth misbecome thoſe who pretend to be Gentlemen.

5. In conſequence to theſe things, Detraction includeth Folly; for every unjuſt, every uncharitable, every impious, every baſe perſon is (as ſuch) a Fool: none of thoſe qualities are conſiſtent with Wiſedom; but the folly of it will particularly appear (together with its pravity) by the bad and hurtful effects which it produceth, both in regard to others, and to him that practiſeth it; ſome of which are theſe:

III. 1. The practice thereof is a great diſcouragement, and obſtruction to the common practice of Goodneſs: for many ſeeing the beſt men thus diſparaged, and the beſt actions vilified, are diſheartned and deterr'd from practiſing vertue, eſpecially in a conſpicuous and eminent degree: Why, will many a man ſay, ſhall I be ſtrictly good, ſeeing Goodneſs is ſo liable to be miſuſed, ſeeing thereby I ſhall provoke the detracting Tongue, ſeeing my reward ſhall be to have a ſevere inquiſition paſs upon me, to have my life defac'd, and my name beſpattered? Had not I better be contented with a mediocrity and obſcurity of goodneſs, than by a glaring luſtre thereof to draw the envious eye, and kindle raging obloquy upon me? Thus men of a weaker ſpirit, or a baſhful temper (who are not ſtiff and reſolute in their way, who have not the heart or the face to bear up againſt rude aſſaults of their reputation) will be ſcared and daunted by Detraction; ſo as conſequently to be induced.

-----placare invidiam virtute relictâ. Hor.

And when thus the credit of Vertue is blaſted in its practiſers, many will

will be diverted from it; ſo will it grow out of requeſt, and the World will be corrupted by theſe agents of the *Evil One.*

It were indeed upon this conſideration, adviſable and juſt, not to ſeem ever to detract; even not then when we are well aſſured that by ſpeaking ill, we ſhall not really do it; if we ſhould diſcover any man to ſeem worthy, or to be ſo reputed, whom yet we diſcern (by ſtanding in a nearer light) not to be truly ſuch, having had opportunity to know his bad qualities, bad purpoſes or bad deeds; yet Wiſedom would commonly dictate, and Goodneſs diſpoſe not to mar his repute: If we ſhould obſerve (without danger of miſtake) any plauſible action to be performed out of bad inclinations, principles or deſigns; yet ordinarily in diſcretion and honeſty we ſhould let it paſs with ſuch commendation as its appearance may procure, rather than to ſlur it by venting our diſadvantageous apprehenſions about it: for it is no great harm that any man ſhould enjoy undeſerved commendation, or that a counterfeit worth ſhould find a diſſembled reſpect; it is but being over juſt, which if it be ever a fault, can hardly be ſo in this caſe, wherein we do not expend any coſt, or ſuffer any damage; but it may do miſchief to blemiſh an appearance of Vertue; it may be a wrong thereto to deface its very Image; the very diſcloſing hypocriſie doth inflict a wound on goodneſs, and expoſeth it to ſcandal; for bad men thence will be prone to infer, that all vertue proceedeth from the like bad principles: ſo the diſgrace caſt on that which is ſpurious, will redound to the prejudice of that which is moſt genuine: and if it be good to forbear detracting from that which is certainly falſe, much more is it ſo in regard to that which is poſſibly true; and far more ſtill is it ſo in reſpect to that which is clear and ſure.

2. Hence Detraction is very noxious and baneful to all Society; for all ſociety is maintained in welfare by encouragement of honeſty and induſtry; the which, when diſparagement is caſt upon them, will be in danger to languiſh and decay; whence a Detractour is the worſt member that can be of a Society; he is a very Moth, a very Canker therein.

3. Detraction worketh real damage and miſchief to our Neighbour; it bereaveth him of that goodly reputation which is the proper reward of Vertue, and a main ſupport to the practice of it; it often really obſtructeth and diſappointeth his undertakings, eſtranging thoſe from him, or ſetting them againſt him, who do credulouſly entertain it.

4. The Detractour abuſeth thoſe, into whoſe ears he inſtilleth his poiſonous ſuggeſtions, engaging them to partake in the injuries done to worth and vertue; cauſing them to entertain unjuſt and uncharitable conceits, to practice unſeemly and unworthy behaviour toward good men.

5. The Detractour produceth great inconveniences and miſchiefs to himſelf.

He raiſeth againſt himſelf fierce animoſity and wrath: for men that are conſcious to themſelves of their own honeſt meaning and blameleſs proceedings, cannot endure to be abuſed by unjuſt diſparagement; hence are they ſtirred to boil with paſſion, and to diſcharge revenge upon the Detractour.

He expoſeth himſelf to general hatred; all good men loath him as a baſe and miſchievous perſon, and a particular enemy of theirs, always ready to wrong them; every man is apt to ſay, He that doth thus abuſe another, will be ready to ſerve me in like manner if I chance to come

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in his way, vilifying the best thing I can do, even the worst of men will dislike him; for even such affect to do somewhat laudable or plausible, and would be glad to enjoy approbation for it; and cannot therefore brook those who lie in wait to rob them of the fruit of their good endeavours; so do all men worthily detest and shun the Detractour, as a common enemy to goodness first, and then unto men. Farther,

6. The Detractour yieldeth occasion to others, and a kind of right to return the same measure upon him. If he hath in him a shew of any thing laudable, men will not allow him any commendation from it: for why, conceive they, shall he receive that which he will not suffer others to enjoy? How can any man admit him to have any real worth or virtue in himself who doth not like it or treat it well in another? Hence, if a Detractour hath any good in him, he much injureth himself, depriving himself of all the respect belonging thereto.

7. Again, the Detractour (esteeming things according to moral possibility) will assuredly be defeated in his aims; his Detraction in the close will avail nothing, but to bring trouble and shame upon himself; for God hath a particular care over innocence and goodness, so as not to let them finally to suffer: the *good man's righteousness he will bring forth as the light, and his judgment as the noon day*: Wise men easily will discern the foul play, and will scorn it; good men ever will be ready to clear and vindicate the truth; Worth however clouded for a time, will break through all mists, and gloriously expand it self, to the confusion of its most sly opposers. Psal. 37. 6.

Such are the natural and obvious effects of this practie; the consideration whereof (together with the causes producing it, and the essential adjuncts which it doth involve) will, I should think, suffice to deter us from it.

I shall only adjoyn one consideration, which our Text suggesteth: *Speak not evil of one another, Brethren* saith the Apostle: *Brethren*; That Appellation doth imply a strong Argument enforcing the precept: Brethren, with especial tenderness of affection, should love one another, and delight in each others good; they should tender the interest and honour of each other as their own; they should therefore by all means cherish and countenance vertue in one another, as that which promoteth the common welfare, which adorneth and illustrateth the dignity of their Family. We should rejoice in the good qualities and worthy deeds of any Christian, as glorifying our common Father, as gracing our common Profession, as edifying the common Body, whereof we are Members; *Members we are one of another*, and as such should find complacence in the health and vigour of any part, from whence the whole doth receive benefit and comfort: for one Brother to repine at the welfare, to malign the prosperity, to decry the merit, to destroy the reputation of another, is very unnatural; for one Christian any-wise to wrong or prejudice another, is highly impious.

To conclude; It is our duty (which Equity, which Ingenuity, which Charity, which Piety do all concurrently oblige us to) when-ever we do see any good person, or worthy deed, to yield hearty esteem, to pay due respect, gladly to congratulate the person, and willingly to commend the work; rendring withal, thanks and praise for them to the *Donour of all good Gifts*: unto whom, for all the good things bestowed upon us, and upon all his Creatures, be for ever all glory and praise. *Amen.*

SER-

SERMON XX.

Againſt Raſh Cenſuring and Judging.

S. MATTH. 7. 1.

Judge not.

THESE Words (being part of our Saviour's moſt Divine Sermon upon the Mount) contain a very ſhort Precept, but of vaſt uſe and conſequence; the obſervance whereof would much conduce to the good of the World, and to the private quiet of each man; it interdicting a Practice, which commonly produceth very miſchievous and troubleſome Effects; a practice never rare among men, but now very rife; when with the general cauſes, which ever did and ever will in ſome meaſure diſpoſe Men thereto, ſome ſpecial ones do concur, that powerfully incline to it.

There are innate to men an unjuſt Pride, emboldning them to take upon them beyond what belongeth to them, or doth become them; an exceſſive Self-love, prompting them as to flatter themſelves in their own conceit, ſo to undervalue others; and from vilifying their Neighbours, to ſeek commendation to themſelves; an envious malignity, which ever luſteth to be pampered with finding or making faults; many corrupt Affections, ſpringing from fleſhly Nature, which draw or drive men to this Practice; ſo that in all Ages it hath been very common, and never any profeſſion hath been ſo much invaded, as that of the Judge.

But divers peculiar Cauſes have ſuch an influence upon our Age, as more ſtrongly to ſway men thereto: there is a wonderful affectation to ſeem hugely wiſe and witty; and how can we ſeem ſuch more, than in putting on the garb and countenance of Judges; ſcanning and paſſing Sentence upon all Perſons, and all things incident? there is an extreme niceneſs and delicacy of conceit, which maketh us apt to reliſh few things, and to diſtaſte any thing; there are diſſenſions in opinion, and addictedneſs to parties, which do tempt us, and ſeem to authorize us in condemning all that differ from us; there is a deep corruption of mind and manners, which engageth men in their own defence to cenſure others, diverting the blame from home, and ſhrowding their own under the covert of other mens faults; there are new principles of Morality and Policy become current with great vogue, which allow to do or ſay any thing ſubſervient to our Intereſts or Deſigns; which alſo do repreſent all men ſo bad, that (admitting them true) nothing hardly can be ſaid ill of any man beyond Truth and Juſtice.

Expedit vobis neminem videri bonum; quaſi aliena virtus exprobratio veſtrorum delictorum ſit. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 19.

Hence

Hence is the World become so extremely critical and censorious, that in many places the chief employment of men, and the main body of Conversation is, if we mark it, taken up in Judging: Every gossiping is, as it were, a Court of Justice; every seat becometh a Tribunal; at every table standeth a Bar, whereto all men are cited, whereat every man (as it happeneth) is arreigned and sentenced: No sublimity or sacredness of dignity, no integrity or innocence of life, no prudence or circumspection of demeanour can exempt any person from it: Not one escapeth being taxed under some scandalous name, or odious character, one or other. Not only the outward actions and visible practices of men are judged; but their retired sentiments are brought under trial, their inward dispositions have a verdict past on them, their final states are determined. Whole Bodies of men are thus judged at once, and nothing it is in one breath to damn whole Churches, at one push to throw down whole Nations into the bottomless Pit. All mankind in a lump is severely censured, as void of any real goodness or true vertue; so fatally depraved as not to be corrigible by any good discipline, not to be recoverable even by the grace of God: yea God himself is hardly spared, his Providence coming under the bold obloquy of those, who (as the Psalmist speaketh of some in his time, whose race doth yet survive) *speak loftily, and set their mouth against the Heavens.* Psal. 73. 8, 9.

Εἰς τὰ ἡμῶν ἄλλων πολυπραγμονεῖν καὶ καθαδικάζειν δαπανᾷ ἡμῖν ἅπας ὁ βίος· καὶ οὐδένα ἂν εὕροις ταχέως, οὐ βιωτικὸν ἄνδρα, οὐ μοναχὸν παύτης ἐλαττούμενον τῆς ἁμαρτίας, κἂν ποσαύτης ἀπειλῆς κειμένης αὐτῇ. Chrys. *ad Pop. T. 6. Orat. 42.*

This being too apparently the present state of things, and obvious practice of men, it were desirable, that in order to their being reclaimed, men commonly did well understand the nature of this practice with the heinous guilt, and consequently the deadly hazard they do incur thereby: at this purpose my discourse shall aim, wherein I shall endeavour both to describe the nature of the practice forbidden in my Text, and to declare the pravity, iniquity and folly of it.

Judge not. As to the word we may observe, that it being in it self according to its primitive sense of a middle and indifferent signification, is yet frequently in the Scripture used in the worst sense; so as to import those acts, or those effects of judgment, which pass to the disadvantage of the persons subjected thereto; for condemnation, and for infliction of punishment: And this sense here surely the word doth principally respect, yet not so precisely as to exclude somewhat contained in the larger sense: We are so prohibited the condemning and punishing our Neighbour in his good name, that withal some acts antecedent, or concomitant to those, are glanced at in the prohibition: undue application thereto, unjust proceeding therein are also signified unlawful; for the meaning of the word, and the reason of the case may be be so far extended.

But for the fuller and clearer understanding of the matter, we must observe, that there are divers sorts of Judging, or acts resembling Judgment, which do not belong to this precept; which it is requisite to distinguish from this Judging prohibited.

1. That exercising publick Judgment, or administring Justice is not here prohibited, I need not to insist, that is necessary; Humane Society could not subsist, Right could not be maintained, nor Peace preserved without it; God thereby governeth the World, earthly Judges being his Instruments and Substitutes; such Judgment is not so much the act of men, as of God himself, by whose Authority, in whose Name, for whose Service it is ministred. As *Moses* told the Judges in his time, *You*

Deut. 1. 17. *shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the Judgment is God's.* And in numberless places of Scripture this Judgment is allowed and authorized; it therefore is not touched here.

2. That Trial and Censure (although out of Court, and without formal process) which any kind of Superiours do exercise upon their Inferiours, committed to their inspection and care; such as of Parents over Children, Masters over Servants, Pastors over their Flock, any Governours over their Charge, their admonitions, reprehensions and corrections are to be excepted hence, as being in themselves needful and warranted, yea enjoyned by God.

3. Neither are fraternal correption or friendly reproof (proceeding out of charitable design, upon clear ground, in fit season, within reasonable compass) concerned in this prohibition; this being a wholesome practice, and a duty incumbent on us: *Thou shalt* (saith the Law) *not hate thy Brother in thine heart; thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy Neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.*

Levit. 19. 17. 1 Thess. 5. 14.

4. All observing and reflecting upon our Neighbours actions, all framing an opinion about them, and expressing our minds concerning them are not forbidden. For we are not bound perpetually to shut our eyes, or go about hood-winked; nor to stop our ears and make our selves deaf: And how can we forbear to think according to plain evidence? how can we resist the impressions of sense upon our minds? how can we contest notorious experience? How also, barring such apprehensions of obvious and apparent things, could we bear testimony concerning them? how could we signifie our approbation or dislike of them? how could we for his amendment admonish or reprove our Neighbour, as in some cases we are obliged to do?

5. We are not hence obliged to think so well of all men, as without competent knowledge always to rely upon their pretences, or to intrust our interests in their hands; for common experience acquainteth us that we may be deceived in trusting men, prudence biddeth us in matters of importance not to confide in uncertainties; wherefore we shall not be culpable for being wary in such cases: this indeed is not a positive Judgment, but only a waving to declare in favour, when sufficient ground of doing so doth not appear; it is only a reasonable suspecting the possibility of miscarriage in some persons, not a downright asserting ill concerning any one man; wherefore to do it as it suiteth discretion, so it doth not thwart Justice or Charity; and cannot therefore be prohibited here.

6. We are also not hence obliged, in contradiction to plain sense, to judge well of men; accounting him for a Saint, or a good man, whom we see living disorderly, or committing scandalous offences, plainly repugnant to the rules of Piety, Justice or Sobriety.

In fine, there are some special cases and circumstances wherein good men excusably may in severe terms declare their resentment of manifest wickedness, especially such as is prejudicial to God's honour, and publick good. Of this there are divers instances, which yet hardly can be reduced to common rules, or proposed for general example; the matter being tickliſh, and men being apt to pervert any liberty or pretence of this kind, by indulging to their own bad humours and passions.

These sorts of allowable Judgments being excepted, it is then private, affected, needless, groundless, rash and harsh censuring the persons or actions of our brethren; such as doth resemble not the acting of a lawful Supe-

Superiour, of a needful Witneſs, of a faithful Friend, but of a Judge, acting without competent right, upon no good grounds, or in undue manner, which is here interdicted: the word *Judging* doth well imply the nature of this fault, the manner of our proceeding therein, the grounds of its unlawfulneſs; neither perhaps can we better underſtand our duty in this matter, than by expending what are the Properties and Obligations of a Judge, and comparing our practice thereto; for thence it may plainly appear how unqualified we are to bear this Office, and how unduly we execute it.

1. No Judge ſhould intrude himſelf into the Office, or aſſume a judicial Power without competent Authority; that is, by delegation from ſuperiour Powers, or by voluntary reference of the Parties concerned. This condition we fail in, when-ever without warrant from God, or ſpecial reaſon exacting it from us, we do pry into, ſcan and tax the actions of our Neighbour. When, I ſay, we are pragmatically inquiſitive into the purpoſes and proceedings of our Superiours, of our Equals, of thoſe who are not ſubject to our charge and care, when we narrowly examine them: When we peremptorily blame them, then do we unduly exalt our ſelves above them, and exerciſe an unwarrantable juriſdiction over them. What Senſe doth offer, we may receive in; what Judgment Reaſon doth extort, we may follow; what teſtimony publick Benefit requireth we may yield; what expreſſion Charity doth call for toward our Neighbour's edification, we may ſeaſonably vent: but if we proceed further in this way, the Party concerned may appeal from us as incompetent and unlawful Judges of his actions or his ſtate; we are arrogant and injurious in preſuming to exerciſe that Office. God is the Maſter and Judge of men, and without Authority from him, we muſt not preſume to judge his Servants and Subjects: So we are taught by S. *Paul*; *Who* (ſaith he) *art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant? to his own maſter he ſtandeth or falleth:* and S. *James* in like manner, upon the ſame ground, expoſtulateth with the Cenſurer; *There is* (ſaith he) *one Law-giver, who is able to ſave, or to deſtroy; Who art thou that judgeſt another?* Our Lord himſelf for this reaſon declined intermedling in the affairs of men; *Who* (ſaid he) *made me a judge or divider over you?* And ſhall we conſtitute our ſelves in the Office, ſhall we ſeat our ſelves on the Tribunal, without any Commiſſion from God, or call from men? How many Judges, if this *proviſo* were obſerved, would have their *Quietus*? how many Cenſurers would be voided hence?

Quid in poteſtatem alienam irruis? quid temerarius Dei Tribunal aſcendis? Opt. *lib.* 2.

1 Pet. 4. 15. 1 Theſſ. 4. 11. Prov. 27. 16. 1 Tim. 5. 13.

Rom. 14. 4.

Jam. 4. 11.

Luk. 12. 14.

2. A Judge ſhould be free from all Prejudices, and all partial Affections; eſpecially from thoſe which are diſadvantageous to the Party in danger to ſuffer; ſuch as tempt or incline to condemn him; from ill-opinion and ill-will, from anger, envy, revengefulneſs, contempt, and the like: for he that is poſſeſſed with theſe, is no-wiſe qualified to be a Judge; his eyes are blinded, or diſtorted, or infected with bad tinctures, ſo that he cannot diſcern what is right, or that he ſeeth things repreſented in the wrong place, and under falſe colours: His Mind is diſcompoſed and diſturbed, ſo that he cannot calmly and ſteddily apprehend or conſider the juſt ſtate of the Caſe; his Will is biaſſed, and ſtrongly propendeth one way, ſo that he cannot proceed uprightly in a ſtreight and even courſe: Being not indifferently affected, but concerned on one ſide, he is become a Party, or an Adverſary, and thence unfit to be a Judge; He hath determined the Cauſe with himſelf beforehand, ſo that no place is left to farther diſcuſſion or defence; wherefore before ſuch a Judge the beſt Cauſe will fall, the cleareſt Innocence

Levit. 19. 15.

Jam. 2. 1. Matt. 22. 16. 1 Tim. 5. 21.

ſhall not preſerve from condemnation. He therefore that will undertake this Office, muſt firſt deveſt himſelf of all Prejudices, muſt rid himſelf of all Paſſions, muſt purifie himſelf from all corrupt Inclinations, taking care not to come with a condemning mind, or a luſt to puniſh the obnoxious party; otherwiſe a juſt exception lieth againſt him, and reaſonably his Juriſdiction may be declined.

If this Rule were put in practice, there would be little cenſuring; for few come to it with a free and pure mind; few blame their Neighbours without ſome pre-occupation of Judgment, or ſome diſaffection toward them.

3. A Judge ſhould never proceed in Judgment, without careful exa-
Deut. 1. 16. mination of the Cauſe, ſo as well to underſtand it. Even thoſe, who out of indiſpenſible duty, or by a juſt power, may call others to accompt, are yet obliged to be wary, and never to paſs Sentence without due cognizance of the Cauſe; otherwiſe they will judge blindly and raſhly; they will either decide wrongly, or ſo truly, that doing it muſt be imputed not to their Vertue, but to their Fortune; often they will be miſtaken, and 'tis luck that they are not ſo always; and what plainer Iniquity can there be, than that the Reputation or real Intereſt of any man ſhould be put to the arbitrement of Chance; that he ſhould be defamed, or damnified, not for a certain Fault, but from an unhappy Lot? As things viewed at a diſtance appear much different in bigneſs, ſhape and colour, from what they are in nature and reality; ſo if we do not look nearly and narrowly, we ſhall greatly miſapprehend the nature, the degrees, the right characters of things, and of perſons; then be our pretence to judge never ſo fair, yet our proceeding is unjuſt; then if we do unduly invade the place, it will be a great aggravation of our miſdemeanour: If of our own head and pleaſure, we will conſtitute our ſelves Judges, yet at leaſt we ſhould act the Judge's part, in patiently attending to, and heedfully ſifting the Cauſe: If we have not a ſtomach to hear, if we will not afford the care to mind what may be alledged in favour of the Party concerned; if we cannot, or will not ſcan every point and circumſtance which may ſerve to acquit him, or to excuſe and extenuate his guilt, why do we undertake to be his Judges? Why do we engage our ſelves into the Commiſſion of ſo pal-
Prov. 18. 13. pable injuſtice? yea, of ſo diſgraceful folly: for, *He that anſwereth a matter before he heareth it, it is* (ſaith the Wiſe-man) *a folly, and ſhame unto him.* This caution excludeth raſh Judgment, from which if men would abſtain, there would be little cenſuring: for nothing is more ordinary, than for men to do like thoſe of whom S. *Jude* ſaith,
Jude. 10. Ὅσα ἐκ οἴδασι βλασφημοῦσι, *they rail at what they know not;* they cenſure perſons with whom they are not throughly acquainted, they condemn actions whereof they do not clearly ken the reaſons; they little weigh the cauſes and circumſtances which urge or force men to do things; they ſtand at great diſtance, and yet with great aſſurance and peremptorineſs determine how things are, as if they did ſee through them, and knew them moſt exactly.

4. A Judge ſhould never pronounce final Sentence, but *ex allegatis & probatis*, upon good grounds, after certain proof, and upon full conviction. Not any ſlight conjecture, or thin ſurmiſe; any idle report, or weak pretence is ſufficient to ground a Condemnation upon: the Caſe ſhould be irrefragably clear and ſure before we determine on the

the worſe ſide: *Judge not* (ſaith our Lord) *according to the appearance, but Judge righteous Judgment.* The *Jews*, ſeeing our Lord cure an infirm perſon upon the Sabbath day, preſently upon that ſemblance condemned him of violating the Law; not conſidering either the ſenſe of the Law, or the nature of his performance; and this he termeth unrighteous Judgment. Every Accuſation ſhould be deemed null, until both as to matter of fact, and in point of right, it be firmly proved true; it ſufficeth not to preſume it may be ſo; to ſay, It ſeemeth thus, doth not ſound like the voice of a Judge; otherwiſe ſeeing there never is wanting ſome colour of accuſation, every Action being liable to ſome ſuſpicion, or ſiniſter conſtruction, no Innocence could be ſecure, no Perſon could eſcape condemnation; the Reputation and Intereſt of all men living would continually ſtand expoſed to inevitable danger. It is a Rule of equity and humanity, built upon plain reaſon, that rather a nocent perſon ſhould be permitted to eſcape, than an innocent ſhould be conſtrained to ſuffer: for the impunity of the one is but an inconvenience, the ſuffering of the other is wrong; the puniſhment of the guilty, yieldeth only a remote probable benefit; the affliction of the blameleſs, involveth a near certain miſchief: wherefore it is more prudent and more righteous to abſolve a man, of whoſe guilt there are probable arguments, than to condemn any man upon bare ſuſpicions. And remarkable it is how God in the Law did preſcribe the manner of Trial and Judgment, even in the higheſt Caſe, and moſt nearly touching himſelf, that of *Idolatry*; *If* (ſaith the Law, *Deut.* 17. 4.) *it be told thee, and thou haſt heard of it, and enquired diligently, and behold it be true, and the thing certain, that ſuch an abomination is wrought in Iſrael; then ſhalt thou bring forth that man, or that woman, and ſhalt ſtone them*: See what great caution is preſcribed, what pregnant evidence is required in ſuch caſes; it is not enough that it be reported, or come to our ear; diligent inquiry muſt be made, it muſt be found true, it muſt appear certain, before we may proceed to condemn, or execute; it is indeed not fair Judgment, but meer calumny, to condemn a man, before he doth by ſufficient proof appear guilty.

John 7. 24. —— μὴ πρότερον τὰς ψήφους ἐκφέρειν, πρὶν ἂν ἐναργεῖς ἀποδείξεις γένωνται. Chryſ. *in* Gen. *Hom.* 42.

Quod probari non poteſt, mihi infectum eſt. Bern.

De occultis cordis alieni temerè judicare iniquum eſt, & cùm cujus non videntur opera niſi bona, peccatum eſt ex ſuſpicione reprehendere. Joh. 3. 1. *Ep.* 1.

If this Rule were regarded, how many Cenſures would be prevented? For do not men catch at any ſhadow of a fault? are they not ready upon the leaſt preſumption to condemn their Neighbour? Doth not any, even the weakeſt and vaineſt teſtimony, any wandring hear-ſay, or vulgar rumour ſerve to ground the moſt heavy Sentences?

5. From hence is plainly conſequent, that there are divers Cauſes wholly exempted from our Judgment, and which in no caſe we muſt pretend to meddle with; ſuch as are the ſecret thoughts, affections and purpoſes of men, not expreſſed by plain words, nor declared by overt acts; for a capacity of judging, doth ever ſuppoſe a power of cognizance; and it being impoſſible for us to reach the knowledge of thoſe things, we cannot therefore pretend to judge of them. As it is the property of God to ſearch the Hearts, and try the Reins, ſo it is his Prerogative to judge concerning the ſecret motions in them; the which we attempting to do, no leſs vainly and fooliſhly, than preſumptuouſly and profanely do encroach upon.

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This Point also being regarded, would prevent innumerable rash Judgments; for men commonly do no less dive into the thoughts, and reprehend the inward dispositions and designs of their Neighbour, than they do his most apparent and avowed actions; 'tis almost as ordinary to blame men for the invisible workings of their mind, as for their most visible deportment in conversation.

6. Hence also it is not commonly allowable to judge concerning the state (either present or final) of our Neighbour in regard to God; so as to take him for a wicked man, or to denounce Reprobation upon him: for the state of men is not so much determined by single actions, as by a body of practice, or by a long Course and tenour of life, compounded and complicated of actions in number and kind unconceivably various, it dependeth not only upon external visible Behaviour, but upon the practice of close Retirements, and occult motions of Soul; upon the results of natural Temper, upon the influence of fortuitous Circumstances; upon many things indiscernible, inscrutable and unaccomptable to us; the which God alone can perceive and estimate throughly: *God seeth not* (as he did himself tell *Samuel*) *as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart: He searcheth our hearts, and understandeth our thoughts afar off; He compasseth our path, and is acquainted with all our ways: He weigheth our spirits; he knoweth our frame; he numbreth our steps;* he scanneth our designs, and poiseth all our circumstances exactly; he doth penetrate and consider many things transcending our reach, upon which the true worth of persons and real merit of actions do depend; he therefore only can well judge of mens state. As a specious outside doth often cover inward hallowness and foulness, so under an unpromising appearance much solidity and sincerity of goodness may lodge; a dirty ground doth often contain good seeds within it; our judgment therefore in such cases is likely (at least in degree) to be fallacious and unjust; and therefore it is fit to supersede it, according to the advice and discourse of S. *Paul*; *He that judgeth me is the Lord; Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come; who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the heart; and then shall every man have praise* (that is, a right estimate of his person and deeds) *from God.*

Πολλὰ δεῖ ϛραφῆναι, καὶ παθεῖν, πρὶν ἄλλου καταγνῶναι δυσσέβειαν. Greg. Naz. Or. 26.

Psal. 139. 6.

1 Sam. 16. 7. Isa. 11. 3.

Ps. 139. 2, 3.

Prov. 16. 2. 1 Sam. 2, 3. Psal. 103. 14. Job 14. 16.

1 Cor. 4. 5.

If this were duly considered, many hard thoughts, and many harsh words would be spared; men would not be so apt to damn those, whom they have no skill to try.

7. Farther; A Judge should not undertake to proceed against any man, without warning and citing him to appear, or without affording him competent liberty and opportunity to defend and justifie himself. Judgment should not be administer'd clancularly, in dark corners, but in open Court; not suspiciously, in a muttering or whispering way; but frankly, with a clear and audible voice; not upon surprize, but with allowance of leisure and advice, that the party may be able to apprehend his case, and manage his plea, for his best defence: for it may justly be presumed, that as he is most concerned, so he is best acquainted with his own proceedings, and may alledge reasons for them, which no man can so well perceive as himself; it is therefore fit that he should be heard before he is condemned, that he may not suffer wrong; at least that he may be convinced that he doth not, and that our proceding may be cleared from misprision; that also the world may be satisfied of Justice being done; and that likewise false accusers may be liable

to

to due shame and chastisement. The manner of proceeding used by the *Romans*, and reported by *Festus* in S. *Paul's* case, was full of reason and equity: *It is not* (said that Governour) *the manner of the* Romans *to deliver a man to die, before that he, which is accused, have the Accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself, concerning the Crime laid against him:* Otherwise indeed any Innocence may easily be oppressed irrecoverably, without any defence, and consequently without any means of evasion or redress. We should never yield both ears to the Accuser, but reserve one for the Accused. The end of Justice, we may consider, is not to condemn nor to work mischief to any one, but rather, so far as may be, to acquit and prevent evil to all; at least it aimeth to clear the Truth, and state the case indifferently; wherefore 'tis just, that all advantage that well can be, should be afforded to the obnoxious party for his justification and deliverance; at least that he be not denied equal advantage with his Prosecutours; Humanity would allow him some favour; the most rigorous Justice cannot refuse him leave to contest his Cause upon equal terms: wherefore 'tis fit that he should be acquainted with his Case, that competent time and means should be afforded him to prepare for his Defence, that his Plea should receive, if not a favourable, yet a free audience: the contrary practice is indeed rather backbiting, whispering, supplanting, or sychophantry, than fair and lawful judging.

Acts 25. 16.

Χρὴ τοὺς ἐννόμως δικάζοντας τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ θατέραν τῶν ἀκοῶν ἀκεραίαν φυλάξαι, &c. Theod. *Ep* 91.

God himself (as some of the Fathers observe) hath shewed us an example of this equity, descendam igitur & videbo, &c. *Gen.* 18. 21.

Καίτοι σαφῶς ἤδει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων τὴν πονηρίαν. Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔφη καταβὰς ὄψομαι, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς ἀναμένειν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πεῖραν. Theod. *Ep.* 119. P. Pelagius *ad* Eliam.

The observation of this rule would also cut off many Censures; for seldom it is that our Censurers do charge men to their faces, but rather take all possible care, that what they say may never come to the ears of those whom they accuse; they fear nothing more than being confronted, and detected; they decline the shame and the requital due to their sycophantick practice; which is a manifest argument of their foul dealing; and they no less in reality do thence condemn themselves, than they would seem to condemn others.

8. Moreover, a Judge is obliged to conform all his determinations to the settled rules of Judgment, so as never to condemn any man for acting that which is enjoyned, or approved, or permitted by them; he must not pronounce according to his private fancy, or particular affection, but according to the standing Laws; which as they are the only certain rules of moral action, the only grounds of obligation, the only standards of guilt and innocence, so in reason they should be the sole measures of Judging; he that proceedeth otherwise, is an arbitrary and a slippery Judge; he encroacheth upon the right and liberty of those with whom he meddleth, pronouncing them guilty, whom God and reason do proclaim blameless. This is that which S. *Paul* doth reprove in the 14*th* to the *Romans*, and other-where; the case was this: some were of opinion, that abstaining from some kinds of meat, and observing some festival times, were matters of duty required by God; others thought it free to eat any thing, and to use any times alike: these, according to such their private opinions, did censure the practices of each other; one party condemned the other as transgressing Duty, the other contemned them as weak in Judgment; but the Apostle reproveth both as irregular in their behaviour, in taxing one another for matters which on both hands were indifferent; the Divine Law having clearly neither enjoined those observances, nor prohibited them; so that each

Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. 8. Col. 2. 16.

each man had a liberty to do, or to abſtain as he thought good, or moſt agreeable to his duty, and conducible to his Salvation: So is it culpable in us to blame any man for doing that which is not repugnant to God's expreſs command, or to the plain dictates of reaſon.

The obſerving this condition would ſmother many Cenſures: For do we not commonly reprehend our Neighbours for practices wholly blameleſs, perhaps commendable? Do we not ſometimes grievouſly reproach them for not complying with our deſires, for not ſerving our intereſts, for not jumping with our humours, for not dancing after our pipe; for diſſenting from us in any conceit, although dubious or falſe; for diſcoſting from our practice, although bad or inconvenient? Say we not ordinarily, he is moroſe, peeviſh, ſingular, rude, becauſe he would not *run with us into the ſame exceſs of riot*; he is weak, nice, ſuperſtitious, becauſe he conſtantly and ſtrictly adhereth to his duty; he is negligent, looſe, profane, becauſe he uſeth his liberty in ſome matters indifferent? Bar ſuch matters of obloquy, into how narrow a compaſs would it be reſtrained?

9. Hence farther it is to be ſuppoſed, that a Judge ſhould be a perſon of good knowledge and ability; well verſed and skilful in the Laws concerning matters under debate; endued with good meaſure of reaſon, enabling him as to ſift and canvas matters of Fact, ſo to compare them acurately with the rules of right: for nothing is more abſurd than an ignorant and unskilful Judge. Men therefore of weak capacity, of mean education, of ſmall experience, are qualified to judge in few caſes, moſt things being placed above their reach; ſuch never ſhould preſume to cenſure actions, the worth or moral quality whereof, depend upon the ſtating and reſolution of abſtruſe, intricate or ſubtile queſtions: It is not therefore for Mechanicks or Ruſticks to judge about difficulties of Science, about Controverſies in Religion, about Myſteries of Policy, or Reaſons of State; or to cenſure thoſe who deal in them; in ſo doing they hugely treſpaſs beyond their Calling and Sphere; they do ſtrangely misbecome the Bench, and will very untowardly misbehave themſelves thereon; the deciſion of ſuch matters is to be reſerved to thoſe, who by ſtudy and experience have attained peculiar faculties to do it reſpectively.

Ἕκαστος κείνων καλῶς ἃ γινώσκει, καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς κρίτης. Ariſt. *Eth. l.* 3.

Obſerving this point, would draw many down from their uſurped Seats of Judicature, and ſtop numberleſs vain ſentences; we ſhould have very few Judges left, if all men would be ſo modeſt and ſo wiſe, as not to meddle beyond their skill and ability.

10. Again: It is proper for a Judge not to make himſelf an Accuſer; not to ſeek for miſdemeanours, not to draw more cauſes under his cognizance than are in courſe preſented before him: He ſhould rather judge as out of conſtraint, than of choice; rather as ſorry to find a neceſſity, than glad to ſnatch an occaſion of condemning Offenders. So ſhould we rather decline, than ſeek the office of cenſuring our Brethren, rather conniving at, and concealing their faults, than being forward to expoſe them; abſolute reaſon only ſhould induce, or indiſpenſable neceſſity force us thereto.

Sine dubio in omnibus ſtatim accuſationibus hoc agendum eſt, nè ad eas libenter deſcendiſſe videamur Quint. 11. 1.

This alſo greatly would diminiſh the Trade of Cenſuring; for if we ſhould never cenſure without great reaſon or neceſſity, how ſeldom ſhould we do it? Do we not rather affect to do it cauſleſly and needleſly? do we not eagerly ſearch after, and greedily embrace all occaſions to do it? Is it not a pleaſant entertainment to us, to be carping and cavilling at any body we meet, at any thing we ſee done? Farther,

11. He

11. He that pretendeth to judge others should himself be innocent; under no Indictment, and not liable to condemnation: Is it not very improper for a Criminal, for one who is not only in Truth and in his own Conscience guilty, but who standeth actually convicted of heinous Offences, to sit upon the Bench, determining about the Deeds and the States of others? It is the case of us all, we are all notoriously guilty of heinous crimes before God, we all do lie under the Sentence of his Law; we do all stand in need of pardon from our Judge, his mercy is our only hope and refuge; and shall we then pretend to be Judges, or be passing Sentence on our Brethren? If only those, who are free and guiltless should judge, who could undertake it? there would surely be no more than there appeared then, when in the case of the woman taken in Adultery, our Lord propounded the like condition; Ὁ ἀναμάρτητος ὑμῶν, *He that is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone at her:* upon which Proposition the sequel was; *and they which heard it, being convicted by their own conscience, went out one by one, beginning at the eldest, even to the last; and Jesus was left alone and the woman standing in the midst*; so infallibly should no man be allowed to judge, who were not himself void of like guilt, would every man escape censure.

Cum ipse sis reus, in alterum audes ferre sententiam? Opt. 2.

Psal. 143. 2.

Joh. 8. 7, 9.

12. Lastly: It is the property of a good Judge to proceed with great moderation, equity, candour and mildness; as a general Friend, a Friend to Justice, to the Publick, to Mankind, to the Party impeached: As a Friend to Justice, he should be careful that the Defendant receive no wrong in his Credit, or interest; as a lover of the Publick, he should wish that no Offences or Scandals be found; out of humanity he should desire, that no man may incur the blemish of guilt, or pain of suffering; he should tender the parties case as compassionable, and desire that he may be delivered from the evil threatning him; this should render him willing to acquit and free the party, apt to apprehend and interpret all things favourably, ready to excuse and mollifie the business what he can; far from picking faults out of obscure surmises, or slender pretences, from aggravating the miscarriages that are detected, from stretching the blame farther than it will reach of it self, or making the case worse than it needs must be, from pronouncing a harsh or heavy sentence thereon. He should always be of Counsel to the Defendant, pleading his Cause so far as truth and equity will permit; putting himself in his case, and thence no-wise dealing with him more rigorously, than he, according to impartial judgment, should in the like case deem it equal that himself should be dealt with: in fine, however the matter in the result appear to stand, he should avoid rigour and extremity, he should exercise clemency and mercy.

If this course were observed, innumerable Causes, which now are severely judged, would never be mentioned, or come under trial, but would presently be cast out; many would soon, after small discussion, be voided; few would pass that extremity of censure, which now by the cruel asperity of men, they are forced to undergo: For do we not accuse men for things that are no faults; do we not exaggerate the guilt of petty faults; do we not insult over great miscarriages with too unmerciful severity? as if they were incorrigible and unpardonable.

Seeing then few of us, according to those reasonable qualifications and conditions, are capable of being Judges; seeing if those equal rules were observed, most Censures would be discarded; seeing hard it is for any man either warrantably to undertake, or uprightly to discharge this

Office; great reaſon there is for this precept, moſt fit it is that we ſhould be forbidden to judge.

So much for the part explicative and directive, now for the perſuaſive, and for inducing us to eſchew this practice, let us briefly declare the pravity and vanity of it; the performing which, will, I ſuppoſe be ſufficient to diſſwade and deterr us from it. Be pleaſed only firſt to note that ſome Conſiderations which we ſhall propound, will be applicable to ſome kind of bad cenſure, ſome to another, according to the ſeveral defects and incapacities we have to judge lawfully, upon the grounds already touched.

1. Cenſuring is an impious practice in regard to God.

By taking upon our ſelves to judge unduly, without authority, or beyond it, we do invade God's Office, ſetting up our ſelves as Judges in his room; we uſurp his right, exerciſing juriſdiction over his Subjects, without order and licence from him: 'tis S. *Paul*'s argument, *Who art thou that judgeſt another's ſervant?* that is, how intollerably bold and arrogant, how ſacrilegiouſly injurious and profane art thou, to climb up into God's Tribunal, and thence to pronounce doom upon his Subjects?

Rom. 14. 4.

By raſh judgment in matters not ſubject to our cognizance, (as when we pronounce concerning the ſecret thoughts and intentions of men) we proudly and perverſly do arrogate to our ſelves the incommunicable perfections of God, who alone can know ſuch things, and determine rightly in ſuch caſes; who therefore hath reſerved them to himſelf, commanding us *to judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come.*

1 Cor. 4. 5.

By paſſing Sentence about the State of our Neighbour, we do anticipate God's Judgment, and by prejudging ſtrive to fruſtrate it. We take upon us to *purge his Floor*, to ſever the Chaff from the Corn, and the Tares from the Wheat, to diſcriminate the Goats from the Sheep; which to perform, will be the work of God's infinite Wiſdom and Juſtice at *the great day.*

Matt. 3. 12, 13. & 25. 32.

Quantus arrogantiæ tumor eſt, quanta humilitatis ac lenitatis oblivio, arrogantiæ ſuæ quanta jactatio, at quis aut facere ſe poſſe credat, quod nec Apoſtolis conceſſit Dominus, ut zizania à frumento putet ſe poſſe diſcernere, aut quaſi ipſi paleam auferre, & aream purgare conceſſum ſit, paleas conetur à tritico ſeparare? Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

By cenſuring our Brethren cauſleſly, for not complying with our conceits, humours or practices, we lay hold upon, and appropriate to our ſelves God's Legiſlative Power; we ſubject his law to our fancy and pleaſure; we in effect condemn his law of error and imperfection; we do at leaſt make our ſelves ſharers with him in the enacting Laws, and diſpenſing Juſtice: *He* (ſaith S. *James*) *that ſpeaketh againſt his Brother, and judgeth his Brother, ſpeaketh againſt the Law, and judgeth the Law;* that is, he opprobriouſly doth imply the Law to be defective, until he doth compleat or correct it; making it a guilt not to ſatisfie his will or conceit, beſide the plain intent of the Law; the diſpenſation of Juſtice is not ſufficient, unleſs he partake therein, taxing whom and why he pleaſeth; God without him is not a perfect Law-giver, or Judge.

Jam. 4. 11.

We are alſo very ingrateful in not being favourable towards our Brethren in Judgment; when as God is in his Judgment ſo benign, patient and merciful toward us, who *is* not *extreme to mark what we do amiſs*; is not forward to ſeek or find faults, but rather *waiteth to be gracious*, hideth *his face from our ſins*, and *paſſeth by our tranſgreſſions*; doth not aggravate our offences, but rather doth excuſe them, *remembring that we are fleſh*; is not glad of occaſion to puniſh, but *delighteth in mercy,*

Pſal. 130. 3. Iſa. 30. 18. Pſal. 51. 9. Mich. 7. 18. Pſal. 78. 39. & 103. 14. Mich. 7. 18.

mercy, and *doth not afflict willingly, or grieve the children of men*; is not ſevere, but *puniſheth us leſs than our iniquities deſerve*, and *in his wrath remembreth mercy*. And are we not impious if we do ſo ill requite him, and ſo little reſemble him, in being rigorous and harſh toward our Brethren, when they offend, or ſeem to do ſo? Lam. 3. 33. Ezr. 9. 13. Hab. 3. 2.

In fine, Cenſuring is impious, as involving the violation of thoſe great Commandments, of exerciſing (in all our demeanour and dealing) humility, meekneſs, pity and mercy toward our Brethren; of purſuing and promoting peace among them.

2. Cenſuring, in reſpect to our Neighbour, is an unjuſt practice. It is unjuſt to meddle in affairs with which we have nothing to do; to draw thoſe perſons under our Juriſdiction who are not ſubject to it, but are liable to render their accompt at another Bar; to puniſh thoſe in their reputation or intereſt, over whom we have no juſt authority, *Who have their own maſter, to whom they muſt ſtand or fall.*

'Tis moſt unjuſt to judg any man without competent means of knowing, or skill to determine his Caſe; to condemn him without diligent Trial, without certain proof, without full conviction of his fault; to puniſh him without juſt cauſe, or beyond due meaſure.

'Tis very unjuſt to uſurp an intereſt in the Goods which are to our Neighbour moſt proper and dear, his credit and concernments depend thereon, diſpoſing of them as we pleaſe, to his diſadvantage and prejudice.

'Tis alſo very unjuſt, when as we do need the candid Judgment the forbearance and pardon of others for many things faulty and offenſive that we commit, to refuſe the like to others.

——æquum eſt Peccatis veniam poſcentem reddere rurſus. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 3.
Det ille veniam facilè, cui veniâ eſt opus. Sen. *Tr.*

3. Cenſuring is alſo a very uncharitable practice, and ſo contrary to the principal duty of our Religion; it is ſo eminently in all caſes wherein it is unjuſt, (for Charity doth virtually contain Juſtice, and tranſcendeth it) it is ſo peculiarly when-ever it is harſh or rigorous, when it is affected, when it is needleſs or unprofitable; for Charity diſpoſeth us to be gentle, meek, patient and merciful in all our dealings; it engageth us to hide and ſmother, to diminiſh and excuſe, to paſs by and pardon Offences: *Charity ſeeketh no evil*, it *covereth all things*, it *beareth all things*; it tendreth our Neighbour's good, and advantage of all kinds, (his credit, his intereſt, his convenience and pleaſure) it therefore will inflict no more evil, than reaſon and neceſſity ſhall indiſpenſably require. 1 Cor. 13. 5, 7.

ἕτως ἔχω ἐν τοῖς ἀμφιβόλοις, νοεῖν χρῄσιμα πρὸς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, καὶ ἀπογινώσκειν μᾶλλον, ἢ καταγινώσκειν τῆς ὑπαίτιων. Naz. *Or.* 21.

A Cenſurer is indeed unjuſt and uncharitable, not only toward thoſe whom he cenſureth, but alſo toward thoſe into whom thereby he doth infuſe ill-opinion, and ill-will toward their Neighbour; he is guilty of their injuſtice and uncharitableneſs, a miſchief more irreparable than his own.

4. Cenſuring is a very fooliſh and vain practice in manifold reſpects; as arguing great ignorance and inconſiderateneſs, as producing grievous inconveniences and miſchiefs, eſpecially to the practiſer of it.

Eſt proprium ſtultitiæ aliorum vitia cernere, obliviſci ſuorum. Cic. *Tuſc.* 1.

It ſignifieth that we do not well underſtand, or not well conſider the natural impotency and frailty of mankind; how liable others are to miſtake and ſlip, and how prone we our ſelves are thereto; how (as S. *James* ſaith) *in many things we offend all*; did we obſerve or would weigh this, we ſhould not be ſo forward to cenſure, or ſo vehement and bitter in it; we ſhould ſee failing and tripping in many things to be a common caſe, rather demanding commiſeration than cenſure. Jam. 3. 2.

It implieth alſo, that we little conſider how our eſcaping any faults, which our Neighbour ſlippeth into, is no wiſe imputable to any worth or vertue in us, ſo much as the good Providence, and merciful Grace of God, guarding or reſcuing us from them; if we did apprehend and reflect on this, it would appear our duty rather to bleſs God for our being protected from miſcarriages, than cenſoriouſly to inſult over thoſe who ſeem to fall into them. It ſignifieth we have no ſight or ſenſe of our own defects; for did we clearly ſee, did we humbly reſent them, that would damp our heat and earneſtneſs to cenſure. It declares a fond ſelf-conceit, that we deem our ſelves ſuperiour to our Neighbour in wiſdom, and leſs obnoxious to blame, and therefore fit to be his Judges; whereas according to a ſober eſteem of our ſelves, we ſhould appear more fit to ſtand at the Bar, than to ſit upon the Bench; and ſhould thence more dread the one than affect the other.

It ſheweth likewiſe, that we do not rightly conceive the nature, or worthily eſteem the Conſequences of this practice: We know not, or regard not, the value of our Neighbour's Reputation, which by cenſure we do mean to ruine or impair: We perhaps by no means would rob him of his ſubſtance, or of his Life; yet we ſcruple not by grievous cenſure to bereave him of his good name; which he, the beſt prizer of his own goods, may eſteem beyond his eſtate, or his life it ſelf; we think it nothing, or a ſlight matter to carp at him, but he feeleth it very painful and deeply reſenteth it.

It argueth in us an untamed fierceneſs of mind, and diſcompoſedneſs of paſſion which can never conſiſt or cohabit with Wiſedom; for a well-ordered, calm and free mind, will be ſlow in conceiving offence or diſlike, moderate in eſtimating things, reſerved in expreſſing its ſentiments, not eaſily tranſported into extremity or exceſs; it conſequently hardly will ſuffer a man to break forth into raſh or harſh cenſure. So many ſigns and arguments of incogitancy and blindneſs this practice doth involve.

Prov. 12. 16. *A Fools wrath is preſently known; but a prudent man covereth ſhame.*

Prov. 29. 11. *A fool uttereth all his mind; but a wiſe man keepeth it till afterwards.*

5. Furthermore, this practice will produce many great inconveniences and miſchiefs to us.

—at tibi contrà Evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rurſus, & illi. Hor. *Serm. l.* 3.

1. We do thereby provoke, and in a ſort authorize others to requite us in the ſame kind: for nothing more doth excite the indignation, doth enflame the anger, doth engender the hatred of men toward us, than being pragmatical in finding fault, and haſty to cenſure their doings cauſleſly or immoderately; nothing ſeeming to them a more certain argument that we bear them ill-will, or do contemn them; and if we ſo vex them, they will in requital be as ready by finding or making faults in us, to vex and trouble us; it engageth their care, and quickneth their induſtry, and whetteth their invention to obſerve, or deviſe matter of recrimination. Men think it not only lawful, but even needful for them, in their own defence, to diſparage the Cenſurer, that his judgment may have the leſs weight to their prejudice: So that it will infallibly come upon us, as our Lord warneth (uſing it as an argument to diſſuade us from this practice) that, *with what judgment we judge, we ſhall be judged; and with what meaſure we mete, it ſhall be meaſured to us, again:* Men take it for allowable to retaliate in this way to the height, and ſtoutly to load the cenſorious man with cenſure.

Matt. 7. 2. Luk. 6. 37, 38.

2. We do by this practice, not only expoſe our ſelves to cenſure, but implicitly, and according to ready conſequence, do paſs it upon our ſelves, ſeeing we ſeldom, in kind or equivolently, are our ſelves clear of

Vid. Chryſ. *in Matt. Or.* 36. *p.* 249.

of that which we charge upon others; with our own Weapon of sharp censure, we through another's side do imprudently wound our selves; and often, as *David* did in his parley with *Nathan*, adjudge our selves to capital punishment; so that to any censorious person, it may be said, in S. *Paul*'s words, *Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self; for thou that judgest, dost the same things.* 2 Sam. 12. Rom. 2. 1.

Ὁ πικρῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ἐξετάζων ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν πλημμελήμασιν ὀδεμιᾶς ἀπολαύσεται συγγνώμης ποτέ. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

3. We do by censuring others aggravate our own faults, and deprive them of excuse, and render our selves uncapable of mercy and pardon: for of all men, he that is forward and prone to censure, who is rigorous and severe in judging others, deserveth no favour, nor can reasonably pretend thereto. *Inexcusable* (saith S. *Paul*) *art thou, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest*; for, *thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?* and, Μὴ στενάζετε κατ' ἀλλήλων. *Do not* (saith S. *James*) *moanfully complain one against another, lest you be condemned*; and *he shall have Judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy*, in his judgment, saith the same Apostle. Which passages imply, that to be unmerciful in this kind, will expose us to the severity of judgment in regard to our offences; or that if we deal harshly with our Brethren now, God will then proceed the more severely toward us, when our great cause doth come under trial. Rom. 2. 1. 3.

— ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλεῖστοι βραδεῖς μὲν εἰσιν τῶν ἰδίων κριταὶ, ταχεὶς δὲ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐξεταστά. Naz. Or. 26. Οὕτω τῶν μὲν ἑτέροις ἁμαρτανομένων πικροὶ καθήμεθα δικασταὶ, τὰς δὲ ἑαυτῶν δοκοὺς παρορῶμεν. Chrys. *ad* Demet. *Tom.* 6. Or. 52.

Jam. 5. 9. & 2. 13.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῶν πεπλημμελημένων ἡμῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς σῆς πεσὰ ἑτέρων οἴσει τὴν ψῆφον ὁ Θεός. Chrys. *Ibid.* Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ ἥμερος, καὶ συγγνωμονικὸς ὑποτέμνεται τὴν πλείονα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ὄγκον, οὕτως ὁ πικρὸς, καὶ ὠμὸς, καὶ ἀπαραίτητος πολὺ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἁμαρτήμασι προστίθησι μέγεθος. Ibid.

4. Indeed censuring others is an argument that we do little mind our own case, or consider to what a dreadful Judgment we do stand obnoxious: did we think of that we should see cause rather to employ our leisure and care in stating our own accompts, than in examining those of others; more adviseable it would appear to mind our own case, than to busie our selves in canvasing and determining the state of our Neighbour, finding what great need our actions will have in that day of favourable construction and merciful allowance, we should become candid and mild in reflecting upon the actions of others; we should not be forward to carp at any thing, we should scarce have the heart to condemn any man; this S. *Paul* seemeth to imply, when he thus argueth: *Why dost thou judge thy brother, or why dost thou set at nought thy brother? We shall all stand at the judgment seat of Christ*: that is, why do any of us judge others, seeing we must all be judged our selves? It is not seemly, it is not expedient for those, who soon must be arraigned, and put to answer for themselves, to be busie in questioning and prejudging others; but rather to spend their care and pains in preparing for their own accompt. Rom. 14. 10.

Τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐξεταζωμὲν, καὶ ὀδένα ἐρούμεν κακῶς. Chrys. *in* 2 Tim. *Or.* 2.

5. Nothing indeed more causeth us to neglect our own case, nothing more engageth us to leave our own faults unobserved and uncorrected, than this humour. It is easie to observe, that as they who are most sparing and gentle in censure, are usually most exempt from blame (for that carefully reflecting upon their own infirmities and defects, spending their heat and activity of spirit upon amending their own errours and faults, they have less time, less concernment, less mind to search out

Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπον κατηγοροῦντα καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους πολυπραγμονοῦντα βίους τῆς ἰδίας ἐπιμεληθῆναί ποτε ζοῆς. Τῆς γὰρ σπουδῆς ἁπάσης αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν ἑτέρων πολυπραγμοσύνην αναλισκομένης, ἀνάγκη τὰ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἁπλῶς κεῖσθαι καὶ ἠμελημένως. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

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and scan the imperfections and misdemeanours of others; they do find less reason also, and therefore have less will to be fierce or severe toward them) so the most censorious are usually the most stupid in discerning, and most careless in retrenching their own faults. And needs it must be so, for the actions of other men devour their leisure, take up the intention of their spirits, employ the keeness of their Passions upon them, so that they cannot, and will not attend to themselves; they are so much abroad, they are so very busie otherwhere, that they little know, or care what is done at home; while they are *spying* and pulling out *motes from their Brothers eye*, they *consider not the beam that is in their own eye*, although never so gross and obvious.

Vide Chrys. *Tom.* 2. *Or.* 42. Sen. *de Vit. B.* 27. Βραδὺ εἰς ὑπόνοιαν κακοῦ τὸ πρὸς κακίαν δυσκίνητον. Naz. *Orat.* 8.

* Matt. 7. 3, 4. Τὸ κακίας ἐλεύθερον, καὶ ὑφορᾶσθαι κακίαν ἀλλότερον, N. *Ep.* 27. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ κακὸς τάχιστα ἂν καταγνοίη καὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὁ ἀγαθὸς δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦ κακοῦ ῥαδίως. Naz. *Orat.* 21. *Ego mi ignosco, Mænius inquit, Stultus & improbus hic amor est, dignusque notari* Hor. *Serm. l.* 3.

6. Hence, I say, it is that commonly the best men are the most candid and gentle, and they are most apt to blame others who deserve worse themselves, that the sharpest tongues and foulest lives do usually go together, that they who are the strictest Judges of their own are the fairest interpreters of other mens actions; and they who will least pardon others do most excuse themselves, that they who are strangely acute in descrying other mens faults are stark blind in discerning their own. Our Saviour therefore chargeth such persons with hypocrisie, (*Thou hypocrite; first cast the beam out of thine own eye*) implying, that they do but falsly pretend a respect for goodness and zeal against sin, seeing in their own practice they indulge it; that it is indeed rather pride, peevishness, idleness, spleen, or selfish design that acteth them.

7. In fine, the censorious humour, as it argueth ill nature to be predominant, (a vulturous nature, which easily smelleth out, and hastily flyeth toward, and greedily feedeth on Carrion) as it signifieth bad Conscience; for he that knoweth evil of himself is most prone to suspect, and most quick to pronounce ill concerning others, so it breedeth and fostereth such ill dispositions; it debaucheth the minds of men, rendring them dim and doltish in apprehending their own faults, negligent and heedless in regard to their own hearts and ways; apt to please and comfort themselves in the evils, real or imaginary, of their Neighbours; which to do, is a very barbarous and brutish practice.

These Considerations may, I hope, suffice to persuade the observance of this precept, by the help of God's Grace, to which I commend you, and conclude.

Now the God of peace----make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well-pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXI.

Of Quietneſs, and doing our own Buſineſs.

1 THESS. 4. 11.

And that ye ſtudy to be quiet, and to do your own Buſineſs. Chryſ. *in* 2 Cor. Or. 19.

AS frequently between neighbouring States there do riſe Diſſentions and Conteſts about the juſt limits of their Territories; ſo doth it frequently happen between Vertue and Vice, Right and Wrong, Duty and Miſcarriage in Practice; for although the extreme degrees, and even the middle regions of theſe things are very diſtant, yet the borders of them do lie very cloſe together, and are in a manner contiguous; a certain ridge of ſeparation running between them, which commonly (being very narrow, thin and obſcure) it is not eaſie to diſcern. So it particularly falleth out in the matter before us, wherein our Text is concerned. Duty and Offence do nearly confine, and almoſt indiſcernibly differ one from the other; for there are about this Caſe Precepts which ſeem to contradict; there are Duties appearing to thwart one another.

S. *Paul* here biddeth us to be ſtudious or ambitious of quiet; otherwhere he enjoyneth us to be earneſtly active, (to be σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροὶ *not ſlothful in buſineſs*;) Here he would have us to mind our own Affairs; otherwhere he preſcribeth, that we ſhould *not look every man to his own things, but every man alſo to the things of others.* Rom. 12. 11. Phil. 2. 4.

According to the general drift of Scripture, and the tenour of our Religion, we are in Charity obliged to concern our ſelves heartily for the good of our Neighbour, and to ſtrive earneſtly in promoting it; we are enjoined ſo far to interpoſe and meddle in the Affairs of others, as to watch over them for their good; to inſtruct and adviſe them, to admoniſh and excite them, to check and reprove them upon occaſion; to offer and yield them ſuccour, to compoſe Differences between them; to promote their Edification and Peace; *Let us* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *conſider one another, to provoke unto love, and to good works. Let us* (ſaith S. *Paul* to the *Romans*) *follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edifie another*; and, *exhort your ſelves together, and edifie one another; warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, ſupport the weak*, ſaith he to the *Theſſalonians* in this Epiſtle. Καταναϑῶμεν ἀλλήλους. Heb. 10. 24. Rom. 14. 19. & 15. 2. 1 Theſſ. 5. 11. 14.

To be zealous and earneſt in the maintenance and propagation of Truth, of Vertue, of Piety, is a Duty incumbent on us, which implieth care and activity concerning others; that we offer to inſtruct them; that we enter into conteſt with them; that we examine their words and actions; that we preſume to tax and oppoſe them; Tit. 1. 11.

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In fine; Our Religion doth ſeem by the bands of mutual Relation, and obligations of Charity ſo to unite us together, ſo to endear us to one another, and to all men; that all things belonging to our Brethren do nearly touch us, and ſhould anſwerably affect us; ſo that by intermedling with any thing relating to their welfare, we can hardly be ſaid to meddle with what doth not concern us.

The condition of things alſo may ſeem to require, that we ſo intermeddle; for the Duties and Affairs of Men are ſo entangled or intewoven, that we can hardly proſecute any Concernments of our own, without being engaged in the matters of others: in diſcharging all Offices of Society, in purſuance of any Traffick or Commerce, in all entercourſe and converſation, while we tranſact our own buſineſs, we cannot avoid the furthering or obſtructing the buſineſs of others, who are engaged in the ſame, or contrary Deſigns: Society doth ſubſiſt by combinations of care and pain, regarding common Intereſts, ſo that it ſeemeth impoſſible ſo to mind our own buſineſs, as not to meddle with the buſineſs of others.

Yet notwithſtanding S. *Paul* injoyneth us ſo to affect Quiet, as ſimply to mind our own buſineſs, or not to be meddleſome in the concernments of others; for that *doing our own buſineſs*, is meant excluſive to medling with the affairs of others is plain enough, by the importance of τὰ ἴδια, which is emphatical, and ſignifieth only our own, or our proper buſineſs; and becauſe it is joined with *being quiet*, which reſpecteth others, and importeth not ſtirring beyond our own bounds; to be ſo meddleſome, being alſo a practice expreſly condemned by S. *Peter*, in that prohibition, *But let none of you ſuffer as a murtherer, or as a thief, or as a malefactour, or as a buſie-body in other mens matters*; where Pragmaticalneſs is we ſee not only forbidden, but is coupled with the moſt heinous Offences.

15 1 Pet. 4. 16.

How then ſhall we reconcile theſe things? how ſhall we in the caſe ſever between the bounds of Duty and Blame? It is indeed ſomewhat difficult to do it preciſely, and with diſtinctions which ſhall reach all caſes: But ſomewhat I ſhall endeavour toward it, by propounding ſome Rules and Directions, which ſhould commonly be obſerved in our dealing and entercourſe with others; but firſt let us a little reflect upon the terms in which the Precept is couched.

Study to be quiet: Study; the word is φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, which ſignifieth to be ambitious, that is, to affect quiet with the like vehemency of deſire and care, as men are wont to purſue Reputation, Dignity and Power, the Objects of Ambition: the Expreſſion containeth a remarkable emphaſis, or a grave *acumen*; for whereas Ambition commonly doth prompt men to be reſtleſly buſie, and engageth them in the concernments proper to others, S. *Paul* biddeth them to be ambitious the contrary way, in affecting quiet, and abſtinence from other affairs beſide their own.

To be quiet; This doth ſignifie not a phyſical, but a moral Reſt; not a total forbearance of action; not a faſtidious or drowſie liſtleſneſs to do any thing; not a ſenſleſs indifferency concerning the matters of others; not an abſolute ſequeſtring our ſelves from common affairs; this is not quiet or tranquility, the τὸ ἡσυχάζειν here, but a naughty ſloth, ſtupidity or ſavageneſs; the Quiet here meant is oppoſed to diſorderly motion, to turbulency, to contention, to pragmatical curioſity, to all ſuch exorbitant behaviour, whereby the Right of others is infringed, their Peace diſturbed, their juſt Intereſt or Welfare any-wiſe prejudiced;

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This Quiet is a calm, ſteady, regular way of proceeding, within the bounds and meaſures preſcribed by reaſon, juſtice and charity, modeſty and ſobriety; ſuch a motion as the Heavenly Bodies do keep, which ſo move that they ſeem ever to ſtand ſtill, and never diſturb one another; in fine, what a Quiet is meant, the ſubſequent words and the context do ſhew; it followeth.

And πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια, *to do our own buſineſs*, or to act things proper and pertinent to us; things which ſute to our condition, our ſtation, our vocation; whereby we may diſcharge our own duties and ſupply our own needs; may work benefit to others, or however avoid being any-wiſe burthenſome or troubleſome to them; an inſtance of which practice is immediately ſubjoined; *to work with our own hands — that we may have lack of nothing*; in another place St. *Paul* calleth it μετ' ἡσυχίας ἐργάζεσθαι, *to work with quiet*, oppoſing it to περιεργάζεσθαι, being over-buſie, or pragmatically curious, and to walking diſorderly; that is, beyond the bounds of our calling, or the rules of our duty; ſo as to encroach upon the rights, or moleſt the quiet of others. 1 Theſ. 3. 11. 4

The words then as they do imply an Obligation lying upon us to be induſtrious in our own buſineſs, ſo they chiefly deſign to prohibit our medling with the concernments of others; but how to ſettle the limits between this quiet minding our own buſineſs, and a culpable neglect of the duties concerning others; how to diſtinguiſh between medling innocently, from being blameably meddleſome, *hic labor, hoc opus eſt*; this is that hard task which I am to undertake, but cannot hope thoroughly to perform. However the method toward it, which I ſhall obſerve, is this: Firſt, I ſhall touch ſome caſes in which it is allowable or commendable to meddle with the affairs of others; then I ſhall propound ſome general rules, according to which ſuch meddleſomeneſs is commonly blameable: In the next place, I ſhall aſſign ſome directions proper to ſome chief and moſt obvious kinds of medling; and laſtly, offer ſome conſiderations to diſſuade men from this pragmatical humour.

I.

1. Superiours may intermeddle with the buſineſs of their Inferiours, (that is, of ſuch as are ſubject to their care and charge) in all matters relating to the needful execution of their Office. Magiſtrates may inſpect the carriage, may examine the doings, may reprehend and puniſh the offences of their Subjects: Parents may adviſe, rebuke and correct their Children: Spiritual Guides and Paſtours may admoniſh and reprove their Flock: Theſe things while (with due prudence, equity and moderation) they perform, they do indeed περάσσειν τὰ ἴδια, *do their own buſineſs*; it is their proper work, to which God hath deſigned them, and which reaſon exacteth of them; they are appointed (to uſe St. *Paul*'s expreſſion) *to attend continually upon this very thing*; their proceedings therefore are not to be charged with culpable pragmaticalneſs. Rom. 13. 6.

2. In any caſe, wherein the Honour and Intereſt of God is much concerned, we may interpoſe in vindication and maintenance of them. If any man dareth to blaſpheme God's name, we may and ought to ſtand up in its defence; if any man diſparageth Religion, we ſhould ſtrive to clear its repute; if any man impugneth any Divine truth of moment, we ſhould endeavour to aſſert it; if any man notoriouſly tranſgreſſeth God's law, we may diſcountenance his preſumption, and reprove him for it: Every man in ſuch caſes, as God's ſubject, hath not only a Commiſſion, but an Obligation; is indeed by his Allegiance bound to ſerve God, in maintaining the honour and intereſt of his Empire; 'tis foul diſloyalty,

Κοινὸν δέ τι τὸ ἔγκλημα, δημόσιον τὸ ἀδίκημα· ἔξεστιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν βουλομένων κατηγορεῖν. Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. ά.

Κἂν ἀκούσῃς τινος ἐν ἀμφόδῳ, ἢ ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ βλασφημοῦντος θεὸν, πρόσελθε, ἐπιτίμησον, κἂν πληγὰς ἐπιθεῖν σε δέῃ, μὴ παραιτήσῃ· ῥᾴστον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄψιν, σύλλειψον ἀπὸ τὸ σῶμα, ἁμᾶσον σὺ τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς πληγῆς, &c. Chryſ. *Ibid.*

'tis pitiful baſeneſs to forbear medling in ſuch caſes. Thus have good men, without fear or ſhame, defended Religion and Truth, againſt the mightieſt Powers and moſt dangerous oppoſition that could be; Thus *ſtood up Phineas and executed judgment*, Pſal. 106.30. not only checking, but avenging that heinous ſcandal: Thus *Elias* maintained the true Worſhip of God againſt all the Corrupters of it, the Kings and whole Nation of *Iſrael*: Thus the Prophets did not forbear to tax the wicked manners of the Princes, the Prieſts, and the People in their times: Thus St. *John Baptiſt* did not ſtick to reprove K. *Herod* for his unlawful practice: So our Saviour cenſured the ſuperſtitious and hypocritical Scribes, and he chaſtiſed the profaners of God's houſe: So, in fine, the Holy Apoſtles reſolutely did aſſert God's truth againſt all the World.

3. When the publick Weal and Safety are manifeſtly concerned, we may alſo intermeddle to ſupport or ſecure them: So may we rebuke him that ſlandereth or reproacheth our Prince; we may check him that would break the Peace; we may impeach him that violateth the Laws, conducing to publick welfare: Every man is a Soldier againſt Traytors and Enemies of his Country: Every man is born with a Commiſſion to defend the Publick againſt thoſe which plot its ruin or harm: Every man is a party for his Prince againſt Rebels, for the Church againſt Schiſmaticks, for the Law againſt lawleſs Tranſgreſſors, for common *Peace* againſt thoſe who outragiouſly diſturb it: Duty to our Superiors, Juſtice and Charity to mankind, juſt regard to our own welfare, allow and oblige us to ſuch medling.

Ferull.

4. We may alſo meddle for the ſuccor of right againſt palpable wrong and outrage: We may help an Honeſt man againſt a Thief aſſaulting him; we may guard the life of any man againſt an Aſſaſſin; we may vindicate the reputation of an innocent perſon aſperſed by a ſlanderous tongue; as *Moſes*—*ſeeing one of his brethren ſuffer wrong, defended him; and avenged him that was oppreſſed, and ſmote the Egyptian*; as the penitent thief rebuked his companion, unjuſtly railing upon our Saviour; the common Intereſt of Juſtice and Charity do not only excuſe, but commend medling in ſuch caſes.

Act. 7. 24.

Luk. 23. 40.

5. We may likewiſe meddle with the proceedings of others, when our own juſt defence requireth it; we may * repell thoſe who attack our ſafety or peace, who invade or rifle our goods, who traduce our good name; we may endeavour to defeat their Plots, and to reſtrain their Violence: This is indeed doing our own buſineſs, for to preſerve our life with its conveniences and comforts, to maintain our right and juſt intereſt, to keep our honour and reputation clear from ſcandal, is incumbent upon us; we are naturally the Patrons, Advocates and Guards of thoſe conſiderable goods aſſigned or intruſted to us by Providence.

* *Cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ.*

6. When the life or welfare (either ſpiritual or temporal) of our Neighbour is deeply concerned, and cannot otherwiſe than by our aid be ſupported or relieved, we may lawfully interpoſe to yield it: If we ſee him expoſing his life to any great hazard, or engaging his Soul into any great ſin, we may in any fair way, (by admonition, advice, reproof, politick device, harmleſs force) without any invitation or licenſe, with or againſt his will, preſume to reclaim or reſtrain him. We may ſtop him in his career to ruin or grievous miſchief; we may withhold him from running into a Snare, or tumbling down a Precipice, or drinking in Poyſon; we may (as St. *Jude* ſpeaketh) *ſnatch him out of the fire*. In ſuch caſes we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that our Neighbour, being himſelf, will allow us to meddle, or will not be diſpleaſed therewith; if he hath not his wits about him, we may ſupply him with ours in ſuch exigence; his preſent conſent and approbation are not then requiſite,

Jude v. 23. ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες *Invito non tribuitur quodcunque pro eo præſtatur.* Reg. J.

quiſite, he not being in condition to yield them; he needeth Guardians, and opportunity conſtituteth us in that Office: Extreme and evident need will not only excuſe the liberty we ſhall aſſume, but it obligeth us to uſe our power to ſave him; in caſe of neglect, that ſurly anſwer, *Am I my brother's keeper?* will not ſerve our turn. We may, we ſhould, it is not only innocent, but juſt and laudable for us to be watchful over our Neighbour's concernment and deportment, if we do it out of pure charity, in a diſcreet, quiet and gentle manner.

Furioſis nulla voluntas eſt. R. J.

Gen. 4. 2. Μή μοι λέγε τὸ ψυχεὸν τοῦτο ῥῆμα. Τι δέ μοι μέλει; ἐδὸν ἔχω κοινὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν, &c. *Vid.* Chryſ. Ἀνδρ. 1. & *Tom.* 2. *Or.* 59. *in* Mat. *Orat.* 77, 78. *in* Joh. *Or.* 15. *in* Eph. *Or.* 19. Chryſ. *in* Tit. *Or.* 5. *in* Hebr. *Or.* 30.

7. In fine; If any ſignal opportunity of doing our Neighbour conſiderable good, eſpecially to his Soul, doth offer it ſelf, we may lawfully, we ſhould in charity embrace it; we may then even obtrude upon him our direction and ſuccour; if he be ſo blind as not to diſcern our good will, ſo peeviſh as to diſlike our proceeding, ſo ingrateful as not to thank us for our pains, yet our good intent will juſtifie us before God, and at the Bar of Reaſon; and we have, to countenance us therein, the common example of good men, who, for doing thus, have worthily been accounted the Friends and Benefactors of mankind.

In theſe and the like caſes we may, without offending, intermeddle; in doing ſo, we may indeed truly be ſaid to be quiet, and to do our own buſineſs; becauſe there is no exorbitancy or diſorder in ſuch proceeding, becauſe God's Law and ſound Reaſon have appropriated theſe things to us, and made them our concernment: There is no buſineſs more proper or pertinent to us, than that wherein we labour to promote the Glory of God, or to procure the good of men; this is the principal deſign of our Being, and therefore employment therein cannot misbecome us: but we muſt however in ſuch caſes take heed that our pretences are real and well-grounded, that our proceedings are regular and fair; we muſt not take or uſe ſuch liberty maliciouſly; we muſt never out of hypocritical pretence to the maintenance of God's Honour, of Publick Good, of Juſtice, Truth or Peace, be irregularly pragmatical or turbulent; this is to be doubly bad, adding to the irregularity of Offence, the wickedneſs of Fraud and Malice.

II.

1. We ſhould never (out of ambition, covetous deſire or ſelf-conceit) ſo meddle as to invade any man's Office; or to aſſume the exerciſe of it. A private man ſhould not preſume to act the Prince or the Stateſman; offering to controll thoſe who are not under him, to deliberate, debate, determine or paſs cenſure about Political Affairs or Occurences: A Lay-man ſhould not intrude himſelf to adminiſter the Sacred Functions of Authoritative Teaching, of diſpenſing the Sacraments, of exerciſing Spiritual Cenſures, of defining Theological Controverſies, which are committed to the Guides and Paſtors of the Church. No man ſhould ſet himſelf upon the Tribunal to Judge, or undertake without licenſe or invitation to arbitrate the Cauſes of others: Doing thus, is to encroach upon God, and to uſurp upon man; We encroach upon God, aſſuming to our ſelves Powers not derived from his Order, and deſerting the ſtation aſſigned us by his Providence; we uſurp upon man, exerciſing authority over him, which he is not bound to ſtoop unto.

2. We ſhould not (without Call or Allowance) meddle with our Superiors, ſo as to adviſe them, to reprehend them, to blame or inveigh againſt their Proceedings; for this is to confound the right order of things, to treſpaſs beyond the bounds of our calling and ſtation; to do wrong, not only to them, but to the Publick, which is concerned in the upholding their Power and Reſpect: It is indeed a worſe fault than aſſuming the Enſigns of their Dignity, or counterfeiting their

Stamps; for that is but to borrow the Semblance, this is to enjoy the Subſtance of their Authority.

Nothing in this buſie and licentious Age is more uſual, than for private men to invade the Office, to exerciſe the Duties, to canvas and controll the Actions of their Superiors; diſcuſſing what they ought to do, and preſcribing Laws to them; taxing what is done by them; murmuring at their Decrees, and inveighing againſt their Proceedings: Every one is finding holes in the State, and picking quarrels with the conduct of Political Affairs: Every one is reforming and ſetling the Publick according to models framed in his own conceit: Things (ſaith one) are out of order, the Conſtitution is very defective, and ought to be corrected; ſuch a Law in all reaſon ſhould be repealed, and ſuch an one enacted: Here our Stateſmen were out of their Politicks, and there our Law-givers failed in point of equity or prudence: No, clamors another no leſs eagerly, all things ſtand as well as can be, nothing can be amended, or ought to be altered; our eſtabliſhment in all reſpects is more perfect than *Plato*'s Commonwealth, or the State of *Eutopia:* Thus doth each man appoint himſelf Counſellor of State, and turns Legiſlator without any Call from the King, or Choice of the Country; every one ſnatches at the Scepter, and inveſts himſelf with the Senator's Robe; Every one acteth a Prince and a Biſhop, or indeed is rather a Cenſor and Controller of both Orders; not conſidering the wrong he committeth, nor the arrogance he practiſeth, nor the miſchiefs which naturally enſue upon ſuch demeanour: for to direct, or to check Governours, is in effect to exauctorate or depoſe them, ſubſtituting our ſelves in their room; and what greater injury can we do them, or the Publick? to fix or reverſe Laws, belongeth to the higheſt Authority and deepeſt Wiſdom, which 'tis enormous preſumption for us to arrogate to our ſelves; by attempting ſuch things, we confound the ranks of men, and courſe of things; we ruffle the World, we ſupplant publick Tranquillity; and what greater miſchief than this can we do among men?

It is the buſineſs and duty of thoſe whom God hath conſtituted his Repreſentatives and Miniſters to deliberate and conclude what is to be done; and for the due performance of their Charge, they are accountable to their Maſter, not to us; *Nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt*; our Duty and our Privilege, (for ſo it is, if we could underſtand it, it being far more eaſie and ſafe) it is to ſubmit and obey with quiet and patience; if we do more, we are therein irregular, and no leſs undutiful to God, than to our Superiours; We forget thoſe Divine Rules and Precepts; *Where the word of a King is, there is power; and who may ſay to him, What doeſt thou? Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake? Do all things without murmurings and diſputings:* We conſider not what Judgments are denounced upon thoſe, whoſe Character it is, *to deſpiſe government, to be preſumptuous and ſelf-willed, not to be afraid to ſpeak evil of dignities.* We do not weigh the nature of the things we meddle with, nor the advantages of the perſons whom we tax; nor our own incapacity to judge rightly about them. There is a kind of ſacredneſs in the Myſteries of State; as the Myſteries of Faith do ſurpaſs natural reaſon, ſo do thoſe of State tranſcend vulgar capacity: as Prieſts by ſpecial Grace are qualified beſt to underſtand the one; ſo are Princes by like peculiar aſſiſtence enabled to penetrate the former. He that employeth them in that great Work of governing the World, and maketh them Inſtruments of his Providence, is not wanting in affording to them direction and aid needful for the diſcharge of their Duty; whence their Judgments of things

Tibi ſummum rerum judicium dii dedere; Nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt. M. Terent. *apud* Tac. *Ann. V. C.*

Eccleſ. 8. 4.

1 Pet. 2. 13, 18.

Phil. 2. 14.

2 Pet. 2. 11.

things are ſomewhat more than humane, and their words may with us paſs for Oracular; *A divine ſentence* (the wiſe King ſaid) *is in the lips of the King; his mouth tranſgreſſeth not in judgment:* According to the ordinary reaſon of things they are beſt able to judge of ſuch things, being, by reaſon of their eminent ſtation, able to diſcern more, and farther than others; having by experience and conſtant practice acquired a truer inſight into things, and a better skill to manage them: whereas we being placed beneath in a valley, can have no good proſpect upon the grounds and cauſes of their reſolutions and proceedings; we, for want of ſufficient uſe and exerciſe, cannot skill to balance the contrary weights and reaſons of things; to ſurmount the difficulties and rubs, to unfold the knots and intrigues, which occur in affairs of that kind; we cannot expect thoſe ſpecial influences of light and ſtrength from Heaven, toward judging of affairs, which do not properly concern us: wherefore we are altogether incompetent Judges, and impertinent Dealers about thoſe things; it is great odds, that in doing ſo, we ſhall miſtake and misbehave our ſelves; we conſequently do vainly and naughtily to meddle with them. If the love of Publick Good doth tranſport us, let us reſtrain our ſelves. Prov. 16. 10.

3. We ſhould not indeed ſo much as meddle with the affairs of our equals, (thoſe I mean not who do equal us in dignity or worth, but all ſuch who are not ſubject to our command or charge, however otherwiſe inferior to us; thoſe, I ſay, we ſhould not meddle with) ſo as to controll or croſs them; to direct, or check, or cenſure their proceedings againſt their will, or without ſpecial reaſon engaging us thereto: for this is alſo to uſurp an undue authority; this argueth ſelf-conceit; this containeth immodeſty and arrogance.

4. We ſhould not, without the deſire or leave of parties concerned, intermeddle in the ſmaller temporal intereſts of others, upon pretence to further them, or with deſign to croſs them, for every man ſhould be left to himſelf to chuſe and to manage his own buſineſs, proſecuting it in the method he beſt liketh (conſiſtent with Law and Juſtice toward others) without interruption or controll: Every man hath a right to do ſo, every man deſireth it, every man commonly hath a capacity ſufficient for it; for each man is apt to ſtudy his own buſineſs, to weigh his caſe, to poiſe his abilities, with the circumſtances in which he ſtandeth; and thence is likely to get righter notions concerning the ſtate of his affairs, to deſcry better ways of accompliſhing them, than others leſs regarding them can do: Every man is beſt acquainted with his own humour and temper, and thence can pick his buſineſs, and wind the management of it, ſo that it ſhall comply with them, or not grate upon them. However, as every man in point of intereſt and honour is moſt concerned in the ſucceſs, and ſuffereth moſt by fruſtration of his endeavours, ſo it is equal that a free choice of his proceedings ſhould be allowed him, without impediment or diſturbance; which enjoying, he will more contentedly bear any diſappointment that ſhall happen. This eſpecially we ſay, in reſpect to matters of leſſer conſequence, (ſuch as moſt worldly intereſts are) by the ill ſucceſs whereof our Neighbour is not extremely damaged or hurt; for in ſuch caſes the immodeſty and arrogancy of medling with the vexation and trouble it is apt to work, do commonly much outweigh any benefit we can preſume by our medling to procure.

5. We ſhould not indeed ever in matters of indifferent and innocent nature ſo far meddle, as without conſiderable reaſon or need, to infringe any

any man's liberty, to croſs his humour, to obſtruct his pleaſure, however diſcordant theſe may be to our judgment and palate: Every man hath a particular guſt for diet, for garb, for divertiſements and diſports, (ariſing from particular complexion, or other unaccountable cauſes) and fit it is that he ſhould ſatisfie it; it is enough, that what he doeth ſeemeth good, and reliſheth to himſelf; if we check him therein, we ſhall ſeem impertinent and troubleſome, and therefore we ſhall really be ſo; for it is not our office to be taſters, to be dreſſers, to be maſters of the ſports to all men: we in ſuch matters would pleaſe our own fancy, and therefore we ſhould not about them offend others; 'tis incivility, 'tis injuſtice to do it.

6. We ſhould never offer to put a force upon any man's inclination, or ſtrive to bend it unto a compliance with ours; in attempting that we ſhall commonly be diſappointed, and we ſhall never come fairly off: for ſome are ſo tough, they will never yield to us, none will comply againſt the grain, without regret and diſpleaſure; if you extort a compliance with your deſire, you thereby do loſe their good-opinion and good-will; for no man liketh to be over-born with violence or importunity.

7. We ſhould not in converſation meddle ſo as to impoſe our opinions and conceits upon others: In converſation with our equals, we have a liberty to propound our judgment, and declare our reaſons for it; but if our judgment doth not take, nor our reaſons perſuade, we ſhould have done; to preſs farther is rude, to be diſpleaſed for it is vain, to be angry or violent is unjuſt; for by the Law of converſation every man taketh himſelf to have an abſolute right to uſe and follow his own reaſon; and he that affects to deprive any man thereof, will paſs for a petty Tyrant, a Clown, or an Idiot; to retain the ſatisfaction which our own perſuaſion affordeth, is enough to content a juſt and ſober mind, without triumphing over the underſtandings of others.

8. We ſhould not ordinarily in converſe affect or undertake to teach; for this implies a pretence to a kind of ſuperiority, and a preferring our ſelves to others in wiſdom; which argueth vanity, and is offenſive to thoſe with whom we converſe; who care not to be dealt with as Diſciples or underlings. We may with our equals modeſtly diſpute the caſe, upon even ground, as fellow Students of knowledge, or advocates of truth; but we muſt not peremptorily dictate, or pronounce with authority, like Maſters or Judges.

Nec quid agatur in alia domus alia per te noverit. Hier. *Ep.* 2.

9. We ſhould indeed be cautious of interrupting any man's diſcourſe, or of taking his words out of his mouth: for this is a rude way of diſpoſſeſſing men of that which by common Law of ſociety they ſuppoſe themſelves to enjoy, ſpeaking their mind through, and perfecting their diſcourſe; 'tis an implicite accuſation of impertinency or weakneſs in their ſpeech; 'tis an argument, that we deem our ſelves wiſer than they, or able to ſpeak more to the purpoſe; it is therefore an unſociable and diſtaſteful practice.

10. We ſhould be careful of intrenching upon any man's modeſty, in any way, either of commendation or diſpraiſe; ſo as to put him to the bluſh, or to expoſe him unto ſcorn: Sober men care not to be the ſubjects of talk; no man can endure to be the object of ſport; we ſhould not therefore thruſt any man upon the ſtage; 'tis vexatious, and therefore always diſcourteous, ſometimes very injurious.

11. It is good to be very ſtaunch and cautious of talking about other men and their concernments, in way of paſſing characters on them, or deſcanting upon their proceedings for want of other diſcourſe: This is the

the common refuge of idleneſs, and the practice of fidling goſſips, who becauſe they will do nothing themſelves, muſt be reflecting upon the doings of others; and that they may not ſay nothing, will talk impertinently: φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι, S. *Paul* well coupleth together, that is, frivolous *tatlers and buſie-bodies; And withall* (ſaith he of ſuch goſſiping women, 1 *Tim.* 5. 13.) *they learn to be idle, wandring about from houſe to houſe; and not only idle, but tatlers alſo, and buſie-bodies, ſpeaking things which they ought not:* To affect talking about others, is indeed a great temptation to ſpeaking things which we ought not to ſpeak; words of unjuſt and uncharitable obloquy.

Vide Chryſ. *in* Heb. 31. 3. *Orat.* 41.

12. Further; we ſhould not be inquiſitive into the deſigns of men; for this (beſide the vain curioſity and impertinency of ſo doing) is to aſſail their modeſty, and an adventure to vex both them and our ſelves: Thy Neighbour perhaps (as moſt adviſed men are) is deſirous to keep his purpoſe cloſe to himſelf; then by inquiry thou either forceſt him unwillingly to diſcloſe what he would not, or to give thee a repulſe, which he liketh not to do; and which whenever he doth, he is diſpleaſed; what is pumped out, comes up againſt nature, and bringeth regret with it; and if we cannot get any thing out, we yet cauſe diſturbance within; and our ſelves are not well ſatisfied in the diſappointment.

Percontatorem fugito.

Φιλοπευστία τῶν ἐν ἀποκρύψει.

13. We ſhould not preſs into the retirements of men; to do ſo, is not only immodeſt and rude, but unjuſt: 'tis immodeſt to deſire to know from any man, what he is aſhamed or unwilling to ſhew: 'tis rude to diſturb any man in the enjoyment of his lawful freedom, to interrupt him in his converſation with himſelf, to obſtruct his private ſatisfactions: 'tis unjuſt to bereave a man of that leiſure and opportunity which he poſſeſſeth, of doing that which he beſt liketh, and perhaps is greatly concerned in; of enjoying his own thoughts, of meditating upon his concerns, of examining his ways, of compoſing his paſſions, of ſtudying truth, of devotion and entercourſe with his God; of contriving and carrying on in any wiſe the welfare of his own Soul. Why doth he retire, but to ſhun diverſion, or that he may be maſter of his time and thoughts? why then are we ſo unkind, or ſo unjuſt, as to deprive him of thoſe contents and advantages?

Arcanum neque tu ſcrutaberis ullius unquam, Commiſſúmque teges, & vino tortus & irâ.

14. We ſhould not pry, or peep into mens ſecrets; it is a practice upon many accounts blameable.

It is commonly impertinent curioſity; for men hide things, becauſe they do not think others concerned to know them; the concealment argueth their opinion to be ſuch; and conſequently that he is fondly curious who would ſearch into them: *Why* (ſaid he well to one, who, ſeeing him carry a basket covered, did ask what was in it) *doſt thou ſeek to know, when thou ſeeſt it covered, that thou mayſt not know?*

Τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίου χάριεν πρὸς τὴν ἐρωτῶντα τι φέρει συγκεκαλυμμένον, διὰ τοῦτο συγκεκαλυπται. Plut. περὶ πολυπρ.

It is foully diſcourteous, becauſe offenſively depriving men of the ſatisfaction they take in concealing their matters; encroaching upon the innocent freedoms which they would enjoy, without rendring account to any; treſpaſſing upon their baſhfulneſs, or fruſtrating their diſcretion; for therefore men chuſe to keep things cloſe, becauſe they like not, or judge it not expedient to declare them. *Eccleſ.* 7. 21. *Take no heed unto all words that are ſpoken, leſt thou hear thy Servant curſe thee.*

It is alſo groſly injurious to deal thus; for it is a robbery of what is moſt dear to men; which they with more care reſerve and guard, than they do their gold or their jewels; ſo that to break open the cloſet of a man's breaſt, to ranſack his mind, to pilfer away his thoughts, his affections, his purpoſes, may well be deemed a worſe ſort of burglary or their

theft, than to break open doors, to rifle trunks, or to pick pockets.

It is a practice in the common opinion of men worthily eſteemed very diſhoneſt and treacherous; for men generally do ſuppoſe each other to be under a tacit, but well underſtood compact, obliged mutually (as they tender greatly the retaining their own ſecrets, ſo) to abſtain from attempting to diſcover the ſecrets of others; to do otherwiſe, is therefore taken for an act of perfidious enmity, and a violation of mutual confidence.

In fine; to peep into chinks, to liſten at doors or windows, to mind whiſpers, to dive into letters and papers, and the like practices, are the practices of inſidious Eveſ-droppers, Spies and Sycophants, which common humanity will not endure.

Yea, if the knowledge of what our Neighbour would conceal, doth caſually arrive to us, it is adviſable to ſmother it, 'tis inhumanity to reveal it to his prejudice. *To reveal ſecrets*, is a practice condemned in Scripture as odious and baſe; *Prov.* 20. 9. *He that goeth about as a tale-bearer, revealeth ſecrets.* Prov. 11. 13. *A tale-bearer revealeth ſecrets, but he that is of a faithful ſpirit concealeth the matter.*

Not to take up, or ſcatter reports prejudicial, *Eccluſ.* 19. 7, 10.

Μηδέποτε δευτερώσης λόγον--Ἀκήκοας λόγον Συναποθανέτο σοι.

Philippides *apud* Plut. *in Apoph. ad* Lyſimach.

A wiſe man would not willingly any wiſe know the ſecrets of others, but gladly would ſhun them, although offering themſelves to his knowledge; that he may be freed from the burthen of keeping them, and the danger of venting them, to the diſtaſte, wrong or prejudice of others; and he is commended for his diſcretion, who to a Prince asking him *what of his he ſhould impart to him?* replied, *Whatever you pleaſe, except your Secrets*; them he well thought unſafe to keep, and dangerous to utter; How fooliſh then is it voluntarily to intrude, or carefully to ſearch into them?

τινός σοι, εἶπεν, τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ; κακεῖνος, οὗ βούλει πλὴν τῶν ἀπορρήτων.

15. We ſhould not lie in wait to ſurprize or catch any man at advantage, to overthrow him when he trips, to inſult upon his miſtake or his diſaſter; to do thus is always ill manners, 'tis ſometimes barbarous inhumanity. Goodneſs in ſuch caſes would diſpoſe a man to ſupport, relieve and comfort another, if he demandeth, or his caſe needeth ſuch medling.

16. Laſtly; We ſhould never, at leaſt with much earneſtneſs, meddle with affairs more properly belonging to others, and which we do not, or may not handſomely pretend to underſtand ſo well as others: ſuch are affairs beſide our profeſſion, which if we underſtand not, 'tis a folly, in a peremptory manner, to treat of them; if we do underſtand them, 'tis yet undecent to conteſt or dictate about them, in the preſence at leaſt of thoſe who profeſs them: thus ſhould private men beware (at leaſt in that magiſterial or eager way) to meddle with Political Affairs, illiterate men with Scholaſtical, lay-men with Theological, unexperienced men with any ſuch matters, the comprehenſion whereof dependeth upon Skill and Exerciſe; no man ſhould be forward to meddle with things extraneous to his way and calling: doing ſo is wont to create much offence, it hath uſually much immodeſty and much folly in it; often it containeth much injuſtice.

Theſe are ſome more general Rules concerning the matter in hand: I ſhould now (if time did permit) inſiſt upon ſome particular kinds of medling, (*Advice, Reproof, Interpoſing in Conteſts*) but in regard to your patience, I ſhall proceed no farther at preſent.

SER-

SERMON XXII.

Of Quietneſs, and doing our own Buſineſs.

1 THESS. 4. 11.

And that ye ſtudy to be quiet, and to do your own Buſineſs.

IN a former Diſcourſe upon theſe words, I have already ſhewed,

I. In what caſes it is allowable or commendable to meddle with the affairs of others.

II. Next, I propounded ſome General Rules concerning this Matter, according to which we may diſcern in what caſes medling with the affairs of others is commonly blameable. Thus far I have proceeded;

III. I ſhall now give ſome Directions concerning particular kinds of medling. And becauſe they are many, I ſhall at preſent only inſiſt upon three, (referring others to other occaſions) they are, *Advice*, *Reproof*, *Interpoſing in Conteſts*, and Contentions.

I. As to medling in *Advice*, we may do well to obſerve theſe Directions.

1. Adviſe not (except upon Call) a Superiour, or one more eminent than thy ſelf in Authority, in Dignity, or in Age: for he that offereth to adviſe, doth thereby claim to himſelf a kind of ſuperiority, or excellence, above another; and it is not well conſiſtent with the reverence and reſpect due to our betters to ſeem to do ſo: they ſhould be wiſer than we, at leaſt it becometh us not to declare we think they are not; If they ask Advice, we may without preſumption give it, ſuppoſing it to be not ſo much their defect of knowledge as prudent caution, which maketh them willing to hear what any man can ſay to the caſe; but to obtrude it on them argueth we think them to need it, and our ſelves able to direct them, which is preſumption, and will paſs for arrogance.

2. We ſhould not indeed, with any violence or importunity, thruſt advice upon our Equals, or upon any man not ſubject to our charge, who is unwilling to receive it; for this is alſo an exalting our ſelves in skill and wiſdom above him, and implieth a contemptuous opinion concerning his knowledge; that he is ſo weak as to need Advice, and yet more weak in not ſeeking it when needful from us; which practice conſiſteth not with modeſty, and needs muſt breed offence, it is indeed unjuſt; for every man of right is to be allowed to act by his own advice, and to chuſe his own Counſellors.

3. Be not obſtinate in preſſing Advice; if he that asketh thy counſel do not like it, deſiſt from urging farther, and reſt content: If thou haſt performed the part of a faithful Friend, of a good Man, of a charitable Chriſtian in adviſing what ſeemed beſt to thee, that may abundantly ſatisfie thee; for the reſt *ipſe viderit*, 'tis his concernment more than thine: If thou pretendeſt that he muſt follow thy Advice, or art

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diſpleaſed becauſe he doth not ſo, thou makeſt thy ſelf a Commander, not a Counſellor; the which to appoint thee, was beſide his intention, he meant to ſeek thy help, not to forfeit his own liberty; and thou art not juſt in pretending to ſo much.

4. Affect not to be a Counſellor, nor let any Conſiderations (except of friendſhip, humanity or charity) eaſily diſpoſe thee to accept the Office; it is not worth the while to undertake it as a matter of reputation, or becauſe it ſeemeth to argue a good opinion concerning thy skill and ability; for it is a critical and dangerous thing to adviſe; becauſe if the buſineſs ſucceedeth well according to thy Advice, the Principal uſually carrieth away the profit and the praiſe; his judgment, his induſtry, his fortune are applauded; little commendation or benefit accrueth to the Ccunſellor; but if it proſper not, the main weight of blame is ſurely laid upon him that adviſed the courſe; If you (ſaith the party, and ſay the lookers on) had not thus directed, it had not thus fallen out.

5. Wherefore it is commonly expedient not to adviſe otherwiſe than with reſervation and diffidence: 'Tis, we may ſay, the moſt probable courſe I know, but I queſtion whether it will ſucceed; I hope well of it, but do not thoroughly confide therein; this modeſt and diſcreet way, whatever the event ſhall be, will ſhelter thee from blame; yea, will advance the reputation of thy ſagacity; for if it fail, thy reaſon to ſuſpect will be approved; if it proſper, the goodneſs of thy judgment will be applauded: whereas the confident director, if ſucceſs croſſeth his Advice, is exclaimed upon for his raſhneſs; if ſucceſs favoureth, he is not yet admired for his wiſdom, becauſe he ſeemed to be ſure; it being more admirable to gueſs the beſt among doubtful things, than to determine that which is certain. So much for medling about *Advice*.

II. For *Reproof*, (which is neceſſary, and a duty upon ſome occaſions) we may do well to follow theſe Directions.

Levit. 19. 17. Epheſ. 5. 11.

1. Reprove not a Superior; for 'tis exerciſing a power over him, and a puniſhing him; we thereby therefore do ſoar above our pitch, we confound ranks, and pervert the order ſettled among men; the practice containeth irreverence and preſumption, it ſeemeth injurious, and is ever odious. What the Miniſters of God, or Spiritual Paſtors do in this kind, they do it by ſpecial commiſſion or inſtinct, (as the Prophets in reprehending Princes and Prieſts, as S. *John Baptiſt* in reproving *Herod*;) or as ordinary Superiors in the caſe of Spiritual Guidance, being *ſet over us* for that purpoſe, and *watching for our ſouls*, for which *they muſt render an account*; yet they muſt do it with great moderation and diſcretion πρεσβυτέρῳ μὴ ἐπιπλήξῃς, *Rebuke not an Elder*, (or one more aged than thy ſelf) *but intreat him as a Father*, that is, adviſe him in the moſt reſpectful and gentle manner) is the charge of S. *Paul* to B. *Timothy*. In caſe of grievance or ſcandal, it becometh Inferiors not proudly or peremptorily to criminate and tax, but humbly to remonſtrate and ſupplicate for redreſs.

Heb. 13. 17. 1 Tim. 5. 11.

2. Reprove not raſhly, and without certain cognizance of the fact; for to reprove for things not done, or (which in moral reckoning is the ſame) for things not apparent, is both unjuſt, and argueth a malignant diſpoſition: 'tis unjuſt to puniſh ſo much as the modeſty of any man without clear evidence and proof; 'tis malignity to ſuſpect a man of ill, 'tis calumny to charge blame on him upon ſlender pretences, or doubtful ſurmiſes.

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3. Reprove not alſo raſhly as to the point of right, or without being able to convince the matter to be aſſuredly culpable; to reprove for things not bad, or not unqueſtionably ſuch (for things that are, or perhaps may be indifferent and innocent) is alſo unjuſt, and ſignifieth a tyrannical diſpoſition: 'tis unjuſt any-wiſe to puniſh a man without clear warrant of Law; 'tis tyrannical to impoſe upon men our conceit, or to perſecute them for uſing their Liberty, following their judgment, or enjoying their humour; which in effect we do when we reprove them for that which we cannot prove blameable: 'Tis (*S. James* ſaith) *a judging the Law*, or charging it with defect, when we condemn perſons for things not prohibited by it: *He* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that ſpeaketh againſt his brother, and judgeth his brother, ſpeaketh againſt the law, and judgeth the law.* Jam. 4. 11.

Both theſe kinds of raſh Reproof are very inconvenient, as breeding needleſs offence and endleſs contention; for whoever is thus taxed, will certainly take it ill, and will contend in his own defence; no man patiently, for no ſufficient cauſe or ſure ground, will lie under the ſtroak of Reproof, which always ſmarteth, but then enrageth when it is ſuppoſed to be inflicted unjuſtly or maliciouſly: Even thoſe who contentedly will bear friendly Reproof, can worſt brook to be cauſleſly taxed.

4. Reprove not for ſlight matters; for ſuch faults or defects as proceed from natural frailty, from inadvertency, from miſtake in matters of ſmall conſequence: for it is hard to be juſt in ſuch Reproof; or ſo to temper it as not to exceed the meaſure of blame due to ſuch faults; they occurr ſo often, that we ſhould never ceaſe to be carping, if we do it upon ſuch occaſions; 'tis not worth the while, 'tis not handſome to ſeem diſpleaſed with ſuch little things; 'tis ſpending our Artillery upon a Game not worth the killing: Reproof is too grave and ſtately a thing to be proſtituted upon ſo mean things; to uſe it upon ſmall cauſe, derogateth from its weight, when there is conſiderable reaſon for it; Friendſhip, Charity and Humanity, ſhould cover ſuch Offences. In fine, It is unſeemly to reprove men for ſuch things as all men, as themſelves are ſo continually ſubject unto: It is therefore better to let ſuch things paſs without any mark of diſpleaſure or diſlike.

Mitem animum, & mores modicis erroribus æquos. Juv. Sat. 14.

5. Reprove not unſeaſonably; not when a perſon is indiſpoſed to bear reproof, or unfit to profit thereby; not, when there is likely to be no good effect come from it; when thou ſhalt only thereby conjure up an evil ſpirit of diſpleaſure and enmity againſt thy ſelf. Reproof is a thing of it ſelf not good or pleaſant, but ſomtimes needful, becauſe wholſome, and good in order to the end; it ſhould therefore be adminiſtred as Phyſick, then only, when the Patient is fit to receive it, and it may ſerve to correct his Diſtemper; otherwiſe you will only make him more ſick, and very angry.

'Tis ever almoſt unſeaſonable to reprove ſome perſons; as ſcorners, impudent, incorrigibly profligate perſons, who will hate the Reprover without regarding the Reproof: *He that reproveth a ſcorner, getteth to himſelf ſhame; and he that rebuketh a wicked man, getteth himſelf a blot. Reprove not a ſcorner, leſt he hate thee.* To be maligned, to be derided, to be aſperſed with reproach and ſlander, is all one ſhall get by reproving ſuch perſons; it is both proſtituting good advice, and expoſing ones ſelf to miſchief; as our Saviour intimateth in that prohibition: *Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither caſt your pearls before ſwine, leſt they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rent you.* Prov. 9. 7, 8. & 15. 12. Mat. 7. 6.

As ſuch men ever, ſo moſt men in ſome ſeaſons are uncapable of Reproof; ſo are men in calamity, who are diſcompoſed by grief, the which is rather to be mitigated by comfort than increaſed and exaſperated by

blame; ſo are men in a paſſion, who have no ears to hear, no reaſon to judge, no will to comply with advice: Reproof is apt to produce rather anger and ill-blood, than any contrition or kindly remorſe in perſons ſo affected.

It is alſo uſually not ſeaſonable to reprove men publickly, when their modeſty is highly put to it, and their reputation grievouſly ſuffereth; for this is an extreme ſort of puniſhment, and is taken for needleſs; 'tis extreme, becauſe men had rather ſuffer any way than in their honour; 'tis deemed needleſs, becauſe it may be miniſtred privately.

6. Reprove mildly and ſweetly; in the calmeſt manner, in the gentleſt terms; not in a haughty or imperious way, not haſtily or fiercely; not with ſowr looks, or in bitter language; for theſe ways do beget all the evil, and hinder the beſt effects of Reproof: They do certainly enflame and diſturb the perſon reproved; they breed wrath, diſdain and hatred againſt the Reprover; but do not ſo well enlighten the man to ſee his error, or affect him with kindly ſenſe of his miſcarriage, or diſpoſe him to correct his fault; ſuch reproofs look rather like the wounds and perſecutions of enmity, than as remedies miniſtred by a friendly hand; they harden men with ſtomach and ſcorn to mend upon ſuch occaſion. If Reproof doth not ſavour of Humanity, it ſignifieth nothing; it muſt be like a bitter Pill wrapt in Gold, and tempered with Sugar, otherwiſe it will not go down, or work effectually.

7. Affect not to be reprehenſive; ſeem not willingly to undertake the place of a Reprover; appear to be merely drawn thereto by ſenſe of Duty, or exigency of Friendſhip, or conſtraint of Charity and Goodwill. For to affect reproving, is a ſign of ill-nature and arrogance; that we delight to obſerve the Faults, that we love to inſult upon the Infirmities and Infelicities of other men; which is the part of a domineering and cruel humour. A truly good man indeed would be glad to be excuſed from the office; it is the moſt unpleaſant thing he can do to be raking in mens Sores, and cauſing ſmart to his Neighbours; far more gladly would he be commending their good deeds, and cheriſhing their vertue; nothing therefore but Conſcience and Charity can put him on this employment. But ſo much for medling in Reproof.

III. Another kind of medling is, *Interpoſing in the Conteſts* and Contentions of others. As to this, we may, briefly, do well to obſerve theſe Directions.

1. We ſhould never meddle, ſo as to raiſe Diſſentions, or to do ſuch things which breed them; we ſhould by no means create miſunderſtandings or diſtaſts between our Neighbours; we ſhould not inſtill jealouſies or ſurmiſes; we ſhould not miſconſtrue words or actions, to an offenſive ſenſe or conſequence: we ſhould not convéigh ſpiteful tales; we ſhould not diſcloſe the ſecrets of one to another: theſe practices engender enmity and ſtrife among men; and are therefore inhumane, or rather diabolical; for the Devil is the great Make-bate in the World.

2. We ſhould not foment Diſſentions already commenced, blowing up the coals that are kindled, by abetting the ſtrife, or aggravating the cauſes thereof; it is not good to ſtrengthen the quarrel, by ſiding with one part, except that part be notoriouſly oppreſſed or abuſed; in ſuch a caſe indeed, when Juſtice calleth for them, we may lend our advice and aſſiſtence; and may bear the inconvenience of being engaged; as *Moſes* honeſtly and generouſly did, when he ſuccoured his brother that ſuffered wrong; otherwiſe 'tis adviſable to keep our ſelves out of the Fray; that we do not encourage it by our taking part, and involve our ſelves in the miſchiefs of it.

3. Eſpe-

3. Eſpecially we ſhould not make our ſelves Parties in any Faction, Where both ſides are eager and paſſionate; for then even they who have the juſter cauſe, are wont to do unjuſt things, in which 'tis hard for any man engaged not to have ſhare, at leaſt not to undergo the imputation of them: 'tis wiſdom therefore in ſuch caſes to hold off, and to retain a kind of indifferency; to meddle with them is, (as the Wiſeman ſaith) to *take a dog by the ears*; which he that doth, can hardly take care enough of his fingers. Prov. 26. 17.

4. We ſhould not interpoſe our ſelves (without invitation) to be Arbitrators in points of difference: We may cautiouſly mediate perhaps, or adviſe to agreement; but not pretend as Judges with authority to decide the controverſie; this ſavoureth of arrogance; this will work trouble to us, and bring the diſpleaſure of both ſides upon us; it is hard in doing ſo, to avoid becoming Parties, and offending one ſide: Our Lord therefore did, we ſee, wave this office, and put off the invitation, with a, *Who made me a Divider, or a Judge between you?* Οἱ ἐν μέσῳ ὄντες ὠθοῦνται ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων. Ariſt.

5. If we would at all meddle in theſe caſes, it ſhould be only in endeavouring, by the moſt fair and prudent means, to renew peace, and reconcile the diſſenters; if we can by exhortation and perſuaſion to peace, by removing miſpriſions, by repreſenting things handſomely, by mitigating their paſſions, bring them to good terms; this is a laudable medling, this is a bleſſed practice. So I leave this particular, and finiſh the directive part of my Diſcourſe.

IV. I ſhall now further only briefly propoſe ſome Conſiderations inducing to Quietneſs, and diſſuaſive from Pragmaticalneſs; ſuch as ariſe from the nature, properties, cauſes and effects of each; ſerving to commend the one, and diſparage the other.

1. Conſider that Quietneſs is juſt and equal, Pragmaticalneſs is injurious. When we contain our ſelves quiet, and mind only our own Buſineſs, we allow every man his right, we harm no man's repute; we keep our ſelves within our bounds, and treſpaſs not on the place or intereſt of our Neighbour; we diſturb not the right order and courſe of things: but in being pragmatical, we do wrongfully deprive others of their right and liberty to manage their buſineſs; we prejudice their Credit, implicitly charging them with weakneſs, and incapacity to diſpatch their affairs without our direction; we therefore, upon our own unequal and impartial judgment, do prefer and advance our ſelves above them; we aſſume to our ſelves in many reſpects more than our due, withdrawing it from others. In fine, No man loveth that others ſhould invade his office, or intrude into his buſineſs; therefore in juſtice every man ſhould forbear doing ſo toward others.

2. Quietneſs ſignifieth Humility, Modeſty and Sobriety of mind; that we conceit not our ſelves more wiſe than our Neighbour, that we allow every man his ſhare of diſcretion; that we take others for able and skilful enough to underſtand and manage their own affairs, but pragmaticalneſs argueth much over-weening and arrogance; that we take our ſelves for the only men of Wiſdom, at leaſt for more wiſe than thoſe, into whoſe buſineſs we thruſt our ſelves.

3. Quietneſs is beneficial to the World, preſerving the general order of things, diſpoſing men to keep within their rank and ſtation, and within the ſphere of their power and ability, regularly attending to the work and buſineſs proper to them; whereby as themſelves do well, ſo the Publick doth thrive; but pragmaticalneſs diſturbeth the World, confounding things, removing the diſtinction between Superiour, Inferiour and Equal, rendring each man's buſineſs uncertain; while ſome undertake

take that which belongeth not to them: One buſie-body often (as we find by experience) is able to diſturb and peſter a whole Society.

4. Quietneſs preſerveth Concord and Amity: for no man is thereby provoked, being ſuffered undiſturbedly to proceed in his courſe, according to his mind and pleaſure: but Pragmaticalneſs breedeth Diſſentions and Feuds: for all men are ready to quarrel with thoſe, who offer to controll them, or croſs them in their way; every man will be zealous in maintaining his privilege of chuſing and acting according to his choice; and cannot but oppoſe thoſe, who attempt to bereave him of it; whence between the buſie-body aſſailing, and others defending their Liberty, Combuſtions muſt ariſe.

5. Quietneſs to the perſon endued with it, or practiſing it, begetteth tranquillity and peace; for he that letteth others alone, and cometh in no man's way; no man will be apt to diſquiet or croſs him; he keepeth himſelf out of Broils and Factions; but the Buſy-body createth vexation and trouble to himſelf; others will be ready to moleſt him in his proceedings, becauſe he diſturbeth them in theirs; he that will have a Sickle in another's Corn, or an Oar in every man's Boat, no wonder if his fingers be rapped; men do not more naturally bruſh off flies, which buz about their ears, ſit upon their faces or hands, and ſting or tickle them; than they ſtrive to drive away clamorous and encroaching Buſy-bodies.

1 Pet. 4. 15. *Let* (ſaith S. *Peter*) *none of you ſuffer as a Buſy-body in other men's matters*; it is, he intimateth, a practice whereby a man becometh liable to ſuffer, or which men are apt to puniſh ſoundly: and ſo the Wiſe-man,

Prov. 26. 17. implying the fondneſs and danger of it; *He* (ſaith he) *that paſſeth by, and medleth with ſtrife not belonging to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears*; that is, without any probable good effect, he provoketh a creature that will ſnarle at him, and bite him.

6. Quietneſs is a decent and lovely thing, as ſignifying good diſpoſition, and producing good effects; but Pragmaticalneſs is ugly and odious. Every man gladly would be Neighbour to a quiet perſon, as who by the ſteady calmneſs and ſmoothneſs of his humour, the inoffenſive ſtillneſs and ſweetneſs of his demeanour, doth afford all the pleaſure of converſation, without any croſs or trouble. But no man willingly would dwell by him, who is apt ever to be infeſting him by his turbulent humour, his obſtreperous talk, his tumultuous and furious carriage; who, upon all occaſions, without invitation or conſent, will be thruſting in his eyes, his tongue, his hand; prying into all that is done, dictating this or that courſe, taxing all proceeding, uſurping a kind of juriſdiction over him and his actions: no man will like, or can well endure ſuch a Neighbour. It is commonly obſerved, that Pride is not only abominable to God, but loathſome to man; and of all Prides, this is the moſt offenſive and odious: for the Pride which keepeth at home, within a man's heart or fancy, not iſſuing forth to trouble others, may indeed well be deſpiſed, as hugely ſilly and vain; but that which breaketh out to the diſturbance and vexation of others, is hated, as moleſtful and miſchievous.

7. Quietneſs adorneth any Profeſſion, bringing credit, reſpect and love thereto; but Pragmaticalneſs is ſcandalous, and procureth *odium* to any Party or Cauſe: Men uſually do cloak their pragmatical behaviour with pretences of Zeal for publick Good, or of kindneſs to ſome Party, which they have eſpouſed; but thereby they do really caſt reproach, and draw prejudice upon their ſide; if it be a good Cauſe, they do thereby wrong it, making it to partake of the blame incident to ſuch carriage, as if it did produce or allow diſorder; if it be a bad Cauſe, they wrong themſelves, aggravating the guilt of their adherence thereto; for it is

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a leſs fault to be calm and remiſs in an ill way, than buſie or violent in promoting it. Nothing hath wrought more prejudice to Religion, or hath brought more diſparagement upon Truth, than boiſterous and unſeaſonable Zeal; pretending in ways of paſſion, of fierceneſs, of rudeneſs to advance them: A quiet Sectary doth to moſt mens fancy appear more lovely, than he that is furiouſly and factiouſly orthodox. The ornament of *a meek and quiet ſpirit, is* (ſaith S. *Peter*) *in God's ſight of great price*; and it is alſo very eſtimable in the opinion of men. 1 Pet. 3. 4.

8. Quiet is a ſafe practice; keeping men not only from needleſs encumbrances of Buſineſs, but from the hazards of it, or being charged with its bad ſucceſs: but Pragmaticalneſs is dangerous; for if things go ill, the medler ſurely will be loaded with the blame; the profit and commendation of Proſperities will accrue to the perſons immediately concerned; but the diſaſter and damage will be imputed to thoſe who medled in the buſineſs; to excuſe or eaſe themſelves, men will caſt the diſgrace on thoſe who did project or further the undertaking: He therefore that would be ſecure, let him be quiet; he that loveth peril and trouble, let him be pragmatical. Τῶν ὄντα φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι τῷ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν. Chryſ. apud Plut.

9. It is conſequently a great point of diſcretion to be quiet, it yielding a man peace and ſafety, without any trouble; and it is a mainfeſt folly to be pragmatical, it being only with care, pains and trouble to ſeek diſſatisfaction to others, and danger to himſelf; it being alſo to affect many not only inconveniences, but impoſſibilities.

Is it poſſible for any man to graſp or compaſs an infinity of buſineſs? yet this the pragmatical man ſeemeth to drive at; for the buſineſſes of other men are infinite; and into that abyſs he plungeth himſelf, who paſſeth beyond his own bounds; by the ſame reaſon that he medleth with any beſide his own, he may undertake all the affairs in the World; ſo he is ſure to have work enough; but fruit ſurely little enough of his pains.

Is it imaginable, that we can eaſily bring others to our bent, or induce men to ſubmit their buſineſs to our judgment and humour? Will not he that attempteth ſuch things, aſſuredly expoſe himſelf to diſappointment and regret? Is it not therefore wiſdom to let every man have his own way, and purſue his concernments without any check or controll from us?

10. We may alſo conſider, that every man hath buſineſs of his own ſufficient to employ him; to exerciſe his mind, to exhauſt his care and pains, to take up all his time and leiſure: To ſtudy his own near concernments, to provide for the neceſſities and conveniences of his Life, to look to the intereſts of his Soul, to be diligent in his Calling, to diſcharge faithfully and carefully all his Duties relating to God and man, will abundantly employ a man; well it is if ſome of them do not encumber and diſtract him; he that will ſet himſelf with all his might to perform theſe things, will find enough to do; he need not ſeek farther for work, he need not draw more trouble on him. Ὁ πλεῖστα περιόντων πλεῖστ' ἁμαρτάνει βροτῶν. Eurip. Ἀπερίσπαστος ἵνα ἐκκλίνειν δὲ τὸ καθῆκον. Zenon apud Laert. Chryſ. Tom. 2. Eth. 64.

Seeing then every man hath burthen enough on his ſhoulders, impoſed by God and Nature, it is vain to take on him more load, by engaging himſelf in the affairs of others; he will thence be forced, either to ſhake off own his buſineſs, or to become over-burthened and oppreſſed with more than he can bear. It is indeed hence obſervable, and it needs muſt happen, that thoſe who meddle with the buſineſs of others, are wont to neglect their own; they that are much abroad, can ſeldom be at home; they that know others moſt, are leaſt acquainted with themſelves; And the wiſe *Hebrew*, Eccl. 38. 26. *The wiſdom*

wisdom of a learned man comes by opportunity of leisure, (σοφία σοφιστοῦ ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ σχολῆς) *and he that hath little business shall be wise;* ὁ ἐλασσούμενος πράξει αὐτοῦ σοφισθήσεται.) Whence it is scarce possible that a pragmatical man should be a good man; that is, such an one, who honestly and carefully performeth the Duties incumbent on him.

Philosophers therefore generally have advised men to shun needless Occupations, as the certain impediments of a good and happy Life; they bid us endeavour ἁπλοῦν ἑαυτοὺς, *to simplifie our selves,* or to get into a condition requiring of us the least that can be to do; *S. Paul* intended the same, when he advised us, μὴ ἐμπλέκεσθαι τοῦ τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, *not to be entangled in the negotiations of life;* and our Saviour, when he touched *Martha* for *being troubled about many things*: So far therefore we should be from taking in hand the affairs of other men, that we should labour to contract our own, and reduce them to the fewest that we can; otherwise we shall hardly attain Wisdom, or be able to perform our Duty.

Ὁ σοφὸς, ἰδιοπράγμων, καὶ ἀπράγμων. Democ. Sen. *Ep.* 72, 22. Tertullian *calleth* Stoicism, *quietis Magisterium.* De pall. 5. 2 Tim. 2. 4. Luk. 10. 41. τυρβάζῃ περὶ πολλά.

11. But suppose us to have much spare time, and to want business; so that we are to seek for divertisement, and must for relief fly to curiosity; yet it is not adviseable to meddle with the affairs of other men; there are divers other ways more innocent, more safe, more pleasant, more advantageous to divert our selves, and satisfie curiosity.

Omnium occupatorum conditio misera est, eorum tamen miserima, qui nè suis quidem occupationibus laborant. Sen. *de Brev. Vitæ,* 19.

Nature offereth her self, and her inexhaustible store of appearances to our contemplation; we may, without any harm, and with much delight, survey her rich Varieties, examine her Proceedings, pierce into her Secrets. Every kind of Animals, of Plants, of Minerals, of Meteors presenteth matter, wherewith innocently, pleasantly and profitably to entertain our minds: There are many noble Sciences, by applying our minds to the study whereof, we may not only divert them, but improve and cultivate them: The Histories of Ages past, or Relations concerning foreign Countries, wherein the manners of men are described, and their actions reported, may afford us useful pleasure and pastime; thereby we may learn as much, and understand the World as well, as by the most curious inquiry into the present actions of men; there we may observe, we may scan, we may tax the proceedings of whom we please, without any danger or offence: There are extant numberless Books, wherein the wisest and most ingenious of men have laid open their hearts; and exposed their most secret cogitations unto us; in pursuing them we may sufficiently busie our selves, and let our idle hours pass gratefully, we may meddle with our selves, studying our own dispositions, examining our principles and purposes, reflecting on our thoughts, words and actions; striving thoroughly to understand our selves; to do this, we have an unquestionable right, and by it we shall obtain vast benefit, much greater than we can hope to get by puddering in the designs or doings of others. Pragmaticalness then, as it is very dangerous and troublesome, so it is perfectly needless; it is a kind of idleness, but of all idleness the most unreasonable: It is at least worse than idleness, in *S. Gregory Nazianzen*'s opinion: for, *I had rather,* said he, *be idle more than I should, than over-busie.* Other Considerations might be added, but these, I hope, may be sufficient to restrain this practice, so unprofitable and uneasie to our selves, and for the most part, so injurious and troublesome to others.

Tacitus saith of the *Stoicks* Sect.—— *quæ turbidos & negotiorum appetentes facit.*

Ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ πράγματα οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐξελθῶν ἐπείατο. Adag. *apud* Suidam.

Ἀργὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος, ἢ περίεργος δέχομαι. Greg. Naz. Or. 26.

Now the God of Peace, make us perfect in every good word and work, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

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SERMON XXIII

Of the Love of God.

MATTH. XXII. 37.

Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

THIS Text is produced by our Saviour out of *Moses* his Law in answer to a question wherewith a learned Pharisee thought to pose or puzzle him; the question was, *Which was the great, and first commandment in the Law?* a question which, it seems, had been examined, and determined among the Doctours, in the Schools of those days, (for, in Saint *Luke*, to the like question intimated by our Saviour, another Lawyer readily yields the same answer, and is therefore commended by our Saviour, with a *rectè respondisti, thou hast answered rightly*) so that had our Saviour answered otherwise; he had, we may suppose, been taxed of ignorance and unskilfulness, perhaps also of errour and heterodoxie: to convict him of which, seems to have been the design of this *Jewish* trier or tempter (for he is said to ask πειράζων αὐτόν, *trying*, or tempting, *him.*) But our Saviour defeats his captitious intent, by answering, not only according to truth and the reason of the thing, but agreeably to the doctrine then current, and as the Lawyer himself out of his memory and learning would have resolved it: and no wonder, since common sense dictates, that the Law enjoyning sincere and entire love toward God is necessarily the first and chief, or the most fundamental Law of all Religion; for that whosoever doth believe the being of God (according to the most common notion that Name bears) must needs discern himself obliged first and chiefly to perform those acts of mind and will towards him, which most true and earnest love do imply: different expressions of love may be prescribed, peculiar grounds of love may be declared in several ways of Religion; but in the general and main substance of the duty, all will conspire; all will acknowledge readily, that it is love we chiefly owe to God; the duty which he may most justly require of us, and which will be most acceptable to him. It was then indeed the great Commandment of the old (or rather of the young and less perfect) Religion of the *Jews*, and it is no less of the more adult and improved Religion which the Son of God did institute and teach: the difference only is, that Christianity declares more fully how we should exercise it; and more highly engages us to observe it; requires more proper and more substantial expressions thereof; extends our obligation, as to the matter, and intends it, as to the degree thereof: for as it represents Almighty God in his nature and in his doings more lovely than any other way of Religion (either natu-

Deut. 6. 5. 10. 12. πειράζων αὐτόν. πρώτη ἐντολή. Luke 10. 27.

tal, or instituted) hath done, or could do; so it proportionably rai-
1 Tim. 1. 5. ses our obligation to love him: it is, as S. *Paul* speaketh, τὸ τέλος τῆς παραγγελίας, *the* last *drift*, or the supreme pitch *of the* Evangelical *profession* and institution, to Love; to love God first, and then our neigh-
Coloss. 3. 14. bour *out of a pure heart, and good conscience, and faith unfeigned:* it is
Mat. 5. 48. *the bond*, or knot *of* that *perfection* which the Gospel injoins us to aspire
Galat. 5. 22. to: 'tis the first and principal of those goodly *fruits*, which *the Holy Spirit* of Christ produceth in good Christians. It is therefore plainly with us also, the great Commandment and chief Duty: chiefly great in its extent, in its worth, in its efficacy and influence: most great it is, in that it doth (eminently at least, or virtually) contain all other Laws and Duties of Piety; they being all as Branches making up its Body, or
Rom. 13. 9, 10. growing out of it as their Root. Saint *Paul* saith of the love towards our neighbour, that it is πλήρωμα τοῦ νόμου, *a full performance of the laws*
Gal. 5. 14. concerning him; and that *all commandments*, ἀνακεφαλαιοῦνται, *are recapitulated*, or summ'd up *in this one saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self*: and by like, or greater reason are all the Duties of Piety com-
Vers. 40. prised in the love of God; which is the chief of those two hinges, *upon which* (as our Saviour here subjoyns) *the whole law and the prophets do hang*. So great is this Duty in extent: and it is no less in proper worth; both as it immediately respects the most excellent, and most necessary performances of Duty (employing our highest faculties in their best operations) and as it imparts virtue and value to all other acts of Du-
Levit. 2. 13. 9. 24. 20. 1. ty: for no Sacrifice is acceptable, which is not kindled by this heavenly Fire; no Offering sweet and pure, which is not seasoned by this holy Salt; no Action is truly good or commendable, which is not conjoined with, or doth not proceed from the love of God; that is not performed with a design to please God, (or at least) with an opinion that we shall do so thereby. If a man perform any good work not out of love to God, but from any other principle; or for any other design (to please himself or others, to get honour or gain thereby) how can it be acceptable to God; to whom it hath not any due regard? And what action hath it for its principle, or its ingredient, becomes sanctified thereby, in great measure pleasing and acceptable to God; such is the worth and value thereof. It is also the great Commandment for efficacy and influence, being naturally productive of Obedience to all other Commandments; especially of the most genuine and sincere Obedience; no other principle being in force and activity comparable thereto: (fear may drive to a compliance with some, and hope may draw to an observance of others; but it is Love, that with a kind
2 Cor. 5. 14. of willing constraint, and kindly violence carries on chearfully, vi-
1 Joh. 2. 5. gorously and swiftly to the performance of all God's Command-
Joh. 14. 23. ments: *If any man loves me*, saith our Saviour, *he will keep my word*;
1 Joh. 5. 3. to keep his word is a natural and necessary result of love to him; *this is the love of God* (saith Saint *John*) *that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous*; 'tis the nature of that Love to beget a free and delightful Obedience) Such then is the Subject of our Discourse; even the sum, the soul, the spring of all our Religion and Duty. And because it is requisite, both for our direction how to do, and the examination of our selves whether we do as we ought; that we should understand what we are thus so far obliged to, that we may be able to perform it, and that we be effectually disposed thereto, I shall use this method; I will first endeavour to explain the nature of this love commanded us; then, to shew some means of attaining

attaining it; lastly, to propound some inducements to the purchase and practice thereof.

I. For the first part; we may describe Love in general (for it seems not so easie to define it exactly) to be an affection or inclination of the Soul towards an object, proceeding from an apprehension and esteem of some excellency or some conveniency therein (its Beauty, Worth or Usefulness) producing thereupon, if the object be absent or wanting, a proportinable desire, and consequently an endeavour to obtain such a propriety therein, such a possession thereof, such an approximation or union thereto, as the thing is capable of; also a regret and displeasure in the failing so to obtain it; or in the want, absence and loss thereof; likewise begetting a complacence, satisfaction and delight in its presence, possession or enjoyment; which is moreover attended with a good will thereto, suitable to its nature; that is, with a desire that it should arrive unto, and continue in its best state; with a delight to perceive it so to thrive and flourish; with a displeasure to see it suffer or decay in any wise; with a consequent endeavour to advance it in all good, and preserve it from all evil. Which description containing the chief properties of Love in common, do in some sort (not to insist upon abstracted notions, or in examples remote from our purpose) all of them well agree to that Love which we owe to God, according to the tenour of this Law, and in the degree therein expressed; that is, in the best manner and highest degree; for even of this Divine Love the chief properties (prerequisite thereto, or intimately conjoined therewith, or naturally resulting from it) I conceive are these.

1. A right apprehension and firm persuasion concerning God, and consequently a high esteem of him as most excellent in himself and most beneficial to us: for such is the frame of our Soul, that the perceptive part doth alwayes go before the appetitive, that affection follows opinion, that no object otherwise moves our desire, than as represented by reason, or by fancy, good unto us: what effect will the goodliest beauty, or the sweetest harmony have upon him, who wants sense to discern, or judgment to prize them? This is our natural way of acting; and according to it, that we may in due measure love God, He must appear proportionably amiable, and desirable to us; we must entertain worthy thoughts of, as full of all Perfection in himself; as the Fountain of all Good; as the sole Author of all that Happiness we can hope for or receive: as He, in possession of whom we shall possess all things desireable; in effect and vertue all riches, all honours, all pleasure, all good that we are capable of; and without whom we can enjoy no real good or true content: Which esteem of him, how can it otherwise than beget affection towards him? If the faint resemblances, or the slender participations of such Excellencies (of that incomprehensible Wisedom, that uncontrollable power, that unconfined Bounty, that unblemished Purity, which are united in him, and shine from him with a perfect lustre; if, I say, the very faint resemblances, and imperfect participations of these Excellencies) discerned in other things, are apt to raise our admiration, and allure our affection toward them; if the glimmering of some small inconsiderable benefit, the shadow of real profit discovered in these inferiour empty things, is able so strongly to attract our eyes, and fix our hearts upon them, why should not from a like, but so much greater cause, the like effect proceed? Whence can it be that the apprehension of an Object so infinitely lovely, so incomparably beneficial (if not passing cursorily through our fancy, but deeply impressed upon our mind)

should not proportionably affect and incline us towards Him with all that desire, that delight, that good will which are proper to love? If we think, as the Psalmist did, that *there is none in heaven or in earth comparable to God* (comparable in essential Perfection, comparable in beneficial Influence) why should we not be disposed also to say with him; *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.* Such a reverent esteem is the proper foundation upon which true Love is built, and which upholds it: whence, as the Love of God doth commonly denote all the Duties of Religion; so doth Fear (or Reverence to him) likewise in Scripture style comprehend and express them all; it being the Root from whence Love doth sprout and by which it is nourished; it being the beginning of that true Wisdom by which we embrace and fasten our affection upon the Sovereign Good. Hence we may observe, that those devout persons, whose hearts were fullest of this Love, their minds were most employed in meditation upon the Divine excellencies, and upon the beneficial Emanations from them in Bounty and Mercy upon the Creatures; their Tongues being tuned by their thoughts, and their inward Esteem breaking forth into Praise. *Every day, all the day long, at all times did they bless God, praise his name, speak of his righteousness, shew forth his salvation,* as the Psalmist expresses his Practice, arising from Love enlivened by the esteem of God and the apprehension of his excellent Goodness: from whence also that strong Faith, that constant Hope, that chearful Confidence they reposed in him; that hearty approbation of all his Counsels and Purposes: that full acquiescence of mind in his Proceedings; that entire submission of their understanding to his Discipline, and resignation of their will to his good pleasure; that yeilding up themselves (their Souls and Bodies, their Lives and Goods) to his disposal, with all the like high effects and pregnant signs of Love did flow: but

Comp. Psal. 113. 17, 18. Psal. 31. 23. 34. 9. 145. 19, 20. Psal. 146. 7. 104. 33. 34. 1. 71. 15. 145. 2. 35. 28. 71. 8.

2. Another property of this Love is an earnest desire of obtaining a Propriety in God; of Possessing him (in a manner) and enjoying him; of approaching him and being, so far as may be, united to him. When we stand upon such terms with any person, that we have a free access unto and a familiar entercourse with him, that his conversation is profitable and delightfull to us; that we can upon all occasions have his advice and assistance; that he is always ready in our needs, and at our desire to employ what is in him of ability for our good and advantage, we may be said to own such a person, to possess and enjoy him; to be tyed (as it were) and joyned to him (as 'tis said *the soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David, so that he loved him as his own soul*) And such a propriety in, such a possession of, such an alliance and conjunction to himself God vouchsafes to them, who are duely qualified for so great a good; *He was not ashamed* (saith the Apostle concerning the faithful Patriarchs) *to be called their God*; to be appropriated in a manner unto them; And, *He that Acknowledgeth the Son* (saith *S. John* concerning good Christians) καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει, *hath,* (or possesseth) *the Father also:* and *to seek; to find; to draw near to; to cleave unto; to abide with, to abide in,* and such other phrases frequently do occurr in Scripture denoting that near relation which good men stand in toward God; implying that he affords them a continual liberty of access and coming into his especial presence, that he admits them to a kind of converse and communion with himself, full of spiritual benefit and delight; that bearing an especial good will and favour toward them, he is disposed to exert his infinite wisdom and power in their behalf; is ready

1 Sam. 18. 1. Heb. 11. 16. 1 Joh. 2. 23. Psal. 119. 2. Isa. 65. 1. Deut. 11. 22. Josh. 23. 8. 1 Cor. 6. 17. Acts. 11. 23. Joh. 15. 4. 17. 21. 1 Joh. 2. 24.

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dy to impart all needful and convenient good unto them (help in their needs, ſupply in wants, protection in dangers; the direction, aſſiſtance and comfort of his Holy Spirit; pardon of ſins and peace of conſcience; all the bleſſings of grace here, and all the felicities of glory hereafter) ſuch an intereſt, as it were, in God and a title unto him, ſuch a poſſeſſion and enjoyment of him we are capable of obtaining: and as that enjoyment is in it ſelf infinitely above all things deſirable; ſo, if we love God, we cannot ſurely but be earneſtly deſirous thereof: a cold indifferency about it, a faint wiſhing for it, a ſlothful tendency after it are much on this ſide love; it will inflame our heart, it will tranſport our mind, it will beget a vigorous and lively motion of ſoul towards it: for Love you know is commonly reſembled unto, yea even aſſumes the name of Fire; for it warms the breaſt, agitates the ſpirits, quickens all the powers of Soul, and ſets them on work in deſire and purſuance of the beloved Object: you may imagine as well fire without heat or activity, as love without ſome ardency of deſire. *Longing, and thirſting of ſoul; fainting for, and panting after; crying out, and ſtretching forth the hands toward God*; ſuch are the expreſſions ſignifying the good Pſalmiſt's love; by ſo apt, and ſo pathetical reſemblances doth he ſet out the vehemency of his deſire to enjoy God. I need not add concerning Endeavour; for that by plain conſequence doth neceſſarily follow Deſire: the thirſty ſoul will never be at reſt till it have found out its convenient refreſhment: if we, as *David* did, do *long after God*, we ſhall alſo with him *earneſtly ſeek God*; nor ever be at reſt till we have found him. Coherent with this is a Pſ. 84. 2. 42. 1. 63. 1. 143. 6.

3. Third property of this Love, that is, a great Complacence, Satisfaction and Delight in the enjoyment of God: in the ſenſe of having ſuch a propriety in him; in the partaking thoſe emanations of favour and beneficence from him; and conſequently in the inſtruments conveying, in the means conducing to ſuch enjoyment: for joy and content are the natural fruits of obtaining what we love, what we much value, what we earneſtly deſire. Yea, what we chiefly love, if we become poſſeſſed thereof, we eaſily reſt ſatisfied therewith, although all other comforts be wanting to us. The covetous perſon for inſtance, who dotes upon his wealth, let him be pinched with the want of conveniences; let his body be wearied with toil; let his mind be diſtracted with care; let him be ſurrounded with obloquy and diſgrace — *at mihi plaudo ipſe domi*; he nevertheleſs enjoys himſelf in beholding his beloved pelf: the ambitious man likewiſe, although his ſtate be full of trouble and diſquiet; though he be the mark of common envy and hatred; though he be expoſed to many croſſes and dangers; yet while he ſtands in power and dignity, among all thoſe thorns of care and fear, his heart enjoys much reſt and pleaſure. In like manner we may obſerve thoſe pious men, whoſe hearts were endued with this Love, by the preſent ſenſe, or aſſured hope of enjoying God, ſupporting themſelves under all wants and diſtreſſes; *rejoycing*, yea *boaſting and exulting* in their afflictions; and no wonder, while they conceived themſelves ſecure in the poſſeſſion of their heart's wiſh; of that which they incomparably valued and deſired above all things; which by experience they have found ſo comfortable and delicious: *O taſte and ſee* (exclaims the Pſalmiſt, inſpired with this paſſion) *O taſte and ſee, that the Lord is good: How excellent is thy loving kindneſs, O Lord; they*, (they who enjoy it) *ſhall be abundantly ſatisfied with the fatneſs of thy houſe, and thou ſhalt make them drink of the river of thy pleaſures: A day in thy courts is better than* Luke 6. 23. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Rom. 5. 3. Col. 1. 24. Pſal. 34. 8. 36. 7.

Pſal. 84. 1, 10. *than a thouſand*: *my ſoul ſhall be ſatisfied as with marrow and fatneſs*; ſo
63. 5. did thoſe devout practiſers of this Duty expreſs the ſatisfaction they felt in God, and in thoſe things whereby he did impart the enjoyment of
Neh. 9. 25. himſelf unto them. So did *the light of God's* countenance cheer their
Pſal. 4. 6. heart; ſo did *his loving kindneſs* appear *better than life it ſelf unto them.*
63. 3. Hence do they ſo frequently enjoyn and exhort us *to be glad*; *to delight*
Pſal. 33. 1. 32. 11. 105. 3. *our ſelves*; *to glory*; *to rejoyce continually in the Lord*; in the ſenſe of his
107. 12. 37. 4. goodneſs, in the hope of his favour; the doing ſo being an inſeparable property of love; to which we adjoyn another.

4. The feeling much diſpleaſure and regret in being deprived of ſuch enjoyment; in the abſence or diſtance as it were of God from us; the loſs or leſſening of his favour; the ſubtraction of his gracious influences from us: for ſurely anſwerable to the love we bear unto any thing will be our grief for the want or loſs thereof: it was a ſhrewd argument which the Poet uſed to prove, that men loved their moneys better than their friends, becauſe ——— *majore tumultu plorantur nummi, quàm funera* ——— they more lamented the loſs of thoſe than the death of theſe; Indeed, that which a man principally affects, if he is bereaved thereof, be his condition otherwiſe how proſperous and comfortable ſoever, he cannot be contented; all other enjoyments become unſavoury and unſatisfactory to him. And ſo it is in our caſe, when God, although only for trial, (according to his Wiſdom and good pleaſure) hides his face, and withdraws his hand; leaving the ſoul in a kind of deſolation and darkneſs; not finding that ready aid in diſtreſs, not feeling that chearful vivacity in obedience, not taſting that ſweet reliſh of devotion, which have been uſually afforded thereto; if love reſide in the heart, it will ſurely diſpoſe it to a ſenſible grief; it will inſpire ſuch
Pſal. 89. 46. exclamations as thoſe of the Pſalmiſt: *How long, Lord, wilt thou hide*
69. 16. 30. 7. *thy face? hide not thy face from thy ſervant, for I am in trouble*; *turn un-*
42. 3. *to me according to the multitude of thy tender mercies*; *draw nigh unto my ſoul and redeem it.* Even our Saviour himſelf in ſuch a caſe, when God ſeemed for a time to withdraw the light of his countenance, and the protection of his helpful hand from him (or to frown and lay his hea-
Mat. 26. 38. vy hand upon him) had his ſoul περίλυπον ἕως θανάτου, *extremely griev-*
27. 46. *ed* and *full of deadly anguiſh*; neither ſurely was it any other cauſe than exceſs of love, which made that temporary deſertion ſo grievous and bitter to him, extorting from his moſt meek and patient heart that wofull complaint, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me!* But
Iſa. 59. 2. eſpecially when, *our iniquities have*, (as the Prophet expreſſeth it) *ſe-*
Jer. 5. 25. *parated between our God and us*; and *our ſins have hid his face from us*;
Iſa. 44. 26. when that *thick cloud* hath eclipſed the light of his countenance, and intercepted his gracious influences; when by wilfully offending we have
1 Sam. 8. 7. (as the *Iſraelites* are ſaid to have done) *rejected our God, caſt him off,*
10. 9. and *driven* him from us; ſo depriving our ſelves of propriety in him, and the poſſeſſion of his favour; then if any love be alive in us, it will
Pſal. 6. 35. prompt us with thoſe good men in their penitential agonies, to be griev-
38. 51. 102. ouſly ſenſible of, and ſorely to bewail that our wretched condition;
130. 143. there *will not* (if we ſo heartily love God and value his favour as they
Pſal. 38. 3. did) *be any ſoundneſs in our fleſh, or reſt in our bones*; *our ſpirit will be*
143. 4. *overwhelmed within us, and our heart within us deſolate. Our heart will*
102. 4. *be ſmitten and withered like graſs*, upon the conſideration and ſenſe of ſo ineſtimable a loſs. Love will render ſuch a condition very ſad and uneaſie to us; will make all other delights inſipid and diſtaſtful; all our life will become bitter and burthenſome to us; neither if it in any meaſure

ſure abides in us, ſhall we receive content, till by humble deprecation we have regained ſome glimpſe of God's favour, ſome hope of being reinſtated in our poſſeſſion of him. Farther yet, Pſal. 6. 4. 38. 21. 51. 11. 102. 2. 143, 7.

5. Another property of this Love is, to bear the higheſt good will toward God; ſo as to wiſh heartily and effectually (according to our power) to procure all good to him, and to delight in it; ſo as to endeavour to prevent and to remove all evil (if I may ſo ſpeak) that may befall him, and to be heartily diſpleaſed therewith. Although no ſuch benefit or advantage can accrue to God which may increaſe his eſſential and indefectible happineſs; no harm or damage can arrive that may impair it (for he can be neither really more or leſs rich, or glorious, or joyfull than he is; neither have our deſire or our fear, our delight or our grief, our deſigns or our endeavours any object, any ground in thoſe reſpects) yet hath he declared, that there be certain intereſts and concernments, which, out of his abundant goodneſs and condeſcenſion, he doth tender and proſecute as his own; as if he did really receive advantage by the good, and prejudice by the bad ſucceſs, reſpectively belonging to them; that he earneſtly deſires, and is greatly delighted with ſome things, very much diſlikes, and is grievouſly diſpleaſed with other things: for inſtance, that he bears a fatherly affection towards his creatures, and earneſtly deſires their welfare; and delights to ſee them enjoy the good he deſigned them; as alſo diſlikes the contrary events; doth commiſerate and condole their miſery; that he is conſequently well pleaſed, when piety and juſtice, peace and order (the chief means conducing to our welfare) do flouriſh; and diſpleaſed, when impiety and iniquity, diſſenſion and diſorder (thoſe certain ſources of miſchief to us) do prevail; that he is well ſatisfied with our rendring to him that obedience, honour and reſpect which are due to him; and highly offended with our injurious and diſreſpectfull behaviour towards him, in the commiſſion of ſin and violation of his moſt juſt and holy commandments: ſo that there wants not ſufficient matter of our exerciſing good will both in affection and action toward God; we are capable both of wiſhing, and (in a manner, as he will interpret and accept it) of doing good to him, by our concurrence with him, in promoting thoſe things which he approves and delights in, and in removing the contrary. And ſo ſurely ſhall we do, if we truly love God: for love, as it would have the object to be its own, as it intends to enjoy it; ſo it would have it in its beſt ſtate, and would put it thereinto, and would conſerve it therein; and would thence contribute all it is able to the welfare, to the ornament, to the pleaſure and content thereof. *What is it* (ſaith *Cicero*) *to love, but to will or deſire, that the perſon loved ſhould receive the greateſt good that can be*? Love alſo doth reconcile, conform and unite the inclinations and affections of him who loves, to the inclinations and affections of him who is beloved; *Eadem velle & eadem nolle, to conſent in liking and diſliking of things*; if it be not the cauſe, if it be not the formal reaſon or eſſence (as ſome have made it) 'tis at leaſt a certain effect of love. If then we truly love God, we ſhall deſire that all his deſigns proſper, that his pleaſure be fulfilled, that all duty be performed, all glory rendred to him: we ſhall be grieved at the wrong, the diſhonour the diſappointment he receives: eſpecially we ſhall endeavour in our own practice, with Holy *David*, *to perform* πάντα τὰ θελήματα αὐτοῦ, *all that God wills*, deſires, or delights in; to eſchew whatever offends him. Our deſire, our delight, our endeavour will conſpire with and be ſubordinate to his; for it would be a ſtrange kind of

Pſal. 16. 2. Job. 22. 3.

Jer. 9. 24.

Quid eſt amare, niſi velle bonis aliquem affici quàm maximis? Cic. *de Fin.* 2.

Acts. 13. 22.

of love that were consistent with the voluntary doing of that which is hurtfull, injurious or offensive to that we love; such actions being the proper effects, the natural signs of hatred and enmity: *If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a lier*, saith *Saint John*; and, *If any man seeth his brother need, and shutteth his bowels towards him, how doth the love of God abide in him?* He that in his affections is so unlike, so contrary unto God; he that is unwilling to comply with God's will in so reasonable a performance; he that in a matter wherein God hath declared himself so much concerned, and so affected therewith, doth not care to cross him, to displease and disappoint him; how can he with any shew of truth, or with any modesty pretend to love God? Hence it is, that keeping of God's Commandments is commonly represented to us as the most proper expression, as the surest argument of our love to God: —*shewing mercy to thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments*; they are joined together as terms equivalent; or as inseparable companions in effect: *He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: Ye are my friends*, (that is, not only objects of my affection, but actively friends, bearing affection unto me) *if ye do whatsoever I command you*, saith our Saviour: And, *Whoso keepeth his word, in him is the love of God truly perfected:* (he hath the truth and sincerity; he hath the integrity and consummation of love: without it love is wholly false and counterfeit, or very lame and imperfect; so the loving and beloved Disciple teaches us.) For by doing thus, as we signifie our esteem of God's wisdom which directeth us, our dread of his power and justice that can punish us, our hope in his goodness and fidelity to reward us, our regard to his majesty and authority over us; so especially thereby (if our obedience at least be free and cheerful) we express our good will towards him; shewing thereby, that we are disposed to do him all the good and gratifie him all we can; that his interests, his honour, his content are dear and precious to us. And were indeed our *hearts knit unto God*, with this bond of perfection, we could not in our wills, and consequently in our practice be so severed from him; we should also love heartily all vertue and goodness, the neareſt resemblances of him, and which he chiefly loves; we should do what *David* so oft professes himself to do, *love his law, and greatly delight in his commandments.* With our Saviour, we should *delight to perform his will*; it would (as it was to him) *be our meat and our drink to do* it; *his yoke would be easie* indeed, *and his burthen light* unto us; his yoke so easie, that we should wear it rather as a jewel about our necks than as a yoke; his burthen so light, that we should not feel it as a burthen, but esteem it our privilege. We should not be so dull in apprehending, or so slack in performing duty; for this sharpsighted affection would presently discern, would readily suggest it to us; by the least intimation it would perceive what pleaseth God, and would snatch opportunity of doing it: we should not need any arguments to persuade us, nor any force to compell us; love would inspire us with sufficient vigour and alacrity; it would urge and stimulate us forward not only *to walk in*, but even (as the Psalmist expresseth it) to *run the ways of God's commandments.*

1 Joh. 4. 20. 3. 17. Exod. 20. 6. Joh. 14. 21. 23. 15. 14. 1 Joh. 2. 4. 5. 12. Psal. 86. 11. Col. 3. 14. Psal. 11. 7. Ps. 119. 163, 165, 113, 16, 35, 70, 47, 24, 77. Psal. 1. 2. 112. 1. 40. 8. Heb. 10. 7. Joh. 4. 34. 5. 30. Prov. 3. 22. Psal. 119. 32.

But let thus much serve for explication of the nature of this Duty in order (as was before said) to the direction of our Practice, and examination thereof: The particular Duties mentioned being comprehended in, or appertaining to the love of God; if we perceive that we practise them, we may, to our satisfaction and comfort, infer, that

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proportionably we are endued with this Grace; if not, we have reason (such as should beget remorse and pious sorrow in us) to suspect we abide in a state of disaffection or of indifferency towards him. If we find the former good disposition, we should strive to cherish and improve it; if the second bad one, we should (as we tender our own welfare and happiness, as we would avoid utter ruine and misery) endeavour to remove it.

II. To the effecting of which purposes, I shall next propound some means conducible; some in way of removing Obstacles, others by immediately promoting the Duty.

Of the first kind are these ensuing:

1. The destroying of all loves opposite to the love of God, extinguishing all affection to things odious and offensive to God: mortifying all corrupt and perverse, all unrighteous and unholy desires*. It agrees with souls no less than with bodies, that they cannot at once move or tend contrary ways; upward and downward, backward and forward at one time; it is not possible we should together truly esteem, earnestly desire, bear sincere good will to things in nature and inclination quite repugnant each to other. No man ever took him for his real friend, who maintains correspondence, secret or open; who joins in acts of hostility with his professed enemies; at least we cannot, as we ought, love God with our whole heart, if with any part thereof we affect his enemies; those, which are mortally and irreconcileably so; as are all iniquity and impurity, all inordinate lusts both of flesh and spirit: *the carnal mind* (the minding or affecting of the flesh) *is*, Saint *Paul* tells us, *enmity toward God*; *for 'tis not subject to the law of God, nor can be*; 'tis an enemy, even the worst of enemies, an incorrigibly obstinate rebel against God, and can we then retaining any love to God, or peace with him, comply and conspire therewith? And, *The friendship of the world* (that is I suppose of those corrupt principles, and those vicious customs which usually prevail in the world) *is also*, Saint *James* tells us, *enmity with God*; so that (he adds) *if any man be a friend to the world, he is thereby constituted* (he immediately *ipso facto* becomes) *an enemy to God*. Saint *John* affirms the same; *If any man love the world, the love of the father is not in him*; explaining himself, that by the world he means those things, which are most generally embraced and practised therein; *the lust*, or desire, *of the flesh*, (that is, sensuality and intemperance) *the lust of the eyes*, (that is, envy, covetousness, vain curiosity, and the like) *the ostentation*, or boasting, *of life* (that is, pride, ambition, vain-glory, arrogance) qualities as irreconcileably opposite to the holy nature and will of God, so altogether inconsistent with the love of him; begetting in us an aversation and antipathy towards him; rendring his holiness distastfull to our affections, and his justice dreadful to our consciences; and himself consequently, his will, his law, his presence hatefull to us: while we take him to be our enemy and to hate us, we shall certainly in like manner stand affected towards him: this indeed is the main obstacle, the removal of which will much facilitate the introduction of divine love; it being a great step to reconciliation and friendship, to be disengaged from the adverse party: we should then easily discern the beauty of divine goodness and sanctity, when the mists of ignorance, of errour, of corrupt prejudice, arising from those gross carnal affections, were dissipated; we should better relish the sweet and savoury graces of God, when the palate of our mind were purged

* Psal. 97. 10. *Ye that love the Lord, hate evil.*

τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός. Rom. 8. 7.

Jam. 4. 4.

φιλία τοῦ κόσμου. 1 Joh. 2. 15.

ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός. ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. ἡ ἀλαζονεία τοῦ βίου.

from vicious tinctures; we ſhould be more ready to hope for peace and favour in his eyes, when our conſciences were freed from the ſenſe of ſuch provocations and defilements. But

2. If we would obtain this excellent Grace, we muſt reſtrain our affections towards all other things, however in their nature innocent and indifferent. The young Gentleman in the Goſpel had, it ſeems, arrived to the former pitch; having through the courſe of his life abſtained from groſſer iniquities and impurities; ſo far, that our Saviour, in regard to that attainment of his, conceived an affection for him (he loved him, 'tis ſaid) yet was not he ſufficiently diſpoſed to love God; being *in one thing deficient*, that he retained an immoderate affection to his wealth and worldly conveniencies; with which ſort of affections the love of God cannot conſiſt: for we much undervalue God, and cannot therefore duely love him, if we deem any thing comparable to him, or conſiderable in worth or uſefulneſs when he comes in competition: if we deem, that the poſſeſſion of any other thing beſides him, can confer to our happineſs, or the want thereof can prejudice it, and make us miſerable: no other love ſhould bear any proportion to the love of him; no other object ſhould appear (as indeed none really is) ſimply good, deſirable or aimable to us. What value Saint *Paul* had of his legal qualifications and privileges, the ſame ſhould we have concerning all other things in appearance pleaſant or convenient to us; they ought, in regard to God, to *ſeem dammage and dung*; not only mean and deſpicable, but even ſordid and loathſome to us; not only unworthy of our regard and deſire, but deſerving our hatred and abhorrence; we ſhould, I ſay, even hate the beſt of them; ſo our Saviour expreſſeth it; *If any man doth not hate his father and his mother, his wife and his children, his brothers and ſiſters, and even his own ſoul* (or his own life) *he cannot be my diſciple*; that is, if any man retain in his heart any affection not infinitely (as it were) leſs than that which he bears to God; if any thing be in compariſon dear and precious to him, he is not diſpoſed to entertain the main point of Chriſt's diſcipline, the ſincere and entire love of God. To *love him*, as he requires, *with all our heart*, implies, that our heart be filled with his love, ſo that no room be left for any other paſſion to enter or dwell there. And indeed ſuch, if we obſerve it, is the nature of our ſoul, we can hardly together harbour earneſt or ſerious affections toward different objects; one of them will prevail and predominate; and ſo doing will not ſuffer the other to remain, but will extrude or extinguiſh it: No heart of man can correſpond with two rivals, but, (as our Saviour teacheth us) *it will hate and deſpiſe one, will love and ſtick to the other*; whence he inferrs, that *we cannot ſerve* (that is, affectionately adhere to) *both God and Mammon*. If we have (according to the Pſalmiſt's phraſe) *ſet our hearts upon wealth*, and *will be rich* (are reſolved to be, as S. *Paul* expreſſeth it) if we eagerly aſpire to power and honour, with the Phariſees, *preferring the applauſe of men before the favour of God*: if any worldly or bodily pleaſure, or any curioſity how plauſible ſoever, hath ſeiſed upon our ſpirits and captivated our affections; if any inferiour object whatever with its apparent ſplendour, ſweetneſs, goodlineſs, convenience hath ſo inveagled our fancy, that we have an exceeding eſteem thereof, and a greedy appetite thereto; that we enjoy it with huge content, and cannot part from it without much regret; that thing doth at preſent take up God's place within us; ſo that our heart is uncapable, at leaſt in due meaſure, of divine love; but if we be indifferently affected towards all ſuch things

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ἄρχων. Matt. 19. 20. Mark 10. 21. ἠγάπησεν αὐτόν. Luk. 18. 22. Phil. 3. 8. ζημία, σκύβαλα. Luke 14. 26. Matt. 6. 24. Pſal. 62. 10. 1 Tim. 6. 9. 17. Joh. 12. 43. 2 Tim. 4. 10.

and are unconcerned in the preſence or abſence of them; eſteeming them as they are, mean and vain; loving them as they deſerve, as inferiour and trivial; if (according to Saint *Paul*'s direction) *we uſe them as if we uſed them not*; 'tis another good ſtep toward the love of God: the divine light will ſhine more brightly into ſo calm and ſerene a *medium*: a ſoul void of other affections, will not be only more capable to receive, but apt to ſuck in that heavenly one; being inſenſible, in any conſiderable degree, of all other comforts and complacences, we ſhall be apt to ſearch after, and reach out at that, which alone can ſatisfie our underſtanding, and ſatiate our deſires; eſpecially if we add hereto, 1 Cor. 7. 31.

3. The freeing of our hearts alſo from immoderate affection to our ſelves (I mean not from a ſober deſire or an earneſt regard to our own true good; for this as nature enforces to, ſo all reaſon allows, and even God's command obligeth us to; nor can it be exceſſive; but a high conceit of our ſelves as worthy or able, a high confidence in any thing we have within us or about us) for this is a very ſtrong bar againſt the entrance, as of all other charity, ſo eſpecially of this; for as the love of an external object doth thruſt, as it were, our ſoul outwards towards it; ſo the love of our ſelves detains it within, or draws it inwards; and conſequently theſe inclinations croſſing each other cannot both have effect, but one will ſubdue and deſtroy the other. If our mind be—*Ipſa ſuis contenta bonis*—*ſatisfied with her own* (taking them for her own) endowments, abilities, or fancied perfections; if we imagine our ſelves wiſe enough to perceive, good enough to chuſe, reſolute enough to undertake, ſtrong enough to atchieve conſtant enough to purſue whatever is conducible to our real happineſs and beſt content; we ſhall not care to go farther; we will not be at the trouble to ſearch abroad for that, which, in our opinion, we can ſo readily find, ſo eaſily enjoy at home. If we ſo admire and dote upon our ſelves, we thereby put our ſelves into God's ſtead, and uſurp the throne due to him in our hearts; comparing our ſelves to God, and in effect preferring our ſelves before him; thereby conſequently ſhutting out that unparallel'd eſteem, that predominant affection we owe to him; while we are buſie in dreſſing and decking, in courting and worſhipping this Idol of our fancy, we ſhall be eſtranged from the true object of our devotion; both we ſhall willingly neglect him, and he in juſt indignation will deſert us. But if as all other things, ſo even our ſelves do appear exceedingly vile and contemptible, foul and ugly in compariſon to God? If we *take our ſelves* to be (as truly we are) mere *nothings*, or ſomethings worſe; not only deſtitute of all conſiderable perfections, but full of great defects; blind and fond in our conceits, crooked and perverſe in our wills, infirm and unſtable in all our powers, unable to diſcern, unwilling to embrace, backward to ſet upon, inconſtant in proſecuteing thoſe things which are truly good and advantageous to us; If we have, I ſay, this right opinion and judgment of our ſelves, ſeeing within us nothing lovely or deſirable, no proper object there of our eſteem or affection, no bottom to reſt our mind upon, no ground of ſolid comfort at home, we ſhall then be apt to look abroad, to direct our eyes, and ſettle our affections upon ſomewhat more excellent in it ſelf, or more beneficial to us, that ſeems better to deſerve our regard, and more able to ſupply our defects: And if all other things about us appear alike deformed and deficient (unworthy our affection and unable to ſatisfie our deſires) then may we be diſpoſed to ſeek, to find, to faſten and repoſe our ſoul upon the only proper object of our love; in whom we ſhall obtain all that

Τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὃ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις ἔχει πρεισσὸς καὶ μάταιος παρ' ἄλλου λαμβάνων. Epict. 1. 9.

Gal. 6. 3.

we need, infallible wiſdom to guide us, omnipotent ſtrength to help us, infinite goodneſs for us to admire and enjoy.

Theſe are the chief Obſtacles, the removing of which conduce to the begetting and increaſing the love of God in us. A ſoul ſo cleanſed from love to bad and filthy things, ſo emptied of affection to vain and unprofitable things, ſo opened and dilated by excluding all conceit of, all confidence in it ſelf, is a veſſel proper for the divine love to be infuſed into; into ſo large and pure a vacuity (as finer ſubſtances are apt to flow of themſelves into ſpaces void of groſſer matter) that free and moveable Spirit of divine grace will be ready to ſucceed, and therein to diſperſe it ſelf. As all other things in nature, the cloggs being removed which hinder them, do preſently tend with all their force to the place of their reſt and well being; ſo would, it ſeems, our ſouls being loſed from baſer affections obſtructing them, willingly incline toward God, the natural centre (as it were) and boſom of their affection; would reſume (as *Origen* ſpeaks) that *natural philtre* (that intrinſick ſpring, or incentive of Love) *which all creatures have toward their creatour*; eſpecially, if to theſe we add thoſe poſitive Inſtruments, which are more immediately and directly ſubſervient to the production of this love; they are theſe:

Φίλτρον ἀναλαμβάνειν φυσικὸν τὸ πρὸς τὸν κτίσαντα. Orig. *in* Celſ. *p.* 135.

1. Attentive conſideration of the divine Perfections, with endeavour to obtain a right and clear apprehenſion of them.

2. The conſideration of God's Works and Actions; his works and actions of nature, of providence, of grace.

3. Serious regard and reflection upon the peculiar Benefits by the divine goodneſs vouchſafed to our ſelves.

4. An earneſt reſolution and endeavour to perform God's commandments, although upon inferiour conſiderations of reaſon; upon hope, fear, deſire to attain the benefits of Obedience, to ſhun the miſchiefs from Sin.

5. Aſſiduous Prayer to Almighty God, that he in mercy would pleaſe to beſtow his love upon us, and by his Grace to work it in us.

But I muſt forbear the proſecution of theſe things, rather than farther treſpaſs upon your patience. Let us conclude all with a good *Collect*, ſometimes uſed by our Church.

O Lord, who haſt taught us, that all our doings without charity are nothing worth, ſend thy Holy Ghoſt, and pour into our hearts that moſt excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all vertues, without which whoſoever liveth is counted dead before thee; Grant this for thine only Son Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXIV.

Of the Love of God.

MATTH. XXII. 37.

Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.

WHich *is the great commandment?* was the question, in answer whereto our Saviour returns this Text; and that with highest reason (discernible by every man) for that of necessity the love of God is the principal duty we owe unto him; the great duty indeed, as being largest in extent, and comprehending in a manner all other duties of piety; as that which exceeds in proper worth and dignity (employing the noblest faculties of our souls in their best operations upon the most excellent object) as that which communicates virtue unto, and hath a special influence upon all other duties; in fine, as that, which is the sum, the soul, the spring of all other duties: in discoursing whereupon, I did formerly propound this method; First, to declare the nature thereof; Then, to shew some means apt to beget and improve that excellent vertue in us; Lastly, to propose some inducements to the practice thereof.

The first part I endeavoured to perform, by describing it according to its essential properties (common to love in general, and more particularly to this) of duely esteeming God, of desiring (according as we are capable) to possess and enjoy him, of receiving delight and satisfaction in the enjoyment of him, of feeling displeasure in being deprived hereof, of bearing good will unto him, expressed by endeavours to please him, by delighting in the advancement of his glory, by grieving when he is disserved or dishonoured.

The next part I also entred upon, and offered to consideration those means, which serve chiefly to remove the impediments of our love to God; which were,

1. The suppressing all affections opposite to this; all perverse and corrupt, all unrighteous and unholy desires.

2. The restraining or keeping within bounds of moderation our affections towards other things, even in their nature innocent or indifferent.

3. The freeing our hearts from immoderate affection towards our selves; from all conceit of, and confidence in any qualities or abilities of our own; the diligent use of which means I did suppose would conduce much to the production and increase of divine love within us.

To them I shall now proceed to subjoin other Instruments more immediately and directly subservient to the same purpose; whereof the First is,

1. Atten-

Καθόλε μὲν ἡ τῶν παθῶν κακία διὰ τὴν περὶ θεὸν ἀγνωσίαν, ἀδύναμον γνῶσιν ἐγγίνεται. Basil. de Jud. Dei, Tom. 2. p. 261.

1. Attentive conſideration upon the divine perfections, with endeavour to obtain a right and clear apprehenſion of them: as counterfeit worth and beauty receive advantage by diſtance and darkneſs; ſo real excellency —*ſi propius ſtes Te capiet magis*— the greater light you view it in, the nearer you approach it, the more ſtrictly you examine it, the more you will approve and like it; ſo the more we think of God, the better we know him, the fuller and clearer conceptions we have of him, the more we ſhall be apt to eſteem and deſire him, the more excellent in himſelf, the more beneficial to us he will appear. Hence is the knowledge of God repreſented in holy Writ not only as a main inſtrument of Religion, but as an eſſential character thereof: as equivalent to the being well affected toward God: *O continue* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *thy loving kindneſs unto them that know thee*; that is, to all religious people. And *This* (ſaith our Saviour) *is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent*; knowledge of them implying all good affections toward them: as on the other ſide, ignorance of God denotes diſaffection or want of affection toward God: *Now the ſons of Eli* ('tis ſaid) *were ſons of Belial, they knew not the Lord:* And, *He that loveth not* (ſaith Saint *John*) *doth not know God*; the want of love to God is an evident ſign, a natural effect of ignorance concerning him: indeed conſidering the nature of our mind, and its ordinary method of operation, it ſeems impoſſible, that ſuch perfection diſcerned ſhould not beget anſwerable reverence and affection thereto: if beautiful ſpectacles, harmonious ſounds, fragrant odours, delicate ſavours do neceſſarily and certainly pleaſe the reſpective ſenſes; why ſhould not with the like ſure efficacy the proper objects of our mind affect it, if duely repreſented and conveyed thereto? If the wit of the moſt ingenious Artiſts, the cunning of the deepeſt Politicians, the wiſdom of the ſageſt Philoſophers are but mere blindneſs and ſtupidity in compariſon to the wiſdom of God; the loweſt inſtance or expreſſion of whoſe wiſdom (his τὸ μωρὸν, *his folly*, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaks) *is wiſer than men*, doth excell the reſults of man's higheſt wiſdom; yet them we admire and commend in men, why then do we not much more adore the divine wiſdom? If the abilities of them who dextrouſly manage great buſineſs, or atchieve proſperouſly great exploits are indeed mere impotency in regard to God's power; *whoſe weakneſs* (that is, the ſmalleſt effects of whoſe power) is (as Saint *Paul* again tells us) *ſtronger than men*, ſurpaſſes the utmoſt reſults of humane endeavour; yet thoſe things in men we extoll and celebrate, how can we then forbear to reverence the divine power? If the diſpenſers of freeſt and largeſt bounty among men, the nobleſt patriots, the moſt munificent benefactours, the moſt tenderly affectionate friends be in reſpect of God unworthy to be counted or called good (as our Saviour tells us; *If ye being bad know to give good things*; and, *There is none good, but God*;) yet ſuch perſons are much beloved and applauded; how then can we abſtain from paying the like meaſure of affection and reſpect to the divine goodneſs? if good qualities ſo inferiour and defective obtain ſo much from us, whence comes it that the infinitely ſuperiour and moſt perfect excellencies of God do not beget in their proportion a ſuitable regard and veneration in us towards him? whence, if not either from our not firmly believing them, or not rightly apprehending them, or not attentively conſidering them? Our belief of them in groſs and at large we may ſuppoſe, as connected with the belief of God's exiſtence, and included in the very notion of God; the defect therefore muſt proceed

2 Pet. 2. 20. Pſal. 36. 10. 9. 10. Iſa. 5. 13. 11. 9. Hoſ. 2. 10. Joh. 17. 3. Jer. 22. 16. 24. 7. 31. 34. 2 Cor. 10. 5. Iſa. 1. 3. Jer. 19. 3, 6. 10. 25. 1 Theſſ. 4. 5. 1 Sam. 2. 12. 1 Joh. 4. 8.

1 Cor. 1. 25.

Matt. 7. 11. Luke 11. 13. Matt. 19. 17.

ceed from the remaining cauſes, want of a right apprehenſion, or neglect of attentive conſideration about them: as to the firſt of theſe; it is common for men to have confuſed, imperfect and wrong conceptions about the Divine Attributes, eſpecially in the receſſes of their mind: which although they ſpare to utter with their mouths, yet they vent in their practice: if we, for inſtance, imagine, that we can comprehend the extent of God's deſigns, or fathom the depth of his counſels; if we meaſure and model his reaſons of proceeding according to our fancy (as *if his thoughts were as our thoughts, and his ways as our ways*; or, as if he did *ſee as man ſees*) if we can *bleſs our ſelves in following our own imaginations*, counſels and devices although repugnant to the reſolutions of divine wiſdom; taking theſe not to befit, or not to concern us, as we find many in the Scripture reproved for doing; we greatly miſtake and undervalue that glorious Attribute of God (his Wiſdom) and no wonder then, if we do not upon account thereof duely reverence and love God: likewiſe if we concerning the divine Power conceit, that notwithſtanding it, we ſhall be able to accompliſh our unlawful deſigns; that *we* may (as it is in **Job*) *harden our hearts againſt him and proſper*; that we can any wiſe either withſtand, or evade his Power (as alſo many are intimated to do, in Scripture; even generally all thoſe who dare preſumptuouſly to offend God) we alſo miſconceive of that excellent Attribute; and the contempt of God, rather than love of him will thence ariſe. If concerning the divine goodneſs and holineſs, we imagine, that God is diſaffected towards his Creatures (antecedently to all demerits, or bad qualifications in them) yea indifferent in affection toward them; inclinable to do them harm, or not propenſe to do them good; if we deem him apt to be harſh and rigorous in his proceedings, to exact performances unſuitable to the ſtrength he hath given us, to impoſe burdens intolerable upon us; will not ſuch thoughts be apt to Breed in us toward God (as they would toward any other perſon ſo diſpoſed) rather a ſervile dread (little different from downright hatred) or an hoſtile averſation, than a genuine reverence or a kindly affection towards him? If we fanſie him, like to pettiſh man, apt to be diſpleaſed without cauſe, or beyond meaſure, for our doing ſomewhat innocent (neither bad in it ſelf, nor prejudicial to publick or private good) or for our omitting that, which no law, no good reaſon plainly requires of us; what will ſuch thoughts but ſour our ſpirits toward him, make us fearfull and ſuſpicious of him; which ſort of diſpoſitions are inconſiſtent with true love? If, on the other ſide, we judge him fond and partial in his affections; or ſlack and eaſie (as it were) in his proceedings; apt to favour us although we neglect him; to indulge us in our ſins, or connive at our miſcarriages; will not ſuch thoughts rather incline us in our hearts to ſlight him, and in our actions inſolently to dally with him, than heartily and humbly to love him? if we conceit his favour procured, or his anger appeaſed by petty obſervances, perhaps without any good rule or reaſon affected by our ſelves, when we neglect duties of greater worth and conſequence (*the more weighty matters of the law*;) what is this but inſtead of God to reverence an Idol of our own fancy; to yield unto him (who is only pleaſed with holy diſpoſitions of mind, with real effects of goodneſs) not duties of humble love, but acts of preſumption and flattery? But if contrariwiſe, we truly conceive of God's wiſdom, that his counſels are always throughly good, and that we are concerned both in duty and intereſt to follow them, although exceeding the reach of our underſtanding, or contrary to the ſuggeſti-

Iſa. 55. 8. 1 Sam. 16. 7. Deut. 29. 19. Pſal. 81. 12. 107. 11. Iſa. 65. 2. 53. 6. Jer. 18. 12. Hoſ. 10. 12. 8. 12. Pſal. 73. 11. 10. 11. 94. 7.

* Job. 9. 4. Iſa. 45. 9. 10. 15. 54. 17. 1 Cor. 10. 22. Deut. 33. 8. Dan. 5. 23. Amos. 9. 2. Iſa. 2. 19. Jer. 16. 16. Deut. 28. 29. Num. 14. 41. 2. Chr. 13. 12.

Τὸν γε θεὸν ἕ ῥητέον ἔχειν ἥδος τοιοῦτον, ὅγε π αὐτὸς μισεῖ Plat. de Leg. 10.

ons

ons of our fancy; concerning his power, that it will certainly interpose it self to the hindrance of our bad projects, that it will be in vain to contest therewith, that we must submit unto, or shall be crushed by his hand; concerning his goodness, that as he is infinitely good and benign, so he is also perfectly holy and pure; as he wisheth us all good, and is ready to promote it, so he detesteth our sins, nor will suffer us to do himself, our selves and our neighbour any wrong; as most bountiful in dispensing his favours, so not prodigal of them, or apt to cast them away on such as little value them, and do not endeavour to answer them; as a faithful rewarder of all true vertue and piety, so a severe chastiser of all iniquity and profaneness; as full of mercy and pity toward them, who are sensible of their unworthiness, and penitent for their faults, so an implacable avenger of obstinate and incorrigible wickedness; in fine, as a true friend to us, if we be not wilful enemies to him; and desirous of our welfare, if we do not perversly render our selves incapable thereof, so withall jealous of his own honour, resolute to maintain and vindicate his just authority, carefull to uphold the interests of right and truth, and to shew the distinction he makes between good and evil; if we have, I say, such conceptions of God (agreeable to what his word and his doings represent him to us) how can we otherwise than bear a most high respect, a most great affection unto him? A Prince surely endued with such qualities; wise and powerfull, good and just together; tendering the good of his people, yet preserving the force of his Laws; designing always what is best, and constantly pursuing his good intentions; tempering bounty and clemency with needful justice and severity; we should all commend and extoll as worthy of most affectionate veneration; how much more then shall we be so affected towards him, in whom we apprehend all those excellencies to concurr without any imperfection or allay? especially if by attention we impress those conceptions upon our hearts; for how true and proper soever, if they be only slight and transient, they may not suffice to this intent; if they pass away as a flash, they will not be able to kindle in us any strong affection. But if such abstracted consideration of the divine perfections will not alone wholly avail, let us add hereto as a farther help toward the production and encrease of this divine grace in us.

Isa. 5. 4. Hab. 1. 13. Psal. 5. 4. 11. 5. &c.

2. The consideration of God's Works and Actions; his works of nature, his acts of providence, his works and acts of grace; the carefull meditating upon these will be apt to breed, to nourish, to improve and augment this affection. Even the contemplation of the lower works of nature, of this visible frame of things (upon which indeed many perspicuous characters of divine perfection, of immense power, of admirable wisdom, of abundant goodness are engraven) hath in many minds excited a very high degree of reverence and good affection toward God: the devoutest persons (the holy *Psalmist* particularly) we may observe frequent in this practice, inflaming their hearts with love, and elevating them in reverence toward God, by surveying the common works of God, by viewing and considering the magnificent vastness and variety, the goodly order and beauty, the constant duration and stability of those things we see; in remarking the general bounty and munificence with which this great *paterfamilias* hath provided for the necessary sustenance, for the convenience, for the defence, for the relief, for the delight and satisfaction of his creatures: even in the contemplation of these things being ravished with admiration and affection, how

Psal. 8. 18. 145. 109. 147.

how often do they thus exclaim: *O Lord, how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all. The earth is full of the goodneſs of the Lord: the earth, O Lord, is full of thy mercy! Great is our Lord, and of great power; his underſtanding is infinite; All thy works ſhall praiſe thee, O Lord*; With ſuch reflections, I ſay, upon thoſe common, yet admirable, and excellent works of God (which we perhaps with a regardleſs eye unprofitably paſs over) did thoſe good men kindle and foment pious affections toward God. The ſame effect may alſo the conſidering the very common proceedings of divine providence beget in us; ſuch as are diſcernible to every attentive mind, both from hiſtory and daily experience; conſidering God's admirable condeſcenſion in regarding and ordering humane affairs both for common benefit and for relief of particular neceſſities, his ſupplying the general needs of men, relieving the poor, ſuccouring the weak and helpleſs, protecting and vindicating the oppreſſed, his ſeaſonable encouraging and rewarding the good, reſtraining and chaſtiſing the bad: Even ſuch obſervations are productive of love to God in thoſe, who, according to that duty intimated by the Prophet, *do regard the works of the Lord, and conſider the operations of his hands*; *They who are wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, they* (as the Pſalmiſt tells) *ſhall underſtand the loving-kindneſs of the Lord*; underſtand it practically, ſo as to be duly affected thereby; and ſo accordingly we find the conſideration of theſe things applied by the great guides and patterns of our devotion. But eſpecially the ſtudy and contemplation of thoſe more high and rare proceedings of God, in managing his gracious deſign of our Redemption from ſin and miſery, wherein a wiſdom ſo unſearchable and a goodneſs ſo aſtoniſhing declare themſelves, are moſt proper and effectual means of begetting divine love: if the conſideration of God's eternal care for our welfare, of his deſcending to the loweſt condition for our ſake, of his willingly undertaking and patiently undergoing all kinds of inconvenience, of diſgrace, of bitter pain and ſorrow for us; of his freely offering us mercy, and earneſtly wooing us to receive it, even when offenders, when enemies, when rebels againſt him; of his bearing with exceeding patience all our neglects of him, all our injuries towards him; of his preparing a treaſure of perfect and endleſs bliſs, and uſing all means poſſible to bring us unto the poſſeſſion thereof; if, I ſay, conſidering thoſe wonderful ſtreins of goodneſs will not affect us, what can do it? How miſerably cold and damp muſt our affections be, if all thoſe powerful rays (ſo full of heavenly light and heat) ſhining through our minds cannot inflame them; how deſperately hard and tough muſt our hearts be, if ſuch incentives cannot ſoften and melt them? Is it not an apathy more than Stoical, more than ſtony, which can ſtand immovable before ſo mighty inducements to paſſion? is it not a horridly prodigious inſenſibility to think upon ſuch expreſſions of kindneſs without feeling affection reciprocal? But if the conſideration of God's general and publick beneficence will not touch us ſufficiently; let us farther hereto adjoin.

Pſal. 33. 5. 119. 64. 145. 10. 147. 4. &c.

Iſa. 5. 12. Pſal. 28. 5. 107. 43. 64. 9. 111. 2. 77. 11. 143. 5.

3. Serious reflections upon the peculiar (perſonal or private) benefits by the divine goodneſs vouchſafed unto our ſelves. There is, I ſuppoſe, ſcarce any man, who may not, if he be not very ſtupid and regardleſs, have obſerved (beſide the common effects of God's univerſal care and bounty wherein he partakes) even ſome particular expreſſions and teſtimonies of divine favour diſpenſed unto him by God's hand (apt to convince him of God's eſpecial providence, care and good-will to him particularly, and thereby to draw him unto God) both in reſpect to his tem-

poral and to his ſpiritual ſtate; in preventing and preſerving him from miſchiefs imminent, in opportune relief, when he was preſſed with want, or ſurpriſed by danger; in directing him to good and diverting him from evil. Every man's experience (I ſay and ſuppoſe) will inform him, that he hath received many ſuch benefits from a hand, inviſible indeed to ſenſe, yet eaſily diſcernible, if he do attend to the circumſtances wherein, to the ſeaſons when they come; it is natural to every man being in diſtreſs (from which he cannot by any preſent or viſible means extricate himſelf) to ſtretch forth his hand and lift up his voice towards heaven, making his recourſe to divine help; and it is as natural for God to regard the needs, to hearken to the cries, to ſatisfie the deſires
Pſal. 145. 16. 18. 107. 8. 34. 6, 10. 9. 9. Ecclus. 2. 10. of ſuch perſons (for, *The Lord is nigh to all that call upon him; he openeth his hand, and ſatisfieth the deſire of every living thing: He will be a refuge to the oppreſſed, a refuge in times of trouble: He ſatisfieth the longing ſoul, and filleth the hungry ſoul with goodneſs: They that ſeek the Lord, ſhall not want any good thing: Look at the generations of old and ſee: did ever any truſt in the Lord and was forſaken? or whom did he ever deſpiſe that called upon him? This poor man* (this, and that, any poor man) *cryed, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his troubles*) ſince then, no man in all likelihood hath not ſome occaſion of God's eſpecial favour and aſſiſtance, and God is always ſo ready to afford them, we may reaſonably preſume, that every man doth ſometime receive them, and is thereby obliged to return a gratefull affection to him, not only as to a common benefactour, but as to his particular friend and patron. However there is none of us, who may not perceive himſelf ſingularly indebted to God's patience in forbearing to puniſh him, to his mercy in pardoning and paſſing over innumerable offences
Luk. 7. 47. committed againſt him; the renowned Penitent in the Goſpel did *love much, becauſe much was forgiven her*; And who is there of us, that hath not the ſame reaſon to love much? who is there that, at leaſt according to God's inclination and intention, hath not had much forgiven him?
Rom. 2. 4. whom have not *the riches of divine goodneſs and long-ſuffering attended* upon *in order to his repentance?* who hath not been in ſo great degree ungratefull, unfruitfull and unprofitable, that he hath not abundant reaſon to acknowledge God's eſpecial grace in bearing with him, and to
Luk. 17. 10. Pſal. 130. 3. Gen. 32. 10. confeſs with *Jacob*, that he is *leſs than the leaſt of all God's mercies?* if any ſuch there were, he ſhould have no leſs cauſe to be affected with the abundance of that grace, which ſo preſerv'd him from ſins and provocations. For if we ſtand, it is he that *upholdeth us*; if we fall, it is he that
Pſal. 37. 23. 146. 8. *raiſeth us*; it is his eſpecial favour that either we avoid ſin, or ſinning eſcape puniſhment. Now then God having by many real evidences declared ſuch particular affection towards us, can we conſidering thereon
1 Joh. 4. 19. do otherwiſe than ſay to our ſelves, after Saint *John*, *Nos ergò diligamus deum, quoniam prior dilexit nos*; *Let us therefore love God, becauſe God firſt loved us*; ſurely in all ingenuity, according to all equity, we are bound to do ſo; the reaſon and nature of things doth require it of us: all other loves (even thoſe of the baſer ſort) are able to propagate
Ἐσ τέκνις γὰρ ἢ τέκνιν τίκτω ἀεί. Soph. themſelves; (to continue and enlarge their kind) are commonly fruitfull and effectual in producing their like; how ſtrangely then unnatural and monſtrous is it, that this love only (this ſo vigorous and perfect
Matt. 5. 46. love) ſhould be barren and impotent as it were? *If you love thoſe that love you* (ſaith our Saviour) *what reward have you?* (what reward can you pretend to for ſo common, ſo neceſſary a performance) *do not even the publicans do the ſame?* (the Publicans, men not uſually of the beſt

natures,

natures, or tendereſt hearts, yet they do thus) And (again ſaith he) *If you love thoſe who love you, what thank is it, for even ſinners love thoſe that love them*? (ſinners, men not led by conſcience of duty, or regard, to reaſon, but hurried with a kind of blind and violent force, by inſtinct of nature, do ſo much, go ſo far) If thus men, both by nature and cuſtom moſt untractable, the leaſt guided by rules of right, of reaſon, of ingenuity; yea not only the moſt barbarous men, but even the moſt ſavage beaſts are ſenſible of courteſies, return a kind of affection unto them who make much of them and do them good, what temper are we of, if all that bounty we experience cannot move us; if God's daily *loading us with his benefits*, if his *crowning us with loving-kindneſs and tender mercies*, if all thoſe *ſhowers of oleſſings*, which he continually poureth down upon our heads do not produce ſome good degree of correſpondent affection in us? It cannot ſurely proceed altogether from a wretched baſeneſs of diſpoſition, that we are ſo cold and indifferent in our affection toward God, or are ſometimes ſo averſe from loving him; it muſt rather in great part come from our not obſerving carefully, not frequently calling to mind, not earneſtly conſidering what God hath done for us, how exceedingly we ſtand obliged to his goodneſs, from our following that untoward generation of men, who were not ('tis ſaid) *mindfull of the wonders which God did among them; who remembred not his hand, nor the day that he delivered them*; rather following, I ſay ſuch careleſs and *heartleſs people* (ſo they are termed) than imitating that excellent Perſon's diſcretion, who conſtantly did *ſet God's loving-kindneſs before his eyes*, who frequently did thus raiſe his mind and rouſe, up his affections; *Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me bleſs his holy name; Bleſs the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits, who forgiveth all thine iniquities and healeth all thy diſeaſes*, &c. It is not for want of the like experience, or the like obligation, but for want of the ſame wiſdom, of the ſame care, of the ſame honeſt conſideration and diligence, that we do not the like.

Luke 6. 32. Pſal. 68. 19. 103. 14. Ezek. 34. 26. Neh. 9. 17. Pſal. 78. 10, 42. Deut. 5. 29. 29. 4. Pſal. 26. 3. Pſal. 103.

To theſe means I add that,

4. A ſpecial help to breed in us this holy diſpoſition of ſoul will be the ſetting our ſelves in good earneſt, with a ſtrong and conſtant reſolution, to endeavour the performance of all our duty toward God, and keeping his commandments although upon inferiour conſiderations of reaſon, ſuch as we are capable of applying to this purpoſe; regards of fear, of hope, of deſire to avoid the miſchiefs ariſing from ſin, or attaining the benefits enſuing upon vertue. if we cannot immediately raiſe our hearts to that higher pitch of acting from that nobler principle of love, let us however apply that we can reach unto practice, ſtriving as we are able to perform what God requires of us; exerciſing our ſelves as to material acts, in keeping a conſcience void of offence toward God and toward man; the doing which as it may in time diſcover the excellency of goodneſs to our mind, ſo it will by degrees reconcile our affections thereto; then by God's bleſſing (who graciouſly regards the meaneſt endeavours toward good; who *deſpiſeth not the day of ſmall things*; who will *not quench the ſmoaking flax nor break the bruiſed reed*) from doing good out of a ſober regard to our own welfare, we ſhall come to like it in it ſelf, and conſequently to love him, unto whoſe nature and to whoſe will it renders us conformable: for as doing ill breeds a diſlike to goodneſs, and an averſation from him, who himſelf is full thereof, and who rigorouſly exacts it of us; as a bad conſcience removes expectation of good from God, and begets a ſuſpicion of evil from him, conſe-

Iſa. 42. 1. Zech. 4. 10.

quently ſtifling all kindneſs towards him; ſo doing well, we ſhall become acquainted with it, and friends thereto; a hearty approbation, eſteem and good liking thereof will enſue; finding by experience, that indeed the ways of wiſdom, vertue and piety are pleaſantneſs, and all her paths are peace; that the fruits of conſcientious practice are health to our body, and to our ſoul, ſecurity to our eſtate, and to our reputation, reſt in our mind, and comfort in our conſcience; goodneſs will become precious in our eyes, and he who commends it to us, being himſelf eſſential goodneſs; will appear moſt venerable and moſt amiable, we ſhall then become diſpoſed to render him, what we perceive he beſt deſerves, entire reverence and affection.

5. But I commend farther, as a moſt neceſſary mean of attaining this diſpoſition, aſſiduous earneſt prayer unto God, that he would in mercy beſtow it on us, and by his grace beſtow it on us: which practice is indeed doubly conducible to this purpoſe; both in way of impetration, and by real efficacy; it will not fail to obtain it as a gift from God; it will help to produce it as an inſtrument of God's grace.

Upon the firſt account it is abſolutely neceſſary; for it is from God's free repreſentation of himſelf as lovely to our minds, and drawing our hearts unto him (although ordinarily in the uſe of the means already mentioned, or ſome like to them) that this affection is kindled; our bare conſideration is too cold, our rational diſcourſe too faint; we cannot ſufficiently recollect our wandring thoughts, we cannot ſtrongly enough impreſs thoſe proper incentives of love upon our hearts (our hearts ſo dampt with ſenſual deſires ſo clogg'd and peſter'd with earthly inclinations) ſo as to kindle in our ſouls this holy flame; it can onely be effected by a light ſhining from God, by a fire coming from heaven: As all others, ſo more eſpecially this Queen of graces muſt proceed from the Father of lights, and giver of all good gifts: he alone, who is love, can be the parent of ſo goodly an off-ſpring, can beget this
Galat. 5. 22. lively image of himſelf within us: it is the principal *fruit of God's Holy Spirit*, nor can it grow from any other root than from it; it is called the *love of the Spirit*, as its moſt ſignal and peculiar effect; in fine, *the*
Rom. 15. 30. *love of God* (as Saint *Paul* expreſly teaches us) *is ſhed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit given unto us*; given, but that not without asking, without ſeeking; a grace ſo excellent, God, we may be aſſured will not diſpenſe, a gift ſo precious he will not beſtow on them, who do not care to look after it, who will not vouchſafe to beg it: if we are not willing to acknowledge our want thereof; if we refuſe to expreſs our deſire of it, if we will not ſhew that we regard and value it; if, when God freely offers it, and invites us to receive it (he doth ſo by
Luk. 11. 9, offering his Holy Spirit, the fountain thereof, unto us) we will not de-
13. cently apply our ſelves to him for it, how can we expect to obtain it?
Matt. 21. 22. God hath propounded this condition (and 'tis ſurely no hard, no griev-
7. 7. ous condition) *if we ask we ſhall receive*; he hath expreſly promiſed
1 Chro. 28. 9. that *He will give his Spirit* (his Spirit of love) *to them who ask it*;
2 Chro. 15. 2. we may be therefore ſure, performing the condition duly, to obtain it; and as ſure, neglecting that, we deſerve to go without it.

Prayer then is upon this account a needful means; and it is a very profitable one upon the ſcore of its own immediate energy or virtue: for as by familiar converſe (together with the delights and advantages attending thereon) other friendſhips are begot and nouriſhed, ſo even by that acquaintance, as it were, with God, which devotion beſets,

by

by experience therein how ſweet and good he is, this affection is produced and ſtrengthned. As want of entercourſe weakens and diſſolves friendſhip; ſo if we ſeldom come at God, or little converſe with him, it is not only a ſign, but will be a cauſe of eſtrangement and diſaffection towards him: according to the nature of the thing, prayer hath peculiar advantages above other acts of piety, to this effect: therein not only as in contemplation the eye of our mind (our intellectual part) is directed toward God; but our affections alſo (the hand of our ſoul by which we embrace good, the feet thereof by which we purſue it) are drawn out and fixed upon him; we not only therein behold his excellencies, but in a manner feel them and enjoy them; our hearts alſo being thereby ſoftned and warmed by deſire become more ſuſceptive of love. We do in the performance of this duty approach nearer to God, and conſequently God draws nearer to us (as ſaint *James* aſſures; *Draw near*, ſaith he, *unto God, and he will draw near to you*) and thereby we partake more fully and ſtrongly of his gracious influences; therein indeed he moſt freely communicates his grace, therein he makes us moſt ſenſible of his love to us, and thereby diſpoſeth us to love him again. I add, that true (fervent and hearty) prayer doth include, and ſuppoſe ſome acts of love, or ſome near tendencies thereto; whence, as every habit is corroborated by acts of its kind, ſo by this practice divine love will be confirmed and encreaſed. Theſe are the means, which my meditation did ſuggeſt as conducing to the production and growth of this moſt excellent grace in our ſouls.

Πολλὰς μὲν φιλίας ἀπροσηγορίη διέλυσε.

Jam. 4. 8.

III. I ſhould laſtly propound ſome Inducements apt to ſtir us up to the endeavour of procuring it, and to the exerciſe thereof, by repreſenting to your conſideration the bleſſed fruits and benefits (both by way of natural cauſality and of reward) accruing from it; as alſo the woful conſequences and miſchiefs ſpringing from the want thereof. How being endued with it perfects and advances our nature, rendring it in a manner and degree divine, by reſemblance to God (who is full thereof, ſo full that he is called Love) by approximation, adherence and union (in a ſort) unto him: how it ennobles us with the moſt glorious alliance poſſible, rendring us the friends and favourites of the Sovereign King and Lord of all, brethren of the firſt-born, whoſe names are written in heaven; enriches us with a right and title to the moſt ineſtimable treaſures (thoſe which *eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, nor have entred into the heart of man to conceive, which God hath prepared for them that love him*) a ſure poſſeſſion of the ſupreme good, of all that God is able to beſtow, all whoſe wiſdom and power, whoſe counſel and care it eternally engageth for our benefit; how all ſecurity and welfare, all reſt and peace, all joy and happineſs attend upon it; for that *The Lord preſerveth all them that love him* (preſerveth them in the enjoyment of all good, in ſafety from all danger and miſchief) and that *to thoſe who love God all things co-operate for their good:* how incomparable a ſweetneſs and delight accompany the practice thereof, far ſurpaſſing all other pleaſures; perfectly able to content our minds, to ſuſtain and comfort us even in the want of all other ſatisfactions, yea under the preſſure of whatever moſt grievous afflictions can befall us. How contrariwiſe the want thereof will depreſs us into a ſtate of greateſt imperfection and baſeneſs, ſetting us at the greateſt diſtance from God in all reſpects, both in ſimilitude of Nature, and as to all favourable regard, or beneficial communication from him: caſting us into a wretched and diſgraceful conſortſhip with the moſt degenerate creatures,

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Pſal. 145. 20.

Rom. 8. 28.

tures, the accurſed fiends, who, for diſaffection and enmity toward God, are baniſhed from all happineſs; how it extremely impoveriſheth and beggereth us, deveſting us of all right to any good thing, rendring us incapable of any portion, but that of utter darkneſs; how it excludeth us from any ſafety, any reſt, any true comfort or joy, and expoſeth us to all miſchief and miſery imaginable; all that being deprived of the divine protection, preſence and favour, being made objects of the divine anger, hatred and ſevere juſtice, being abandoned to the malice of hell, being driven into utter darkneſs and eternal fire doth import or can produce. I ſhould alſo have commended this love to you by comparing it with other loves, and ſhewing how far in its nature, in its cauſes, in its properties, in its effects it excelleth them: even ſo far as the object thereof in excellency doth tranſcend all other objects of our affection: how this is grounded upon the higheſt and ſureſt reaſon; others upon accounts very low and mean, commonly upon fond humour and miſtake; this produceth real, certain, immutable goods; others at beſt terminate only in goods apparent, unſtable and tranſitory; this is moſt worthy of us, employing all our faculties in their nobleſt manner of operation upon the beſt object; others misbeſeem us, ſo that in purſuing them we diſgrace our underſtanding, miſapply our deſires, diſtemper our affections, miſpend our endeavours. I ſhould have enlarged upon theſe conſiderations; and ſhould have adjoyned ſome particular advantages of this grace; as for inſtance, that the procuring thereof is the moſt ſure, the moſt eaſie, the moſt compendious way of attaining all others; of ſweetning and ingratiating all obedience to us; of making the hardeſt yoke eaſie, and the heavieſt burden light unto us. In fine, I ſhould have wiſhed you to conſider, that its practice is not only a mean and way to happineſs, but our very formal happineſs it ſelf; the real enjoyment of the beſt good we are capable of; that in which alone heaven it ſelf (the felicity of Saints and Angels) doth conſiſt; which more than comprehends in it ſelf all the benefits of higheſt dignity, richeſt plenty and ſweeteſt pleaſure. But I ſhall forbear entring upon ſo ample and fruitful ſubjects of meditation, and conculde with that good Collect of our Church:

O Lord, who haſt prepared for them that love thee ſuch good things as paſs man's underſtanding; pour into our hearts ſuch love toward thee, that we, loving thee above all things, may obtain thy promiſes, which exceed all that we can deſire: through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXV.

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

MATTH. XXII. 39.

And the Second is like unto it, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.

THE eſſential goodneſs of God, and his ſpecial benignity toward mankind are to a conſidering mind divers ways very apparent; the frame of the world, and the natural courſe of things do with a thouſand voices loudly and clearly proclaim them to us; every ſenſe doth yield us *affidavit* to that Speech of the Holy Pſalmiſt, *The earth is full of the goodneſs of the Lord:* we ſee it in the glorious brightneſs of the skies, and in the pleaſant verdure of the fields; we taſte it in the various delicacies of food, ſupplied by land and ſee; we ſmell it in the fragrancies of herbs and flowers; we hear it in the natural muſick of the woods; we feel it in the comfortable warmth of heaven, and in the chearing freſhneſs of the air; we continually do poſſeſs and enjoy it in the numberleſs accommodations of life, preſented to us by the bountiful hand of nature. Pſal. 33. 5. 119. 64.

Of the ſame goodneſs we may be well aſſured by that common providence which continually doth uphold us in our being, doth oppertunely relieve our needs, doth protect us in dangers, and reſcue us from imminent miſchiefs, doth comport with our infirmities and miſdemeanours; the which (in the divine Pſalmiſt's ſtyle) *doth hold our ſoul in life, and ſuffereth not our feet to be moved*; doth *redeem our life from deſtruction*; doth *crown us with loving-kindneſs, and tender mercies.* Pſal. 66. 9. 56. 13. 103. 4. 145. 16.

The diſpenſations of grace, in the revelation of heavenly truth, in the overtures of mercy, in the ſuccours of our weakneſs, in the propoſal of glorious rewards, in all the methods and means conducing to our ſalvation, do afford moſt admirable proofs and pledges of the ſame immenſe benignity.

But in nothing is the divine goodneſs towards us more illuſtriouſly conſpicuous, than in the nature and tendency of thoſe Laws which God hath been pleaſed for the regulation of our lives to preſcribe unto us, all which do palpably evidence his ſerious deſire and provident care of our welfare; ſo that in impoſing them he plainly doth not ſo much exerciſe his Sovereignty over us, as expreſs his kindneſs towards us; neither do they more clearly declare his will, than demonſtrate his good will to us.

And among all divine Precepts this eſpecially contained in my Text, doth argue the wonderful goodneſs of our heavenly Law-giver, appearing both in the manner of the propoſal, and in the ſubſtance of it.

The

Luke 10. 27. *The Second*, ſaith our Lord, *is like to it*; that is, to the Precept of *loving the Lord our God with all our heart*: and is not this a mighty argument of immenſe goodneſs in God, that he doth in ſuch a manner commend this duty to us, coupling it with our main duty towards him, and requiring us with like earneſtneſs to love our neighbour as to love himſelf?

He is tranſcendently amiable for the excellency of his nature; he by innumerable and ineſtimable benefits graciouſly conferred on us hath deſerved our utmoſt affection; ſo that naturally there can be no obligation bearing any proportion or conſiderable ſemblance to that of loving him; yet hath he in goodneſs been pleaſed to create one, and to endue it with that privilege; making the love of a man (whom we cannot value but for *his* gifts, to whom we can owe nothing but what properly we owe to *him*) no leſs obligatory, to declare it near as acceptable as the love of himſelf, to whom we owe all. To him, as the ſole authour and free donour of all our good, by juſt correſpondence all our mind and heart, all our ſtrength and endeavour are due: and reaſonably might he engroſs them to himſelf, excluding all other beings from any ſhare in them; ſo that we might be obliged only to fix our thoughts and ſet our affections on him, only to act directly for his honour and intereſt; ſaying with the Holy Pſalmiſt, *Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none on earth that I deſire beſide thee*: Yet doth he freely pleaſe to impart a ſhare of theſe performances on mankind; yet doth he charge us to place our affection on one another; to place it there indeed in a meaſure ſo large that we can hardly imagine a greater; according to a rule, than which none can be deviſed more compleat or certain.

Pſal. 73. 25.

O marvellous condeſcenſion, O goodneſs truly divine; which ſurpaſſeth the nature of things, which diſpenſeth with the higheſt right, and forgoeth the greateſt intereſt that can be! Doth not God in a ſort debaſe himſelf, that he might advance us? doth he not appear to wave his own due, and neglect his own honour for our advantage? how otherwiſe could the love of man be capable of any reſemblance to the love of God, and not ſtand at an infinite diſtance, or in an extreme diſparity from it? how otherwiſe could we be obliged to affect or regard any thing beſide the Sovereign, the only goodneſs? how otherwiſe could there be any *ſecond* or like to *that firſt*, *that great*, that peerleſs command, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart?*

Matt. 19. 17.
Matt. 22. 38.

This indeed is the higheſt commendation whereof any Law is capable for as to be like God is the higheſt praiſe that can be given to a perſon ſo to reſemble the divineſt Law of love to God is the faireſt characte that can be aſſigned of a Law: the which indeed repreſenteth it to b νόμος Βασιλικὸς, as Saint *James* calleth it, that is, a *Royal* and Sove reign Law; exalted above all others, and bearing a ſway on them Saint *Paul* telleth us, that *the end of the commandment* (or, the mai ſcope of the Evangelical doctrine) is *charity out of a pure heart and good conſcience, and faith unfeigned*; that charity *is the ſumme* and ſub ſtance of all other duties, and that *he that loveth another hath fulfilled the* whole *law*; that Charity is the chief of the Theological vertues, an *the prime fruit of the divine ſpirit*; and *the bond of perfection*, whic combineth and conſummateth all other graces, and the general princip of all our doings. S. *Peter* enjoyneth us that to all other vertues we a *charity*, as the top and crown of them; and *Above all things* (ſaith h *have fervent charity among your ſelves.* Saint *John* calleth this Law, t

Jam. 2. 8.
1 Tim. 1. 6.
Rom. 13. 8, 9.
Gal. 5. 14.
1 Cor. 13. 13.
Gal. 5. 22.
Col. 3. 14.
1 Cor. 16. 14.
2 Pet. 1. 7.
1 Pet. 4. 8.

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way of exellence, *the commandment of God*; and our Lord himself claimeth it as his peculiar Precept, *This* (saith he) *is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you*; *A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another*; and maketh the observance of it the special cognizance of his followers, *By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.* 1 Joh. 3. 23. 11. 4. 21. Joh. 15. 12. Joh. 13. 34. Joh. 13. 35.

These indeed are lofty commendations thereof, yet all of them may worthily veil to this; all of them seem verified in virtue of this, because God hath vouchsafed to place this command in so near adjacency to the first great Law, conjoyning the two Tables; making Charity contiguous, and as it were commensurate to Piety.

It is true, that in many respects Charity doth resemble Piety: for it is the most genuine daughter of Piety, thence in complexion, in features, in humour much favouring its sweet mother; It doth consist in like dispositions and motions of soul; It doth grow from the same roots and principles of benignity, ingenuity, equity, gratitude, planted in our original constitution by the breath of God, and improved in our hearts by the divine *Spirit of Love*; It produceth the like fruits of beneficence towards others and of comfort in our selves; It in like manner doth assimilate us to God, rendring us conformable to his nature, followers of his practice and partakers of his felicity; It is of like use and consequence towards the regulation of our practice, and due management of our whole life: In such respects, I say, this Law is like to the other; but it is however chiefly so for that God hath pleased to lay so great stress thereon, as to make it the other half of our Religion a n duty; or because, as Saint *John* saith, *This commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also*; which is to his praise a most pregnant demonstration of his immense goodness towards us. 1. Joh. 4. 7. 11. Matt. 5. 45. Eph. 5. 1. 2. Matt. 22. 40. 1 Joh. 4. 21.

But no less in the very substance of this Duty will the benignity of him that prescribeth it shine forth, displaying it self in the rare beauty and sweetness of it; together with the vast benefit and utility, which it, being observed, will yield to mankind; which will appear by what we may discourse for pressing its observance; but first let us explain it, as it lyeth before us expressed in the words of the Text, wherein we shall consider two Particulars observable: First, the Object of the Duty; Secondly, the Qualification annexed to it; The Object of it, *Our Neighbour*; The Qualification, *As our selves.*

I. The Object of Charity is *our Neighbour*; that is, (it being understood, as the Precept now concerneth us, according to our Lord's exposition, or according to his intent, and the tenour of his Doctrine every man, with whom we have to do, or who is capable of our love, especially every Christian.

The Law as it was given to God's ancient people did openly regard only those among them, who were linked together in a holy neighbourhood or Society, from which all other men being excluded were deemed strangers and foreigners; (*aliens*, as Saint *Paul* speaketh, *from the common-wealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise.*) for thus the Law runneth in *Leviticus*, *Thou shalt not bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self*; where plainly *Jews* and *Neighbours* are terms equivalent; other men being supposed to stand at distance without the fold or politick enclosure, which God by several Ordinances had fenced, to keep that Nation unmixt and separate: nor can it be excepted against this notion, that in the same Chapter it is enjoined, *But the stranger that dwelleth* Eph. 2. 12. Levit. 19. 18. Levit. 20. 26. 24. Exod. 33. 16. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2.

Levit. 19. 34. *with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thy self*; for by that stranger (as the *Jewish* Masters will interpret it) is meant *a Proselyte of righteousness*; or one who although a stranger by birth, was yet a brother in Religion, having voluntarily submitted to their Law, being engaged in the same Covenant, and thence admitted to the same Priveleges, as an adopted Child of that Holy Family.

Eph. 2. 14. Gal. 3. 28. Acts 10. 36. Tit. 3. 4. Joh. 3. 16. But now, such distinctions of men being voided, and that *wall of partition* demolished, all the world is become one people; subject to the Laws of one common Lord; and capable of the mercies purchased by one Redeemer. God's love to mankind did move him to send our Lord into the world, to assume humane nature, and therein to become a Mediatour between God and men. Our Lord's kindness to all his brethren disposed him to undertake their salvation, and to expiate their sins, and *to taste death for every man*; the effect whereof is an universal reconciliation of God to the world, and an union of men together.

1 Tim. 2. 5. 1 Joh. 2. 2. Heb. 2. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Col. 1. 20.

Eph. 1. 10. 2. 13. Now the blood of Christ hath cemented mankind; the favour of God embracing all hath approximated and combined all together; so that now every man is our brother, not only by nature, as derived from the same stock, but by grace, as partaker of the common redemption; Now God *desiring the salvation of all men*, and inviting all men to mercy, our duty must be co-extended with God's grace, and our charity must follow that of our Saviour.

1 Tim. 2. 4. Tit. 2. 11. Col. 1. 23.

We are therefore now to all men, that which one *Jew* was to another; yea more than such, our Christianity having induced much higher obligations, stricter alliances and stronger endearments, than were those, whereby *Judaism* did engage its followers to mutual amity. The duties of common humanity, (to which our natural frame and sense do incline us, which Philosophy recommendeth and natural Religion doth prescribe, being grounded upon our community of nature and cognation of blood, upon apparent equity, upon general convenience and utility) our Religion doth not only enforce and confirm, but enhance and improve; superadding higher instances and faster tyes of spiritual relation, reaching in a sort to all men (as being in duty, in design, in remote capacity our spiritual brethren) but in especial manner to all Christians, who actually are fellow-members of the same holy fraternity, contracted by spiritual regeneration from one heavenly seed, supported by a common faith and hope, strengthened by communion in acts of devotion and charity.

1 Pet. 1 23 2. 17.

Hereon therefore are grounded those Evangelical commands, explicatory of this Law as it now standeth in force; that *as we have opportunity we should do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith*; that *we should abound in love one towards another, and towards all men*, that we *should glorifie God in our professed subjection unto the Gospel of Christ, by liberally distributing to the Saints, and to all men*; that we should *follow peace with all men*, should *be patient towards all men*, and *gentle towards all men*, and *shew all meekness towards all men* and *ever follow that which is good both among our selves, and to all men*; that we should *make supplications, intercessions and thanksgivings for all men*, especially for *all Saints*, or all our Fellow-Christians, and * *express moderation*, or ingenuity, *to all men*.

Gal. 6. 10. 1 Thess. 3. 12. 2 Cor. 9. 12. 13. Heb. 12. 24. 1 Thess. 5. 14. Tit. 3. 2. 1 Thess. 5. 15. ἤπιον εἰς πρὸς πάντας 2 Tim. 2. 24. 1 Tim. 2. 1. Eph 6. 18.

* Phil. 4. 5.

Such is the Object of our Charity; and thus did our Lord himself expound it, when by a *Jewish* Lawyer being put to resolve this question, *And who is my neighbour?* he did propound a case, or history, whereby he did extort from that *Rabbi* this confession, that even a *Samaritan*, discharging

Luke. 10. 29

charging a notable office of humanity and mercy to a *Jew*, did thereby most truly approve himself a good neighbour to him; and consequently that reciprocal performances of such offices were due from a *Jew* to a *Samaritan*; whence it might appear, that this relation of neighbourhood is universal and unlimited. So much for the object.

Πλησίον δὲ ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ ὁμοιοπαθὲς καὶ λογικὸν ζῶον, &c. Just. M. c. Tryph. (p. 320.)

II. As for the Qualification annexed and couched in those words, *as thy self*, that, as I conceive, may import both a Rule declaring the Nature, and a Measure determining the Quantity of that love which is due from us to our neighbour; the comparative term *As* implying both Conformity or Similitude, and Commensuration or Equality.

Ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς φιλίας τῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁμοῦ. Arist. Eth. 9. 4.

1. Loving our neighbour *as our selves* doth import a Rule directing what kind of love we should bear and exercise towards him; or informing us, that our charity doth consist in having the same affections of soul, and in performing the same acts of beneficence towards him, as we are ready by inclination, as we are wont in practice to have or to perform towards our selves, with full approbation of our judgment and conscience, apprehending it just and reasonable so to do.

We cannot indeed better understand the nature of this duty, than by reflecting on the motions of our own heart, and observing the course of our demeanour towards our selves; for thence infallibly we may be assured how we should stand affected, and how we should behave our selves towards others.

This is a peculiar advantage of this Rule (inferring the excellent wisdom and goodness of him who framed it) that by it very easily and certainly we may discern all the specialties of our duty, without looking abroad or having recourse to external instruction; so that by it we may be perfect Law-givers, and skilful Judges, and faithful Monitours to our selves of what in any case we should do: for every one by internal experience knoweth what it is to love himself, every one is conscious how he useth to treat himself; each one consequently can prescribe and decide for himself, what he ought to do towards his neighbour; so that we are not only θεοδίδακτοι *taught of God*, as the Apostle saith, *to love one another*, but αὐτοδίδακτοι, taught of our selves how to exercise that duty; whence our Lord otherwhere doth propose the Law of charity in these terms, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets*; that is, unto this Rule all the special precepts of charity proposed in Holy Scripture, may be reduced.

Οὐ χρεία πολλῶν λόγων οὐδὲ μακροτέρων νόμων οὐδὲ διδασκαλίας ποικίλης· τὸ θέλημά σου γινέσθω νόμος — Σὺ γένου δικαστής. Σὺ γένου νομοθέτης τῆς σεαυτοῦ ζωῆς. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ιγ'. 1 Thess. 4. 9. Matt. 7. 12. Luk. 6. 31. Ὃ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσῃς. Tob. 4. 15. Const. Apost. 1. 1.

Wherefore for information concerning our duty in each case and circumstance, we need only thus to consult and interrogate our selves, hence forming resolutions concerning our practice.

Do we not much esteem and set by our selves, do we not strive to maintain in our minds a good opinion of our selves; can any mischances befalling, any defects observable in us, any faults committed by us induce us to slight or despise our selves? this may teach us what regard and value we should ever preserve for our neighbour.

Do we not sincerely and earnestly desire our own welfare and advantage in every kind; do we not heartily wish good success to our own designs and undertakings; are we unconcerned or coldly affected in any case touching our own safety, our estate, our credit, our satisfaction or pleasure? do we not especially, if we rightly understand our selves, desire the health and happiness of our souls? this doth inform us, what we should wish and covet for our neighbour.

Ὁ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπῶν, ἅπερ αὐτῷ βούλεται ἀγαθὰ, ἀγαθὰ κἀκείνῳ βουλήσεται. &c. Just. M. c. Tryph. (p. 321.)

Have we not a ſenſible delight and complacency in our own proſperity? do we ever repine at any advantages accruing to our perſon or condition? are we not extremely glad to find our ſelves thriving and flouriſhing in wealth, in reputation, in any accommodation or ornament of our ſtate? eſpecially if we be ſober and wiſe, doth not our ſpiritual proficiency and improvement in vertue yield joyous ſatisfaction to us? are we not much comforted in apprehending our ſelves to proceed in a hopefull way towards everlaſting felicity? this may inſtruct us what content we ſhould feel in our neighbours proſperity, both temporal and ſpiritual.

Do we not ſeriouſly grieve at our own diſaſters and diſappointments; are we not in ſad dumps, whenever we incurr any damage or diſgrace; do not our diſeaſes and pains ſorely afflict us; do we not pity and bemoan our ſelves in any want, calamity or diſtreſs? can we eſpecially, if we are our ſelves, without grievous diſpleaſure apprehend our ſelves enſlaved to Sin and Satan, deſtitute of God's favour, expoſed to endleſs miſery? hence may we learn how we ſhould condole and commiſerate the miſfortunes of our neighbour.

Do we not eagerly proſecute our own concerns? do we not with huge vigour and induſtry ſtrive to acquire all conveniences and comforts to our ſelves, to rid our ſelves of all wants and moleſtations? is our ſolicitous care or painful endeavour ever wanting toward the ſupport and ſuccour of our ſelves in any of our needs? are we ſatisfied in merely wiſhing our ſelves well? are we not alſo buſie and active in procuring what we affect? eſpecially, if we are well adviſed, do we not effectually provide for the weal of our ſoul, and ſupply of our ſpiritual neceſſities; labouring to reſcue our ſelves from ignorance and errour, from the tyranny of ſin, from the torture of a bad conſcience, from the danger of hell? this ſheweth how ready we ſhould be really to further our neighbours's good, miniſtring to him all kinds of aſſiſtance and relief ſuitable to his needs, both corporal and ſpiritual.

Are we ſo proud or nice, that we diſdain to yield attendance or ſervice needfull for our own ſuſtenance or convenience? do we not indeed gladly perform the meaneſt and moſt ſordid offices for our ſelves? this declareth how condeſcenſive we ſhould be in helping our neighbour, how ready even *to waſh his feet*, when occaſion doth require.

Do we love to vex our ſelves, or croſs our own humour? do we not rather ſeek by all means to pleaſe and gratifie our ſelves? this may warn us, how innocent and inoffenſive, how compliant and complacent we
Rom. 15. 2. ſhould be in our behaviour towards others; endeavouring *to pleaſe them in all things*, eſpecially *for their good to edification.*

Are we eaſily angry with our ſelves, do we retain implacable grudges againſt our ſelves, or do we execute upon our ſelves miſchievous revenge? are we not rather very meek and patient towards our ſelves, mildly comporting with our own great weakneſſes, our troubleſome humours, our impertinences and follies; readily forgiving our ſelves the moſt heinous offences, neglects, affronts, injuries and outrages committed by us againſt our own intereſt, honour and welfare? hence may we derive leſſons of meekneſs and patience, to be exerciſed towards our neighbour, in bearing his infirmities and miſcarriages, in remitting any wrongs or diſcourteſies received from him.

Are we apt to be rude in our deportment, harſh in our language, or rigorous in our dealing towards our ſelves? do we not rather in word and deed treat our ſelves very ſoftly, very indulgently? Do we uſe to

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pry for faults, or to pick quarrels with our ſelves, to carp at any thing ſaid or done by us, raſhly or upon ſlight grounds to charge blame on our ſelves, to lay heavy cenſures on our actions, to make foul conſtructions of our words, to blazon our defects, or aggravate our failings? do we not rather connive at and conceal our blemiſhes; do we not excuſe and extenuate our own crimes?

Can we find in our hearts to frame virulent invectives, or to dart bitter taunts and ſcoffs againſt our ſelves; to murder our own credit by ſlander, to blaſt it by detraction, to maim it by reproach, to proſtitute it to be deflowred by jeering and ſcurrilous abuſe? are we not rather very jealous of our reputation, and ſtudious to preſerve it, as a precious ornament, a main fence, an uſefull inſtrument of our welfare?

Do we delight to report, or like to hear ill ſtories of our ſelves? do we not rather endeavour all we can to ſtifle them; to tie the tongues and ſtop the ears of men againſt them? hence may we be acquainted how civil and courteous in our behaviour, how fair and ingenuous in our dealing, how candid and mild in our judgment or cenſure we ſhould be towards our neighbour; how very tender and carefull we ſhould be of any-wiſe wronging or hurting his fame.

Thus reflecting on our ſelves, and making our practice towards our ſelves the pattern of our dealing with others, we ſhall not fail to diſcharge what is preſcribed to us in this Law: and ſo we have here a Rule of Charity. But farther,

2. Loving our neighbour as our ſelves doth alſo import the meaſure of our love towards him; that it ſhould be commenſurate and equal in degree to that love which we bear and exerciſe towards our ſelves. Saint *Peter* once and again doth exhort us *to love one another* ἐκτενῶς, *with an outſtretched affection*; and how far that affection ſhould be ſtretched we are here informed; even that it ſhould reach the fartheſt that can be, or to a parity with that intenſe love, which we do bear in heart, and expreſs in performance towards our ſelves: ſo that we do either bring down our ſelf-love to ſuch a moderation, or raiſe up our charity to ſuch a fervency, that both come to be adjuſted in the ſame even level; this is that pitch, at which we ſhould aim and aſpire; this is that perfection of charity, which our Lord recommendeth to us in that injunction, *Be perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect.* 1 Pet. 1. 22. 4. 8. Mat. 5. 48.

That this ſenſe of the words is included, yea chiefly intended, divers reaſons will evince: For

1. The moſt natural ſignification and common uſe of the phraſe doth import thus much; and any one at firſt hearing would ſo underſtand the words.

2. It appeareth by comparing this Precept with that to which it is annexed, *of loving God with all our heart and all our ſoul*, which manifeſtly deſigneth the quantity and degree of that love; conſequently the like determination is intended in this precept, which is expreſſed to reſemble that, or deſigned in like manner to qualifie and bound our duty towards our neighbour.

3. If the Law doth not ſignifie thus much, it doth hardly ſignifie any thing; not at leaſt any thing of direction or uſe to us; for no man is ignorant that he is obliged to love his neighbour, but how far that love muſt extend, is the point wherein moſt of us do need to be reſolved, and without ſatisfaction in which we ſhall hardly do any thing; for as he that oweth money will not pay except he can tell how much it is; ſo to know the Duty will not avail towards effectual obſervance of it, if its meaſure be not fixed.

4. Indeed,

4. Indeed, the Law otherwise underſtood will rather be apt to miſguide than to direct us; inducing us to apprehend, that we ſhall ſatisfie its intent and ſufficiently diſcharge our duty, by practiſing charity in any low degree or mean inſtance. Alſo,

5. The former ſenſe, which is unqueſtionable, doth infer and eſtabliſh this; becauſe ſimilitude of love, morally ſpeaking, cannot conſiſt with inequality thereof; for if in conſiderable degrees we love our ſelves more than others, aſſuredly we ſhall fail both in exerting ſuch internal acts of affection, and in performing ſuch external offices of kindneſs toward them, as we do exert and perform in regard to our ſelves; whence this Law, taken merely as a Rule, demanding a confuſed and imperfect ſimilitude of practice, will have no clear obligation or certain efficacy.

6. But farther to aſſure this expoſition, I ſhall declare that the Duty thus interpreted is agreeable to reaſon, and may juſtly be required of us, upon conſiderations, which together will ſerve to preſs the obſervance of it, according to ſuch meaſure.

1. It is reaſonable that we ſhould thus love our neighbour as our ſelves, becauſe he is as our ſelves, or really in all conſiderable reſpects the ſame with us: We concurr with him in all that is neceſſary, ſubſtantial and ſtable; we differ from him only in things contingent, circumſtantial and variable; in the which, of courſe or by chance we are liable in a ſmall time as much to differ from our ſelves: in ſuch reſpects we are not the ſame to day that we were yeſterday, and ſhall be to morrow; for we ſhift our circumſtances as we do our cloaths; our bodies are in continual flux, and our ſouls do much conform to their alteration; our temper and complexion do vary with our air, out diet, our converſation, our fortunes, our age; our parts grow and decay, our principles and judgments, our affections and deſires are never fixed, and ſeldom reſt long in the ſame place; all our outward ſtate doth eaſily change face; ſo that if we conſider the ſame Perſon in youth and in age, in health and in ſickneſs, in proſperity and in diſtreſs, may we not ſay *quantùm mutatus ab illo*, how quite another man is he grown? Yet ſhall a man for ſuch alterations ſurceaſe or abate his love to himſelf? why then in regard to the like differences ſhall we leſs affect our neighbour, who is endued with that common nature, which alone through all thoſe viciſſitudes ſticketh faſt in us; who is the moſt expreſs image of us, (or rather a copy, drawn by the ſame hand, of the ſame original) another ſelf, attired in a divers garb of circumſtances? do we not ſo far as we deſpiſe or diſaffect him, by conſequence ſlight or hate our ſelves; ſeeing (except bare perſonality, or I know not what metaphyſical identity) there is nothing in him different from what is, or what may be in us?

2. It is juſt that we ſhould love our neighbour equally with our ſelves, becauſe he really no leſs deſerveth love, or becauſe upon a fair judgment he will appear equally amiable: juſtice is impartial, and regardeth things as they are in themſelves, abſtracting from their relation to this or that perſon; whence if our neighbour ſeem worthy of affection no leſs than we, it demandeth that accordingly we ſhould love him no leſs.

And what ground can there be of loving our ſelves, which may not as well be found in others? is it endowments of nature, is it accompliſhments of knowledge, is it ornaments of vertue, is it accouſtrements of fortune; but is not our neighbour poſſeſſed of the ſame; is he not at leaſt capable of them, the collation and acquiſt of them depending on the ſame arbitrary bounty of God, or upon faculties and means commonly

1 Cor. 4. 6, 7.

monly dispensed to all? May not any man at least be as wise and as good as we? why then should we not esteem, why not affect him as much? doth relation to us alter the case? is self as self-lovely or valuable, doth that respect lend any worth or price to things?

Likewise, what more can justice find in our neighbour to obstruct or depress our love than it may observe in our selves? hath he greater infirmities or defects, is he more liable to errours and miscarriages, is he guilty of worse faults than we? If without arrogance and vanity we cannot affirm this, then are we as unworthy of love as he can be; and refusing any degree thereof to him, we may as reasonably withdraw the same from our selves.

3. It is fit that we should be obliged to love our neighbour equally with our selves, because all charity beneath self-love is defective, and all self-love above charity is excessive.

It is an imperfect charity which doth not respect our neighbour according to his utmost merit and worth, which doth not heartily desire his good, which doth not earnestly promote his advantage in every kind, according to our ability and opportunity: and what beyond this can we do for our selves?

If in kind or degree we transcend this, it is not vertuous love or true friendship to our selves, but a vain fondness or perverse dotage; proceeding from inordinate dispositions of soul, grounded on foolish conceits, begetting foul qualities and practices; envy, strife, ambition, avarice, and the like.

4. Equity requireth that we should love our neighbour to this degree, because we are apt to claim the same measure of love from others: no mean respect or slight affection will satisfie us; we cannot brook the least disregard or coldness; to love us a little is all one to us as not to love us at all: it is therefore equitable, that we should be engaged to the same height of charity towards others; otherwise we should be allowed in our dealings to use double weights and measures, which is plain iniquity: what indeed can be more ridiculously absurd, than that we should pretend to receive that from others, which we are not disposed to yield to them upon the same ground and title? Prov. 20. 10.

5. It is needful that so great a charity should be prescribed, because none inferiour thereto will reach divers weighty ends designed in this Law; namely, the general convenience and comfort of our lives in mutual society and entercourse: for if in considerable degree we do affect our selves beyond others, we shall be continually bickering and clashing with them about points of interest and credit; scrambling with them for what may be had, and clambering to get over them in power and dignity; whence all the passions annoying our souls, and all the mischiefs disturbing our lives must needs ensue.

6. That entire love which we owe to God our Creatour, and to Christ our Redeemer, doth exact from us no less a measure of Charity than this; for seeing they have so clearly demonstrated themselves to bear an immense love to men, and have charged us therein to imitate them; it becometh us, in conformity, in duty, in gratitude to them, to bear the highest we can, that is, the same as we bear to our selves: for how can we love God enough, or with all our soul, if we do not accord with him in loving his friends and relations, his servants, his children with most entire affection?

If in God's judgment they are equal to us, if in his affection and care they have an equal share, if he in all his dealings is indifferent and impartial

partial towards all, how can our judgment, our affection, our behaviour be right, if they do not conspire with him in the same measures?

7. Indeed the whole tenour and *Genius* of our Religion do imply obligation to this pitch of charity, upon various accounts.

It representeth all worldly goods and matters of private interest as very inconsiderable and unworthy of our affection, thereby subtracting the fuel of immoderate self-love.

It enjoyneth us for all our particular concerns entirely to rely upon providence, so barring solicitude for our selves, and disposing an equal care for others.

It declareth every man so weak, so vile, so wretched, so guilty of sin and subject to misery (so for all good wholly indebted to the pure grace and mercy of God) that no man can have reason to dote on himself or, to prefer himself before others: we need not cark, or prog, or scrape for our selves, being assured that God sufficiently careth for us.

In its account the fruits and recompences of love to others in advantage to our selves do far surpass all present interests and enjoyments; whence in effect the more or less we love others, answerably the more or less we love our selves, so that charity and self-love become co-incident, and both run together evenly in one channel.

Matt. 5. 45. It recommendeth to us the imitation of God's love and bounty, which are absolutely pure, without any regard, any capacity of benefit redounding to himself.

It commandeth us heartily to love even our bittereſt enemies and most cruel persecuters; which cannot be performed without a proportionable abatement of self-love.

1 Joh. 3. 16. It chargeth us not only freely to impart our substance, but willingly to expose our lives for the good of our brethren; in which case charity doth plainly match self-love; for what hath a man more dear or precious than his life to lay out for himself?

It representeth all men (considering their divine extraction, and being formed after God's Image; their designation for eternal glory and happiness, their partaking of the common redemption by the undertakings and sufferings of Christ, their being objects of God's tender affection and care) so very considerable, that no regard beneath the highest will befit them.

It also declareth us so nearly allied to them, and so greatly concerned in their good, (we being *all one in Christ*, and *members one of another*) that we ought to have a perfect complacency in their welfare, and a sympathy in their adversity, as our own.

Gal. 3. 28. Joh. 17. 21. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 26.

Joh. 13. 35. 1 Tim. 3. 2. 2 Pet. 2. 10. Rom. 15. 1. Phil. 2. 4. 1 Cor. 10. 24. 13. 5.

It condemneth self-love, self-pleasing, self-seeking as great faults, which yet (even in the highest excess) do not seem absolutely bad; or otherwise culpable, than as including partiality, or detracting from that equal measure of charity, which we owe to others; for surely we cannot love our selves too much, if we love others equally with our selves; we cannot seek our own good excessively, if with the same earnestness we seek the good of others.

It exhibiteth supernatural aids of grace, and conferreth that Holy Spirit of love, which can serve to no meaner purposes, than to quel that sorry principle of niggardly selfishness, to which corrupt nature doth incline; and to enlarge our hearts to this divine extent of goodness.

8. Lastly, many conspicuous examples, proposed for our direction in this kind of practice, do imply this degree of charity to be required of us.

It

It may be objected to our discourse, that the duty thus understood, is unpracticable, Nature violently swaying to those degrees of self-love, which charity can no wise reach. This exception (would time permit) I should assoil, by shewing how far, and by what means we may attain to such a practice; (how at least by aiming at this top of perfection we may ascend nearer and nearer thereto) in the mean time experience doth sufficiently evince possibility, and assuredly that may be done, which we see done before us: And so it is, pure charity hath been the root of such affections and such performances (recorded by indubitable testimony) toward others, which hardly any man can exceed in regard to himself: nor indeed hath there scarce ever appeared any heroical vertue, or memorable piety, whereof charity overbearing selfishness, and sacrificing private interest to publick benefit, hath not been a main ingredient. For instance then;

Did not *Abraham* even prefer the good of others before his own, when he gladly did quit his countrey, patrimony, friends and kindred, to pass his days in a wandring pilgrimage, upon no other encouragement than an overture of blessing on his posterity?

Did not the charity of *Moses* stretch thus far, when for the sake of his brethren he voluntarily did exchange the splendours and delights of a Court for a condition of vagrancy and servility; *chusing rather*, as the Apostle speaketh, *to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin*? did not it overstretch, when (although having been grievously affronted by them) he wished that rather his name should be *expunged from God's book*, than that their sin should abide unpardoned?

Chryst. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 25. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7.

Heb. 11. 24. 25

Exod. 33. 32. 32

Βέλομαι μὴ ἐκείνων ἀπολέσθαι, ἢ χωρὶς ἐκείνων σώζεσθαι.

ὄντως μανία, ὄντως ἔρως μέγας——Chryst. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7.

Did not *Samuel* exercise such a charity, when being ingratefully and injuriously dismounted from his authority, he did yet retain toward that people a zealous desire of their welfare, *not ceasing earnestly to pray for them*?

1 Sam. 12. 23.

Did not *Jonathan* love *David* equally with himself, when for his sake he chose to incurr the displeasure of his father and his King; when for his advantage he was content to forfeit the privilege of his birth, and the inheritance of a Crown; when he could without envy or grudge look on the growing prosperity of his supplanter, could heartily wish his safety, could effectually protect it, could purchase it to him with his own great danger and trouble? when he, that in gallantry of courage and vertue did yield to none, was yet willing to become inferiour to one born his subject, one raised from the dust, one *taken from a sheep-coat*; so that unrepiningly and without disdain he could say, *Thou shalt be King over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee*: are not these pregnant evidences, that it was truly said in the story, *The soul of Jonathan was knit to the soul of David, and he loved him as his own soul*?

1 Sam. 20. 30.

Psal. 78. 70.

1 Sam. 23. 17.

1 Sam. 18. 1. 20. 17.

Did not the Psalmist competently practice this duty, when in the sickness of his ingrateful adversaries *he cloathed himself with sackcloath, he humbled his soul with fasting; he bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother*?

Psal. 35. 12.

Were not *Elias*, *Jeremy*, and other Prophets as much concerned for the good of their country-men as for their own, when they took such pains, when they ran such hazards, when they endured such hardships not only for them, but from them; being requited with hatred and misusage for endeavouring to reclaim them from sin, and stop them from ruin?

May not the Holy Apoſtles ſeem to have loved mankind beyond themſelves, when for its inſtruction and reformation, for reconciling it to God and procuring its ſalvation, they gladly did undertake and undergo ſo many rough difficulties, ſo many formidable dangers, ſuch irkſome pains and troubles, ſuch extreme wants and loſſes, ſuch grievous ignominies and diſgraces; ſlighting all concerns of their own, and relinquiſhing whatever was moſt dear to them (their ſafety, their liberty, their eaſe, their eſtate, their reputation, their pleaſure, their very blood and breath) for the welfare of others; even of thoſe who did ſpitefully maligne and cruelly abuſe them?

Survey but the Life of one among them; mark the weariſome travels he undervent over all the earth, the ſolicitous cares which did poſſeſs his mind *for all the Churches:* the continual toils and drudgeries ſuſtained by him in preaching by word and writing; in viſiting, in admoniſhing, in all paſtoral employments; the impriſonments, the ſtripes, the reproaches, the oppoſitions and perſecutions of every kind, and from all ſorts of people, which he ſuffered; the pinching wants, the deſperate hazards, 2 Cor. 11. 23. the lamentable diſtreſſes with the which he did ever conflict; peruſe 4. 8. 1 Cor. 4. 11. thoſe black catalogues of his afflictions regiſtred by himſelf; then tell me how much his charity was inferiour to his ſelf-love? did not at leaſt the one vie with the other, when he, for the benefit of his diſciples, was Phil. 1. 24. content *to be abſent from the Lord*, or ſuſpended from a certain fruition 2 Cor. 5. 1, &c. of glorious beatitude; reſting in this uncomfortable ſtate, in *this fleſhly tabernacle* wherein *he groaned, being burthened*, and longing for enlargement? did he not ſomewhat beyond himſelf love thoſe men, for whoſe Rom. 9. 3. ſalvation he wiſhed himſelf *accurſed from Chriſt*, or debarred from the aſ- 2 Cor 11. 24, 25. ſured enjoyment of eternal felicity; thoſe very men, by whom he had 1 Theſſ. 2. 15. been ſtoned, had been ſcourged, had been often beaten to extremity, from whom he had received manifold indignities and outrages?

Acts 4. 34. Did not they love their neighbours as themſelves, who ſold their poſſeſſions, and diſtributed the prices of them for relief of their indigent brethren? did not moſt of the ancient Saints and Fathers mount near the top of this duty, of whom it is by unqueſtionable records teſtified, that they did freely beſtow all their private eſtate and ſubſtance on the poor, devoting themſelves to the ſervice of God and edification of his people? Finally,

Did not our Lord himſelf in our nature exemplifie this Duty, yea by his Practice far out-do his Precept? for, He who from the brighteſt glories, from the immenſe riches, from the ineffable joys and felicities of his celeſtial Kingdom, did willingly ſtoop down to aſſume the garb of a ſervant, to be cloathed with the infirmities of fleſh, to become *a man of ſorrow, and acquainted with grief*; He who for our ſake vouchſafed to live in extreme penury and diſgrace, to feel hard want, ſore travel, bitter perſecution, moſt grievous ſhame and anguiſh; He who not only did contentedly bear, but purpoſely did chuſe to be accuſed, to be ſlandered, to be reviled, to be mocked, to be tortured, to pour forth his Rom. 5. 6, 8, 10. heart-blood upon a croſs, for the ſake of an unprofitable, an unworthy, 1 Pet. 3. 18. an impious, an ingrateful generation; for the ſalvation of his open ene- Eph. 2. 1. mies, of baſe apoſtates, of perverſe rebels, of villainous traitours; He Col. 2. 13. who, in the height of his mortal agonies, did ſue for the pardon of his Chryſ. *in* Eph. *Or.* 7. cruel murtherers; who did ſend his Apoſtles to them, did cauſe ſo many *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32. wonders to be done before them, did furniſh all means requiſite to con- Heb. 12. 2. vert and ſave them; He that acted and ſuffered all this, and more than can be expreſſed, with perfect frankneſs and good will; did he not ſignally

nally love his neighbour as himſelf, to the utmoſt meaſure: did not in him vertue conquer nature, and charity triumph over ſelf-love? This he did to ſeal and impreſs his Doctrine; to ſhew us what we ſhould do, and what we can do by his grace; to oblige us and to encourage us unto a conformity with him in this reſpect; for, *Walk in love*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *as Chriſt hath alſo loved us, and hath given himſelf for us*; And, *This* (ſaith he himſelf) *is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you*: And how can I better conclude, than in the recommendation of ſuch an Example? Eph. 5. 1. 1 Joh. 3. 16. Joh. 15. 12. 13. 34.

Now, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and God even our father, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlaſting conſolation, and good hope through grace, comfort your hearts, and ſtabliſh you in every good word and work. 2 Theſſ. 2. 16.

SERMON XXVI.

Of the Love of our Neighbour.

MATTH. XXII. 39.

Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.

I Have formerly diſcourſed on theſe words, and then ſhewed how they do import two obſervable Particulars; firſt a Rule of our Charity, or that it ſhould be like in nature; then a Meaſure of it, or that it ſhould be equal in degree to the love which we do bear to our ſelves. Of this latter interpretation I did aſſign divers reaſons, urging the obſervance of the Precept according to that notion: but one material point ſcantneſs of time would not allow me to conſider; which is the removal of an Exception, to which that interpretation is very liable, and which is apt to diſcourage from a ſerious application to the practice of this duty ſo expounded.

If, it may be ſaid, the Precept be thus underſtood, as to oblige us to love our neighbours equally with our ſelves, it will prove unpracticable, ſuch a charity being merely romantick and imaginary; for who doth, who can love his neighbour in this degree? nature powerfully doth reſiſt, common ſenſe plainly doth forbid that we ſhould do ſo: A natural inſtinct doth prompt us to love our ſelves, and we are forcibly driven thereto by an unavoidable ſenſe of pleaſure and pain, reſulting from the conſtitution of our body and ſoul, ſo that our own leaſt good or evil are very ſenſible to us; whereas we have no ſuch potent inclination to love others; we have no ſenſe or a very faint one of what another doth enjoy or endure: doth not therefore Nature plainly ſuggeſt, that our neighbours good cannot be ſo conſiderable to us as our own? eſpecially

when charity doth clash with self-love, or when there is a competition between our neighbour's interest and our own, is it possible that we should not be partial to our own side? is not therefore this Precept such as if we should be commanded to fly, or to do that which natural propension will certainly hinder?

In answer to this Exception, I say, first,

1. Be it so, that we can never attain to love our neighbour altogether so much as our selves, yet may it be reasonable that we should be enjoyned to do so; for

Laws must not be depressed to our imperfection, nor rules bent to our obliquity; but we must ascend toward the perfection of them, and strive to conform our practice to their exactness: if what is prescribed be according to the reason of things just and fit, it is enough although our practice will not reach it; for what remaineth may be supplied by repentance and humility in him that should obey, by mercy and pardon in him that doth command.

In the prescription of duty it is just, that what may be required (even in rigour) should be precisely determined, though in execution of justice or dispensation of recompence consideration may be had of our weakness; whereby both the authority of our Governour may be maintained, and his clemency glorified.

It is of great use, that by comparing the Law with our practice, and in the perfection of the one, discerning the defect of the other, we may be humbled, may be sensible of our impotency, may thence be forced to seek the helps of grace and the benefit of mercy.

Were the Rule never so low, our practice would come beneath it; it is therefore expedient that it should be high, that at least we may rise higher in performance than otherwise we should do; for the higher we aim, the nearer we shall go to the due pitch; as he that aimeth at heaven, although he cannot reach it, will yet shoot higher than he that aimeth only at the house top.

The height of duty doth prevent sloth and decay in vertue, keeping us in wholsome exercise and in continual improvement, while we be
Phil. 3. 12. always climbing toward the top, and straining unto farther attainment: the sincere prosecution of which course, as it will be more profitable unto us, so it will be no less acceptable to God, than if we could thoroughly fulfil the Law: for in judgment God will only reckon upon the sincerity and earnestness of our endeavour: so that if we have done our
1 Cor. 5. 28. best, it will be taken as if we had done all. *Our labour will not be lost in*
1 Thess. 1. 13. *the Lord*; for the degrees of performance will be considered, and he
Heb. 6. 10. that hath done his duty in part shall be proportionably recompensed;
1 Cor. 3. 8. according to that of Saint *Paul*; *Every man shall receive his own reward*
Matt. 5. 48. *according to his own work.* Hence sometimes we are enjoyned to *be per-*
19. 21. *fect as our heavenly father is perfect*; and to be *holy as God is holy*;
1 Pet. 1. 16. otherwhile to *go on to perfection*, and to *press toward the mark*; which
Col. 4. 12. Precepts in effect do import the same thing; but the latter implieth the
Heb. 6. 1. former, although in attainment impossible, yet in attempt very profi-
Phil. 3. table: and surely he is likely to write best, who proposeth to himself the fairest Copy for his imitation.

In fine, if we do act what is possible, or as we can, do conform to the rule of duty, we may be sure that no impossibility of this, or of any other sublime Law can prejudice us.

I say of any other Law; for it is not only this Law, to which this exception may be made, but many others, perhaps every one Evangelical

lical Law, are alike repugnant to corrupt Nature, and seem to surmount our ability.

But neither is the performance of this task so impossible, or so desperately hard (if we take the right course, and use proper means toward it) as is supposed; as may somewhat appear, if we will weigh the following considerations.

1. Be it considered, that we may be mistaken in our account, when we do look on the impossibility or difficulty of such a practice, as it appeareth at present, before we have seriously attempted, and in a good method, by due means, earnestly laboured to atchieve it: for many things cannot be done at first, or with a small practice, which by degrees and a continued endeavour may be effected; divers things are placed at a distance, so that without passing through the interjacent way we cannot arrive at them: divers things seem hard before trial, which afterward prove very easie: it is impossible to fly up to the top of a steeple, but we may ascend thither by steps; we cannot get to *Rome* without crossing the Seas, and travelling through *France* or *Germany*, it is hard to comprehend a subtle *Theoreme* in *Geometry* if we pitch on it first, but if we begin at the simple principles, and go forward through the intermediate propositions, we may easily attain a demonstration of it: it is hard to swim, to dance, to play on an instrument, but a little trial, or a competent exercise will render those things easie to us: So may the practice of this duty seem impossible, or insuperably difficult, before we have employed divers means, and voided divers impediments; before we have enured our minds and affections to it, before we have tried our forces in some instances thereof, previous to others of a higher strain, and nearer the perfection of it.

If we would set our selves to exercise charity in those instances whereof we are at first capable without much reluctancy, and thence proceed toward others of a higher nature, we may find such improvement, and taste such content therein, that we may soon arise to incredible degrees thereof, and at length perhaps we may attain to such a pitch, that it will seem to us base and vain to consider our own good before that of others, in any sensible measure; and that Nature which now so mightily doth contest in favour of our selves, may in time give way to a better Nature, born of custom, affecting the good of others. Let not therefore a present sense or experience raise in our minds a prejudice against the possibility or practicableness of this duty.

2. Let us consider, that in some respects, and in divers instances, it is very feasible to love our neighbour no less than our selves.

We may love our neighbour truly and sincerely, *out of a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned*, as Saint *Paul* doth prescribe; or according to Saint *Peter*'s injunction, *from a pure heart love one another fervently*; and in this respect we can do no more toward our selves; for truth admitteth no degrees, sincerity is a pure and compleat thing, exclusive of all mixture or alloy. 1 Tim. 1. 6. 5. 1 Pet. 1. 22. (Rom. 12. 9.)

And as to external acts at least it is plain that charity toward others may reach self-love; for we may be as serious, as vigorous, as industrious in acting for our neighbours good, as we can be in pursuing our own designs and interests; for reason easily can manage and govern external practice; and common experience sheweth the matter to this extent practicable, seeing that often men do employ as much diligence on the concerns of others, as they can do on their own (being able to do no more than their best in either case) wherefore in this respect charity may

may vie with selfishness; and practising thus far may be a step to mount higher.

Also rational consideration will enable us to perform some interiour acts of charity in the highest degree; for if we do but, (as without much difficulty we may do) apply our mind to weigh the qualities and the actions of our neighbour, we may thence obtain a true opinion and just esteem of him; and (secluding gross folly or flattery of our selves) how can we in that respect or instance be more kind or benign to our selves?

Is it not also within the compass of our ability to repress those passions of soul, the eruption whereof tendeth to the wrong, damage and offence of our neigbour; in regard to which practice Saint *Paul* affirmeth that
Rom. 13. 10. the law may be fulfilled, *Love*, saith he, *worketh no evil to his neighbour*; *therefore love is the fulfilling of the law?* And what more in this respect can we perform for our selves?

3. We may consider, that commonly we see men inclined by other principles to act as much or more for the sake of others, as they would for themselves.

Ἀληθὲς δὲ τὸ περὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου καὶ τὸ τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα πολλὰ πράττειν, καὶ τὸν πατρίδος κἂν δέῃ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν —— Arist. *Eth.* 9. 8.

Moral honesty hath inclined some, ambition and popularity have excited others, to encounter the greatest dangers, to attack the greatest difficulties, to expose their safety, to sacrifice their lives for the welfare of their Countrey.

Insana amicitia. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Common friendship hath often done as much, and brutish love (that *mad friendship*, as *Seneca* calleth it) commonly doth far more: for what will not a fond lover undertake and atchieve for his Minion, although she really be the worst enemy he can have? yet for such a Snake
Chrys. *in* Eph. *p.* 797. will he not lavish his estate, prostitute his honour, abandon his ease, hazard his safety, shipwreck his conscience, forfeit his salvation? what may not a *Delilah* obtain of her *Sampson*, a *Cleopatra* of her *Anthony*, how prejudicial soever it be to his own interest and welfare?

Why then may not a principle of Charity (grounded on so much better reason, and backed by so much stronger motives) be conceived able to engage men to the like practice? why may not a man be disposed to do that out of hearty good-will, which he can do out of vain conceit, or vicious appetite? why shall other forces overbear nature, and the power of charity be unable to match it?

4. Let us consider, that those dispositions of soul which usually with so much violence do thwart the observance of this Precept, are not ingredients of true self-love, by the which we are directed to regulate our charity, but a spurious brood of our folly and pravity, which imply not a sober love of our selves, but a corrupt fondness toward an idol of our fancy mistaken for our selves.

A high conceit of our worth or ability, of our fortune or worldly state, of our works and atchievements; a great complacence or confidence in some endowment or advantage belonging to us, a stiff adherence to our own will or humour, a greedy appetite to some particular interest or base pleasure; these are those, not attendants of natural self-love, but issues of unnatural depravedness in judgment and affections, which render our practice so exorbitant in this regard, making us seem to love our selves so immoderately, so infinitely; so contracting our souls and drawing them inwards, that we appear indisposed to love our neighbour in any considerable degree: If these (as by serious consideration they may be) were voided, or much abated, it would not be found so grievous

vous a matter to love our neighbour as our ſelves; for that ſober love remaining behind, to which nature inclineth, and which reaſon approveth, would rather help to promote than yield any obſtacle to our charity; if ſuch perverſe ſelfiſhneſs were checked and depreſſed, and natural kindneſs cheriſhed and advanced, then true ſelf-love and charity would compoſe themſelves into near a juſt poiſe.

5. Indeed (which we may farther conſider) our Nature is not ſo abſolutely averſe or indiſpoſed to the practice of ſuch charity, as to thoſe may ſeem, who view it ſlightly, either in ſome particular inſtances, or in ordinary practice; Nature hath furniſhed us with ſtrong inſtincts for the defence and ſuſtenance of our life; and common practice is depraved by ill education and cuſtom; theſe ſome men poring on do imagin no room left for charity in the conſtitution of men; but they conſider not, that one of theſe may be ſo moderated, and the other ſo corrected, that charity may have a fair ſcope in mens hearts and practice; and they ſlip over divers pregnant marks of our natural inclination thereto.

Man having received his ſoul from the breath of God, and being framed after the image of his moſt benign Parent, there do yet abide in him ſome Features reſembling God, and Relicks of the divine original; there are in us ſeeds of ingenuity, of equity, of pity, of benignity, which being cultivated by ſober conſideration and good uſe (under the conduct and aid of heavenly grace) will produce noble fruits of charity.

The frame of our Nature ſo far diſpoſeth us thereto, that our bowels are touched with ſenſible pain upon the view of any calamitous object; our fancy is diſturbed at the report of any diſaſter befalling any perſon; we can hardly ſee or read a Tragedy without motions of compaſſion.

The practice of benignity, of courteſie, of clemency at firſt ſight, without any diſcurſive reflection, doth obtain approbation and applauſe from us; being no leſs grateful and amiable to the mind than beauty to our eyes, harmony to our ears, fragrancy to our ſmell, and ſweetneſs to our palate; and to the ſame mental ſenſe malignity, cruelty, harſhneſs, all kinds of uncharitable dealing, are very diſguſtful and loathſome.

There wanteth not any commendation to procure a reſpect for Charity; nor any invective to breed abhorrence of uncharitableneſs, Nature ſufficiently prompting to favour the one and to deteſt the other.

Ὅθεν τὲς φιλανθρώπυς ἐπαινέμεν—— Arift. *Eth.* 8. 1.

The practice of the former in common language hath ever been ſtyled humanity, and the diſpoſition from whence it floweth is called good nature; the practice of the latter is likewiſe termed inhumanity, and its ſource ill-nature; as thwarting the common notions and inclinations of Mankind, diveſting us of our manhood, and rendring us a ſort of Monſters among men.

No quality hath a clearer repute, or is commonly more admired than generoſity, which is a kind of natural charity, or hath a great ſpice thereof; No diſpoſition is more deſpiſed among men than niggardly ſelfiſhneſs; whence commonly men are aſhamed to avow ſelf-intereſt as a principle of their actions, (rather fathering them on ſome other cauſe) as being conſcious to themſelves that it is the baſeſt of all principles.

Ἐπιμῶσι δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτὲς μάλιστα ἀγαπῶσι, καὶ ὡς ἐν αἰσχρῷ φιλαύτες ἀποκαλέσι. Arift. 9. 8.

Ὅσῳ ἂν βέλτιων ᾖ, μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ καλὸν καὶ φίλε ἕνεκα, τὸ δ' ἀυτῦ παρίησι. *Ibid.*

Whatever the cenſurers and detractours of humane nature do pretend, yet even themſelves do admire pure beneficence, and contemn ſelfiſhneſs; for (if we look to the bottom of their intent) it is hence, they are bent

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to ſlander mankind as void of good nature, becauſe out of malignity they would not allow it a quality ſo excellent and divine.

Wherefore according to the general judgment and conſcience of men (to omit other conſiderations) our Nature is not ſo averſe from charity, or deſtitute of propenſions thereto; and therefore cheriſhing the natural ſeeds of it, we may improve it to higher degrees.

6. But ſuppoſing the inclinations of Nature, as it now ſtandeth in its depraved and crazy ſtate, do ſo mightily obſtruct the practice of this duty in the degree ſpecified, ſo that however we cannot by any force of reaſon or philoſophy attain to deſire ſo much or reliſh ſo well the good of others as our own, yet we muſt remember, that a ſubſidiary power is by the divine mercy diſpenſed, able to control and ſubdue Nature to a compliance, to raiſe our practice above our natural forces. We have a like averſeneſs to other ſpiritual duties (to the loving God with all our hearts, to the mortifying our fleſh and carnal deſires, to the contempt of worldly things, and placing our happineſs in ſpiritual goods) yet we are able to perform them by the ſuccour of grace, and in virtue of that omnipotency which Saint *Paul* aſſumed to himſelf when he ſaid, *I can do all things by Chriſt enabling me.*

Phil. 4. 13. ἐν τῷ ἐνδυναμοῦντι — 2. Tim. 1. 7.

It we can get *the Spirit of love* (and aſſuredly we may get it, if we carefully will ſeek it, with conſtant fervency imploring it from him, who hath promiſed to beſtow it on thoſe that ask it) it will infuſe into our minds that light, whereby we ſhall diſcern the excellency of this duty, together with the folly and baſeneſs of that ſelfiſhneſs which croſſeth it; it will kindle in our hearts charitable affections, diſpoſing us to wiſh all good to our neighbour, and to feel pleaſure therein; it will render us *partakers of that divine nature*, which ſo will guide and urge us in due meaſure to affect the benefit of others, as now corrupt nature doth move us unmeaſurably to covet our own; being ſupported and elevated by its virtue, we may (ſurmounting the clogs of fleſhly ſenſe and conceit) ſoar up to the due pitch of charity; being θεοδίδακτοι, *taught of God to love one another*; and endowed with *the fruits of the Spirit*, which are *love*, *gentleneſs*, *goodneſs*, *meekneſs*, and *created according to God in Chriſt Jeſus* to the practice of anſwerable *good works*.

1 Theſſ. 4. 9. Gal. 5. 22. Eph. 5. 9. Col. 3. 12. Eph. 4. 24. 2. 10.

7. There are divers means conducible to the abatement of difficulty in this practice, which I ſhall propoſe, referring the matter to iſſue upon due trial of them.

1. Let us carefully weigh the value of thoſe things which immoderate ſelf-love doth affect in prejudice to charity, together with the worth of thoſe which charity doth ſet in balance to them.

Ariſtotle himſelf doth obſerve, that the ground of culpable ſelf-love, and paſſion for, and greedy appetite of wealth, of honours, of corporeal pleaſures; whereas vertuous perſons not admiring thoſe things will conſtantly act for honeſty ſake, and out of love to their friends or country; wherein although they moſt really benefit and truly gratifie themſelves, yet are they not blamed for ſelfiſhneſs.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς ὄνειδος ἄγοντες αὐτὸ φιλαύτους καλοῦσι τοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἀπονέμοντας τὸ πλεῖον ἐν χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ ἡδοναῖς τῶν σωματικῶν· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα πολλοὶ ὀρέγονται καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσι περὶ αὐτὰ ὡς ἄριστα ὄντα· διὸ καὶ περιμάχητά ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τοῦτα πλεονεκταῖς καὶ εἰς ταῦτα τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ ὅλως τοῖς πάθεσι, καὶ τῷ ἀλόγῳ τῆς ψυχῆς· — δικαίως δὲ τοῖς ἕτερα φιλαύτοις ὀνειδίζεται. — Arist. Eth. 9. 8. vid. tot.

And ſo indeed it is; If we rightly did apprehend the infinite vanity of all worldly goods, the meanneſs of private concerns, the true deſpicableneſs

bleneſs of all thoſe honours, thoſe profits, thoſe delights on which commonly men do ſo dote, we ſhould not be ſo fond or jealous of them, as to ſcrape or ſcuffle for them, envying or grutching them to others; If we did conceive the tranſcendent worth of future rewards allotted to this and other vertues, the great conſiderableneſs of publick good at which charity aimeth, the many advantages which may accrue to us from our neighbours welfare, (entertained with complacence, and wiſely accommodated to our uſe) we ſhould not be ſo averſe from tendring his good as our own.

2. Let us conſider our real ſtate in the world, in dependence upon the pleaſure and providence of Almighty God.

If we look upon our ſelves as ſubſiſting only by our own care and endeavour, without any other patronage or help, it may thence prove hard to regard the intereſts of others as comparable to our own, ſeeing then in order to our living with any convenience, it is neceſſary that we ſhould be ſolicitous for our own preſervation and ſuſtenance, that will engage us to contend with others as competitours for the things we need, and uncapable otherwiſe to attain: But if (as we ought to do, and the true ſtate of things requireth) we conſider our ſelves as ſubſiſting under the protection, and by the providence of God, who no leſs careth for us than for others, and no leſs for others than for us (for, as the Wiſe-man ſaith, he *careth for all alike*) who recommendeth to us a being mutually concerned each for other, and is engaged to keep us from ſuffering thereby; who commandeth us to disburthen our cares upon himſelf; who aſſuredly will the better provide for us, as we do more further the good of others: If we do conſider thus, it will deliver us from ſolicitude concerning our ſubſiſtence and perſonal accommodations, whence we may be free to regard the concerns of others, with no leſs application than we do regard our own.

Ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ πρόνοιαν ἔχει πάντων. Sap. 6. 7.

As living under the ſame Government and Laws (being members of one Common-wealth, one Corporation, one Family) diſpoſeth men not only willingly but earneſtly to ſerve the publick intereſt, beyond any hopes of receiving thence any particular advantage anſwerable to their pain and care; ſo conſidering themſelves as members of the world, and of the Church, under the governance and patronage of God, may diſengage us from immoderate reſpect of private good, and incline us to promote the common welfare.

3. There is one plain way of rendring this duty poſſible, or of perfectly reconciling charity to ſelf-love; which is, a making the welfare of our neighbour to be our own, which if we can do, then eaſily may we deſire it more ſeriouſly, then may we promote it with the greateſt zeal and vigour; for then it will be an inſtance of ſelf-love to exerciſe charity, then both theſe inclinations conſpiring will march evenly together, one will not extrude nor depreſs the other.

It may be hard, while our concerns appear divided, not to prefer our own, but when they are coincident, or conſpire together, the ground of that partiality is removed.

Nor is this an imaginary courſe, but grounded in reaſon, and thereby reducible to practice: for conſidering the manifold bands of relation (natural, civil, or ſpiritual) between men, as naturally of the ſame kind and blood, as civilly members of the ſame ſociety, as ſpiritually linked in one brotherhood; conſidering the mutual advantages derivable from the wealth and welfare of each other, (in way of needful ſuccour, advice and comfort, of profitable commerce, of pleaſant con-

veriation;) conſidering the miſchiefs, which from our neighbours indigency and affliction we may incur, they rendring him as a wild beaſt, unſociable, troubleſome and formidable to us; conſidering that we cannot be happy without good nature, and good humour, and that good nature cannot behold any ſad object without pity and dolorous reſentment, good humour cannot ſubſiſt in proſpect of ſuch objects; conſidering that charity is an inſtrument, whereby we may apply all our neighbour's good to our ſelves, it being ours, if we can find complacence therein; it may appear reaſonable to reckon all our neighbour's concerns to our account.

That this is practicable, experience may confirm; for we may obſerve, that men commonly do thus appropriate the concerns of others, reſenting the diſaſters of a friend, or of a relation with as ſenſible diſpleaſure as they could their own; and anſwerably finding as high a ſatisfaction in their good fortune. Yea many perſons do feel more pain by compaſſion for others, than they could do in ſuſtaining the ſame evils; divers can with a ſtout heart undergo their own afflictions, who are melted with thoſe of a friend or brother. Seeing then in true judgment humanity doth match any other relation, and Chriſtianity far doth exceed all other alliances, why may we not on them ground the like affections and practices, if reaſon hath any force, or conſideration can any wiſe ſway in our practice?

4. It will greatly conduce to the perfect obſervance of this Rule, to the depreſſion of ſelf-love, and advancement of charity to the higheſt pitch, if we do ſtudiouſly contemplate our ſelves, ſtrictly examining our conſcience, and ſeriouſly reflecting on our unworthineſs and vileneſs; the infirmities and defects of nature, the corruptions and defilements of our ſoul, the ſins and miſcarriages of our lives; which doing, we ſhall certainly be far from admiring or doting on our ſelves; but rather, as *Job* did, we ſhall *condemn* and *abhor our ſelves*; when we ſee our ſelves ſo deformed and ugly, how can we be amiable in our own eyes? how we can more eſteem or affect our ſelves than others, of whoſe unworthineſs we can hardly be ſo conſcious or ſure? what place can there be for that vanity and folly, for that pride and arrogance, for that partiality and injuſtice, which are the ſources of immoderate ſelf-love?

Job 9. 20.
Job 42. 6.

5. And laſtly, we may from many conſpicuous Experiments and Examples be aſſur'd that ſuch a practice of this Duty is not impoſſible; but theſe I have already propuced and urged in the precedent Diſcourſe, and ſhall not repeat them again.

SER-

SERMON XXVII.

The Nature, Properties and Acts of Charity.

EPHESIANS V. 2.

And walk in love.

SAint *Paul* telleth us, that *the end of the commandment* (or the main scope of the Evangelical Doctrine) *is charity, out of a pure heart and a good conscience, and faith unfeigned*; that charity is a general principle of all good practice, (*let all your things be done in charity*;) that it is the sum and abridgment of all other duties, so that *he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the whole law*; that it is *the chief* of the Theological vettues; *the prime fruit of the divine Spirit*, and *the band of perfection*, which combineth and consummateth all other graces. 1 Tim. 1. 5. 1 Cor. 16. 14. Gal. 5. 14. Rom. 13. 8, 9. 1 Cor. 13. 13. Gal. 5. 22. Col. 3. 14.

Saint *Peter* enjoyneth us that to all other vertues we should add charity, as the top and crown of them; and, *Above all things*, saith he, *have fervent charity among your selves*. 2 Pet. 1. 7. 1 Pet. 4. 8.

Saint *James* styleth the Law of Charity *νόμον βασιλικὸν, the royal*, or Sovereign Law. Jam. 2. 8.

Saint *John* calleth it, in way of excellence, *the commandment of God*, (*This is his commandment, that we should love one another.*) 1 Joh. 3. 23, 11. 4. 21.

Our Lord claimeth it for his peculiar Law, *This is my commandment*; *and a new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.* And he maketh the observance of it the special badge and cognizance of his followers; *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.* Joh. 15. 12. 13. 34. Joh. 13. 35.

It being therefore a duty of so grand importance, it is most requisite that we should well understand it, and faithfully observe it; to which purposes I shall by God's assistance endeavour to confer somewhat, first, by explaining its Nature, then by pressing the observance of it by several Inducements.

The nature of it will, as I conceive, be best understood by representing the several chief Acts, which it compriseth or implieth as necessary pre-requisites, or essential ingredients, or inseparable adherents to it; some internally resident in the soul, others discharged in external performance; together with some special properties of it. And such are those which follow.

I. *Loving our neighbour* doth imply, that we should value and esteem him: this is necessary, for affection doth follow opinion; so that we cannot like any thing which we do not esteem, or wherein we do not apprehend some considerable good, attractive of affection; that is not amiable which is wholly contemptible; or so far as it is such.

But in right judgment no man is ſuch; for the Wiſe-man telleth us,
Prov. 14. 21. that *He that deſpiſeth his neighbour, ſinneth*; and,
Prov. 11. 12. *He is void of underſtanding that deſpiſeth his neighbour*; but no man is guilty of ſin or folly for deſpiſing that which is wholly deſpicable.

It is indeed true, that every man is ſubject to defects, and to miſchances, apt to breed contempt, eſpecially in the minds of vulgar and weak people; but no man is really deſpicable. For

Every man living hath ſtamped on him the venerable Image of his glorious Maker, which nothing incident to him can utterly deface.

Every man is of a divine extraction, and allied to heaven by nature and by grace; as the Son of God, and the Brother of God incarnate. *If*
Job 31. 13, 14, 15. *I did deſpiſe the cauſe of my man-ſervant or of my maid ſervant, when they contended with me; What then ſhall I do when God riſeth up, and when he viſiteth what ſhall I anſwer him? Did not he that made me in the womb, make him? and did not one faſhion us in the womb?*

Every man is endewed with that celeſtial faculty of reaſon, *inſpired*
Job 32. 8. *by the Almighty*, (for, *There is a ſpirit in man, and the inſpiration of the Almighty giveth them underſtanding*) and hath an immortal ſpirit reſiding in him; or rather is himſelf an Angelical ſpirit dwelling in a viſible tabernacle.

Every man was originally deſigned and framed for a fruition of eternal happineſs.

Every man hath an intereſt in the common redemption, purchaſed by the blood of the Son of God, who *taſted death for every one.*

Every man is capable of Sovereign bliſs, and hath a crown of endleſs glory offered to him.

In fine, every man, and all men alike, antecedently to their own will and choice, are the objects of his love, of his care, of his mercy; who
Pſal. 145. 9. is *loving unto every man, and whoſe mercy is over all his works*; who *hath*
Job 34. 19. Sap. 6. 8. *made the ſmall and the great, and careth for all alike*; who *is rich*, in
Rom. 10. 12. bounty and mercy, *toward all that call upon him.*
3. 22.

How then can any man be deemed contemptible, having ſo noble relations, capacities, and privileges? How a man ſtandeth in eſteem with
Job 36. 5. God *Elihu* telleth us, *God* (ſaith he) *is mighty and deſpiſeth not any*;
Pſal. 69. 33. although he be ſo mighty, ſo excellent in perfection, ſo infinitely in ſtate exalted above all, yet doth not he ſlight any; and how can we contemn thoſe, whom the certain voucher and infallible judge of worth deigneth to value? Indeed God ſo valued every man as to take great care, to be at great coſt and trouble, to ſtoop down from heaven, to aſſume mortal fleſh, to endure pinching wants and ſore diſtreſſes, to *taſte death for every one.*

Rom. 14. 10. We may ask with S. *Paul, Why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother?*

Is it for the lowneſs of his condition, or for any misfortune that hath
Jam. 2. 5. befallen him? but are not the beſt men, are not all men, art not thou
Pſal. 38. 33. 146. 9. thy ſelf obnoxious to the like? hath not God declared that he hath a ſpecial regard to ſuch? and are not ſuch things commonly diſpoſed by his hand with a gracious intent?

Is it for meanneſs of parts, or abilities, or endowments? but are not theſe the gifts of God, abſolutely at his diſpoſal, and arbitrarily diſtributed or preſerved; ſo that thou who art ſo wiſe in thy own conceit to day, mayeſt by a diſeaſe, or from a judgment (deſerved by thy pride)
1 Cor. 1. 26. become an Idiot to morrow? have not many good and therefore many happy men wanted thoſe things?

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Is it for moral imperfections or blemiſhes; for vicious habits, or actual miſdemeanours? theſe indeed are the only debaſements and diſparagements of a man; yet do they not expunge the characters of Divinity impreſſed on his nature; and he may by God's mercy recover from them: And are not we our ſelves, if grace do not uphold us, liable to the ſame? yea may we not, if without partiality or flattery we examin our ſelves, diſcern the ſame within us, or other defects equivalent? And however, is not pity rather due to them than contempt? whoſe character was it, that *they truſted they were righteous, and deſpiſed others*? Luk. 18. 9. 16. 15. That the moſt palpable offender ſhould not be quite deſpiſed God had a ſpecial care in his Law, for that end moderating puniſhment, and reſtraining the number of ſtripes; *If* (ſaith the Law) *the wicked man be worthy to be beaten, the Judge ſhall cauſe him to lye down, and to be beaten before his face, according to his fault, by a certain number; forty ſtripes he may give him and not exceed; leſt if he ſhould exceed, and beat him above theſe with many ſtripes, then thy brother ſhould ſeem vile unto thee.* Deut. 25. 2.

We may conſider, that the common things (both good and bad) wherein men agree, are far more conſiderable than the peculiar things wherein they differ; to be a Man is much beyond being a Lord, or a Wit, or a Philoſopher; to be a Chriſtian doth infinitely ſurpaſs being an Emperour, or a learned Clerk; to be a Sinner is much worſe than to be a Beggar or an Idiot: The agreement of men is in the ſubſtance and body of things; the difference is in a circumſtance, a fringe, or a ſhadow about them; ſo that we cannot deſpiſe another man, without reflecting contempt on our ſelves, who are ſo very like him, and not conſiderably better than he, or hardly can without arrogance pretend to be ſo.

We may therefore, and reaſon doth require that we ſhould value our neighbour; and it is no impoſſible or unreaſonable Precept which S. *Peter* giveth us, to *Honour all men*; and with it a charitable mind will eaſily comply; it ever will deſcry ſomething valuable, ſomething honourable, ſomething amiable in our neighbour; it will find ſomewhat of dignity in the meaneſt, ſomewhat of worth in the baſeſt, ſomewhat hopeful in the moſt degenerate of men; it therefore will not abſolutely ſlight or ſcorn any man whatever, looking on him as an abject or forlorn wretch, unworthy of conſideration. 1 Pet. 2. 17. 1 Cor. 13. 7.

It is indeed a point of charity to ſee more things eſtimable in others than in our ſelves; or to be apprehenſive of more defects meriting diſeſteem in our ſelves than in others; and conſequently in our opinion to prefer others before us, according to thoſe Apoſtolical Precepts, *Be kindly affected one toward another with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another. In lowlineſs of mind let each eſteem other better than themſelves. Be ſubject one to another.* Rom. 12. 10. Phil. 2. 3. 1 Pet. 5. 5.

II. Loving our neighbour doth imply a ſincere and earneſt deſire of his welfare, and good of all kinds, in due proportion: for it is a property of love, that it would have its object moſt worthy of it ſelf, and conſequently that it ſhould attain the beſt ſtate whereof it is capable, and perſiſt firm therein; to be fair and plump, to flouriſh and thrive without diminution or decay; this is plain to experience in reſpect to any other thing (a horſe, a flower, a building, or any ſuch thing) which we pretend to love; wherefore charity ſhould diſpoſe us to be thus affected to our neighbour; ſo that we do not look upon his condition or affairs with an indifferent eye, or cold heart, but are much concerned for him, and put forth hearty wiſhes for his intereſts: we ſhould wiſh

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him adorned with all vertue, and accompliſhed with all worthy endowments of ſoul; we ſhould wiſh him proſperous ſucceſs in all his deſigns; and a comfortable ſatisfaction of his deſires; we ſhould wiſh him with alacrity of mind to reap the fruits of his induſtry, and to enjoy the beſt accommodations of his life. Not formally and in complement, as the mode is, but really and with a cordial ſenſe, upon his undertaking any enterprize, we ſhould wiſh him good ſpeed; upon any proſperous ſucceſs of his endeavours, we ſhould bid him joy; wherever he is going, whatever he is doing, we ſhould wiſh him peace and the preſence of God with him: we ſhould tender his health, his ſafety, his quiet, his reputation, his wealth, his proſperity in all reſpects; but eſpecially with peculiar ardency we ſhould deſire his final welfare, and the happineſs of his ſoul, that being incomparably his chief concern.

Hence readily ſhould we pour forth our prayers, which are the trueſt expreſſions of good deſire, for the welfare of our neighbour, to him who is able to work and beſtow it.

Such was the charity of Saint *Paul* for his Country-men, ſignified in
Rom. 10. 1. thoſe words, *Brethren, my heart's deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael is,*
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς· *that they may be ſaved*; ſuch was his love to the *Philippians*, *God is my*
Phil. 1. 8---- *record how greatly I long after you all, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt*; *and*
2 Cor. 13. 9. *this I pray, that your love may abound more and more in knowledge, and in all judgment*——

Such was Saint *John*'s charity to his friend *Gaius*, to whom he ſaid,
3 Joh. 2. *Beloved, I wiſh above all things, that thou mayſt proſper and be in health even as thy ſoul proſpereth.*

Such is the charity, which we are enjoyned to expreſs toward all
1 Tim. 2. 3. men, by *praying for all men*, in conformity to the charity of God, who *will have all men to be ſaved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.*

Such is the charity we are commanded to uſe toward our enemies,
Matt. 5. 44. *bleſſing thoſe that curſe us, and praying for thoſe who deſpitefully uſe us*
Luk. 23. 34. *and perſecute us*; the which was exemplified by our Lord, by S. *Ste-*
Acts. 7. 60. *phen*, by all the Holy Apoſtles.
1 Cor. 4. 12.

III. Charity doth imply a complacence or delightful ſatisfaction in the good of our neighbour; this is conſequent on the former property for that joy naturally doth reſult from events agreeable to our deſire Charity hath a good eye, which is not offended or dazled with the luſtre of its neighbour's vertue, or with the ſplendour of his fortune, but vieweth either of them ſteadily with pleaſure, as a very delightful ſpectacle It beholdeth him to proſper and flouriſh, to grow in wealth and repute not only without envious repining, but with gladſome content: It
Rom. 12. 15. property is *to rejoice with them that rejoice*; to partake of their enjoyments, to feaſt in their pleaſures, to triumph in their ſucceſs.

As one member doth feel the health and the delight which another
1 Cor. 12. 26. immediately doth enjoy; ſo hath a charitable man a ſenſible complacence in the welfare and joy of his neighbour.

His proſperity of any kind, in proportion to its importance, doth pleaſe him; but eſpecially his ſpiritual proficiency and improvement in vertue doth yield matter of content; and his good deeds he beholdeth with abundant ſatisfaction.

2 Cor. 13. 9. This is that inſtance of charity which S. *Paul* ſo frequently doth ex-
Phil. 2. 2. 4. 1. preſs in his Epiſtles, declaring the extreme joy he did feel in the faith, in
1 Theſſ. 3. 9. 2. 19. the vertue, in the orderly converſation of thoſe brethren to whom he writeth.

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This charity poſſeſſed Saint *John*, when he ſaid, *I have no greater joy than to hear that my children walk in truth.* 3 Joh. 4.

This is the charity of heaven, which doth even chear the Angels, and doth enhance the bliſs of the bleſſed Spirits there; of whom it is ſaid, *There is joy in heaven over every ſinner that repenteth.* Hence, Luk. 15. 7, 10. This is the diſpoſition of charitable perſons ſincerely to congratulate any good occurrence to their neighbour; they are ready to conſpire in rendring thanks and praiſe to the Authour of their welfare; taking the good conferred on their neighbour as a bleſſing and obligation on themſelves; ſo that they upon ſuch occaſions are apt to ſay with Saint *Paul*; *What thanks can we render to God for you, for all the joy wherewith we joy for your ſakes before God?* and, *We are bound to thank God always for you, brethren, becauſe that your faith groweth exceedingly, and that the charity of every one of you all toward each other aboundeth*: and, *I thank my God always on your behalf for the grace of God, which is given you by Jeſus Chriſt, that in every thing ye are enriched by him.* 1 Theſſ. 3. 9. 2 Theſſ. 1. 3. 1 Cor. 1. 4, 5. (Chriſt.) 1. 3. Rom. 1. 8. Eph. 1. 16. Col. 1. 3. 1 Theſſ. 1. 2.)

It is a Precept of Saint *Paul*, *Give thanks always* ὑπὲρ πάντων, which is tranſlated *for all things*, but it might as well be rendred *for all perſons*, according to that injunction, *I exhort, that firſt of all ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men*; Not only Prayers are to be made, but thankſgivings are to be offered for all men, out of general charity. Eph. 5. 20. 1 Tim. 2. 1.

IV. Correſpondently, Love of our neighbour doth imply condolency and commiſeration of the evils befalling him: for what we love, we cannot without diſpleaſure behold lying in a bad condition, ſinking into decay, or in danger to periſh; ſo to a charitable mind the bad ſtate of any man is a moſt unpleaſant and painful ſight.

It is the property of Charity *to mourn with thoſe that mourn*; not coldly, but paſſionately, (for 'tis *to weep with thoſe that weep*) reſenting every man's caſe with an affection ſutable thereto, and as he doth himſelf reſent it. Κλαίειν. Rom. 12. 15.

Is any man fallen into diſgrace? charity doth hold down its head, is abaſhed and out of countenance, partaking of his ſhame: Is any man diſappointed of his hopes or endeavours? charity crieth out *alas*, as if it were it ſelf defeated: Is any man afflicted with pain or ſickneſs? charity looketh ſadly, it ſigheth and groaneth, it fainteth and languiſheth with him: Is any man pinched with hard want? charity if it cannot ſuccour, it will condole: doth ill news arrive? charity doth hear it with an unwilling ear, and a ſad heart, although not particularly concerned in it: The ſight of a Wreck at Sea, of a Field ſpread with Carcaſes, of a Country deſolated, of Houſes burnt, and Cities ruined, and of the like calamities, incident to mankind, would touch the bowels of any man; but the very report of them would affect the heart of charity: It doth not ſuffer a man with comfort or eaſe to enjoy the accommodations of his own ſtate, while others before him are in diſtreſs: It cannot be merry while any man in preſence is ſorrowful; it cannot ſeem happy while its neighbour doth appear miſerable: It hath a ſhare in all the afflictions which it doth behold or hear of; according to that inſtance in S. *Paul* of the *Philippians*, *Ye have done well, that ye did communicate with* (or partake in) *my afflictions*; and according to that Precept, *Remember thoſe which are in bonds, as bound with them.* Συγκοινωνῆσαι. Heb. 13. 3.

Such was the charity of Job; *Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? was not my ſoul grieved for the poor?* Job 30. 25.

Such

Such was the charity of the Pſalmiſt, even toward his ingrateful enemies, *They* (ſaith he) *rewarded me evil for good to the ſpoiling of my ſoul*; but as for me, when they were ſick, *my cloathing was ſackcloth, I humbled my ſoul with faſting — I behaved my ſelf, as though it had been my friend or my brother, I bowed down heavily as one that mourneth for his mother?*

Pſal. 35. 12, 13, 14.

Such was the charity of Saint *Paul*; *who is weak*, ſaid he, *and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?* with fervent compaſſion.

2 Cor. 11. 29.

Such was the charity of our Saviour; which ſo reigned in his heart, that no paſſion is ſo often attributed to him as this of pity; it being expreſſed to be the motive of his great works. *Jeſus* (ſaith Saint *Matthew*) *went forth, and ſaw a great multitude,* καὶ ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *and was moved* (in his bowels) *with compaſſion toward them, and he healed their ſick*; and *I have compaſſion on the multitude, becauſe they have nothing to eat, and I will not ſend them away faſting, leſt they faint in the way*; and, *Jeſus had compaſſion on them, and touched their eyes*; and *Jeſus moved with compaſſion put forth his hand and touched him* (the Leper) *and ſaith unto him, I will, be thou clean*; and, *When the Lord ſaw her* (the Widow of *Naim*, whoſe Son was carried out) *he had compaſſion on her*; and, *He beheld the city and wept over it*, conſidering the miſeries impendent on it, as a juſt puniſhment of their outragious injuries againſt himſelf; and when the two good Siſters did bewail their Brother *Lazarus*, *He groaned in ſpirit and was troubled*; and *wept* with them; whence the *Jews* did collect, *Behold how he loved him.*

Σπλαγχνίζομαι. Matt. 15. 32. Matt. 20. 34. Mark 1. 41. Luke 7. 13. Luke 19. 41. Joh. 11. 33, 35.

Thus any calamity or misfortune befalling his neighbour doth raiſe diſtaſtful regret and commiſeration in a charitable ſoul; but eſpecially moral evils (which indeed are the great evils, in compariſon whereto nothing elſe is evil) do work that effect: To ſee men diſhonour and wrong their Maker, to provoke his anger, and incur his diſfavour; to ſee men abuſe their reaſon, and diſgrace their nature; to ſee men endamage their ſpiritual eſtate, to endanger the loſs of their ſouls, to diſcoſt from their happineſs, and run into eternal ruin, by diſtemper of mind, and an inordinate converſation! this is moſt afflictive to a man endewed with any good degree of charity. Could one ſee a man ſprawling on the ground, weltring in his blood, with gaping wounds, gaſping for breath, without compaſſion? And ſeeing the condition of him that lieth grovling in ſin, weltring in guilt, wounded with bitter remorſe and pangs of conſcience, nearly obnoxious to eternal death, is far worſe and more deplorable, how can it but touch the heart of a charitable man, and ſtir his bowels with compaſſionate anguiſh?

Such was the excellent charity of the Holy Pſalmiſt, ſignified in thoſe ejaculations, *I beheld the tranſgreſſours and was grieved, becauſe they kept not thy word*; and, *Rivers of waters run down mine eyes, becauſe men keep not thy law.*

Pſ. 119. 158. Pſ. 119. 136.

Such was the charity of Saint *Paul* toward his incredulous and obdurate Country-men (notwithſtanding their hatred and ill treatment of himſelf) the which he ſo earneſtly did aver in thoſe words, *I ſay the truth, I lie not, my conſcience alſo bearing me witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt, that I have great heavineſs and continual ſorrow in my heart* for them.

Rom. 9. 1, 2.

Such was the charity of our Lord, which diſpoſed him as to a continual ſenſe of mens evils, ſo upon particular occaſions, to grieve at their ſins and ſpiritual wants; as when the *Phariſees* maligned him for his doing good, he ('tis ſaid) did συλυπεῖσθαι, *grieve* (or condole) *for the*

Mark. 3. 5.

the hardneſs of their heart; and, *when he ſaw the multitudes, he was moved with compaſſion on them, becauſe they fainted and were ſccattered abroad as ſheep having no ſhepherd*; and, when *he wept over Jeruſalem*, becauſe it did not *know in its day the things which belonged to its peace* (either temporal, or eternal.) Matt. 9. 36. Luk. 19. 41.

This is that charity, which God himſelf in a wonderful and incomprehenſible manner doth exemplifie to us; for he is *the Father of pities*; πολύσπλαγχνος, *full of bowels*; his *bowels are troubled*, and *do ſound*, when he is (for upholding juſtice, or reclaiming ſinners) conſtrained to inflict puniſhment; of him 'tis ſaid, that *his ſoul was grieved for the miſery of Iſrael*; and, that he was *afflicted in all the afflictions* of his people: So incredible miracles doth infinite charity work in God, that the impaſſible God in a manner ſhould ſuffer with us, that happineſs it ſelf ſhould partake in our miſery; that grief ſhould ſpring up in the fountain of joy: How this can be, we thoroughly cannot well apprehend, but ſurely thoſe expreſſes are uſed in condeſcenſion to ſignifie the greatly charitable benignity of God, and to ſhew us our duty, that *we ſhould be merciful as our heavenly Father is merciful*, ſympathizing with the miſeries and ſorrows of our brethren. Jam. 5. 11. Luk. 1. 78. Jer. 31. 20. Iſa. 63. 15. Jud. 10. 16. (ὠλιγώθη. LX. Iſa. 63. 9. (Hoſ. 11. 8.) Luk. 6. 36. Eph. 5. 1. (Luk. 16. 20.)

This is that duty which is ſo frequently inculcated: when we are charged to *put on bowels of pity*, to be (εὔσπλαγχνοι) *tender-hearted*, to be (συμπαθεῖς) *compaſſionate* one toward another. Col. 3. 12. Phil. 2. 1. Eph. 4. 32. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

Hence it is, that good men in this world cannot live in any briskneſs of mirth or height of jollity, their own enjoyments being tempered by the diſcontents of others; the continual obvious ſpectacles of ſorrow and of ſin damping their pleaſures, and quaſhing exceſſive tranſports of joy: for who could much enjoy himſelf in an hoſpital, in a priſon, in a charnel?

V. It is generally a property of Love to appropriate its Object; in apprehenſion and affection embracing it, poſſeſſing it, enjoying it as its own: So charity doth make our neighbour to be ours, engaging us to tender his caſe, and his concerns as our own; ſo that we ſhall exerciſe about them the ſame affections of ſoul (the ſame deſires, the ſame hopes and fears, the ſame joys and ſorrows) as about our own neareſt and moſt peculiar intereſt; ſo that his danger will affright us, and in his ſecurity we ſhall find repoſe; his profit is gain, and his loſſes are damages to us; we do riſe by his preferment, and ſink down by his fall; his good ſpeed is a ſatisfaction, and his diſappointment a croſs to us; his enjoyments afford pleaſure, and his ſufferings bring pain to us.

So charity doth enlarge our minds beyond private conſiderations, conferring on them an univerſal intereſt, and reducing all the world within the verge of their affectionate care; ſo that a man's ſelf is a very ſmall and inconſiderable portion of his regard; whence Charity is ſaid not to *ſeek its own things*, and we are commanded not to *look on our own things*; for that the regard which charity beareth to its own intereſt, in compariſon to that which it beareth toward the concerns of others, hath the ſame proportion as one man hath to all men, being therefore exceedingly ſmall, and as it were none at all. 1 Cor. 11. 5. 10. 24. Phil. 2. 4.

This (ſaith Saint *Chryſoſtome*) *is the Canon of moſt perfect Chriſtianiſme; this is an exact boundary, this is the higheſt top of it, to ſeek things profitable to the publick*: And *according to this rule* charity *doth walk*, it preſcribeth that compaſs to it ſelf, it aſpireth to that pitch; it diſpoſeth to act as Saint *Paul* did, *I* 1 Cor. 10. 33.

Τοῦτο κανὼν χριστιανισμοῦ τῶν πλειοτάτου, τοῦτο ὅρος ἠκριβωμένος, αὕτη ἡ κορυφὴ ἡ ἀνωτάτω, τὸ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ζητεῖν. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Orat.* 25. Phil. 4. 16.

please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.

VI. It is a property of Love to affect union, or the greatest approximation that can be to its Object: As hatred doth set things at distance, making them to shun or chase away one another; so love doth attract things, doth combine them, doth hold them fast together; every one would be embracing and enjoying what he loveth in the manner whereof it is capable: So doth charity dispose a man to conjunction with others; it soon will breed acquaintance, kind conversation, and amicable correspondence with our neighbour.

It would be a stranger to no man to whom by its entercourse it may yield any benefit or comfort.

Its arms are always open, and its bosom free to receive all; who do not reject or decline its amity.

It is most frankly accessible, most affable, most tractable, most sociable most apt to interchange good offices; most ready to oblige others, and willing to be obliged by them.

It avoideth that unreasonable suspiciousness and diffidence, that timorous shiness, that crafty reservedness, that supercilious morosity, that fastidious sullenness, and the like untoward dispositions, which keep men in estrangement, stifling good inclinations to familiarity and friendship.

Spes mutuæ charitatis. Sen. *Ep.* 9. VII. It is a property of Love to desire a reciprocal affection; for that is the surest possession and firmest union, which is grounded upon voluntarily conspiring in affection; and if we do value any person, we cannot but prize his good-will and esteem.

Charity is the mother of Friendship, not only as inclining us to love others, but as attracting others to love us; disposing us to affect their amity, and by obliging means to procure it.

Heb. 12. 14. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Rom. 12. 18. Hence is that Evangelical Precept so often enjoyned to us, of *pursuing peace with all men*, importing that we should desire and seek by all fair means the good-will of men, without which peace from them cannot subsist; for if they do not love us, they will be infesting us with unkind words or deeds.

VIII. Hence also Charity disposeth to please our neighbour, not only by inoffensive but by obliging demeanour; by a ready complaisance and compliance with his fashion, with his humour, with his desire in matters lawful, or in a way consistent with duty and discretion.

Rom. 15. 2. 1 Cor. 10. 33. 9. 19. Such charity Saint *Paul* did prescribe, *Let every one please his neighbour for his good to edification:* Such he practised himself, *Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit*; and, *I have made my self a servant to all, that I might gain the more.*

Rom. 15. 3. Joh. 2. 2. Such was the charity of our Lord, for *even Christ pleased not himself:* He indeed did stoop to converse with sorry men in their way, he came when he was invited, he accepted their entertainment, he from the frankness of his conversation with all sorts of persons did undergo the

Matt. 11. 19. Luke. 7. 34. reproach of being *a wine-bibber, a friend of Publicans and sinners.*

It is the *Genius* and complexion of charity to affect nothing uncouth or singular in matters of indifferent nature; to be candid, not rigid in opinion; to be pliable, not stiff in humour; to be smooth and gentle, not rugged and peevish in behaviour.

It doth indeed not flatter, not sooth, not humour any man in bad things, or in things very absurd and foolish; it would rather chuse to displease and cross him, than to abuse, to delude, to wrong or hurt him;

but

but excepting ſuch caſes, it gladly pleaſeth all men, denying its own will and conceit to ſatisfie the pleaſure and fancy of others; practiſing that which Saint *Peter* injoyned in that Precept, *be of one mind, be compaſſionate, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous*; or as Saint *Paul* might intend, when he bid us, χαρίζεσθαι ἀλλήλοις, *to gratifie, to indulge one another.*

Ὁμόφρονες, συμπαθεῖς, φιλάδελφοι, εὔσπλαγχνοι, φιλόφρονες. 1 Pet. 3. 8.

Eph. 4. 32. Col. 3. 13.

IX. Love of our neighbour doth imply readineſs upon all occaſions to do him good, to promote and advance his benefit in all kinds.

It doth not reſt in good opinions of mind, and good affections of hearts, from thoſe roots doth put forth abundant fruits of real beneficence; it will not be ſatisfied with faint deſires, or ſluggiſh wiſhes, but will be up and doing what it can for its neighbour.

Love is a buſie and active, a vigorous and ſprightful, a couragious and induſtrious diſpoſition of ſoul; which will prompt a man, and puſh him forward to undertake or undergo any thing, to endure pains, to encounter dangers, to ſurmount difficulties for the good of its object.

Love is ſtrong as death. Cant. 8. 6.

Such is true charity; it will diſpoſe us *to love*, as Saint *John* preſcribeth, ἔργῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, *in work and in truth*; not only in mental deſire, but in effectual performance; not only in verbal pretence, but in real effect.

1 Joh. 3. 18. Jam. 2. 16.

Hence charity will render a man a general benefactour, in all matters, upon all occaſions; affording to his neighbour all kinds of aſſiſtance and relief, acording to his neighbour's need, and his own ability: It will make him a bountiful diſpenſer of his goods to the poor, a comforter of the afflicted, a viſiter of the ſick, an inſtructour of the ignorant, an adviſer of the doubtful, a protectour of the oppreſſed, a hoſpitable entertainer of ſtrangers, a reconciler of differences, an interceſſour for offenders, an advocate of thoſe who need defence, a ſuccourer of all that want help.

Ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε τῶν ἀσθενούντων. Act. 20. 35.

Ἀντέχεσθε τῶν ἀσθενῶν. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14.

Παραμυθεῖσθε τὸς ὀλιγοψύχους. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14.

Job 29. 17.

The practice of *Job* deſcribeth its nature; *I* (ſaith he) *delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherleſs, and him that had none to help him: The bleſſing of him that was ready to periſh came upon me, and I cauſed the widows heart to ſing for joy. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor, and the cauſe which I knew not I ſearched out; And I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the ſpoil out of his teeth. If I have held the poor from their deſire, or have cauſed the eyes of the widow to fail; Or have eaten my morſel my ſelf alone, and the fatherleſs hath not eaten thereof; If I have ſeen any periſh for want of cloathing, or any poor without covering. The ſtranger did not lodge in the ſtreet; but I opened my doors to the traveller.*

Job 31. 32.

Job 29. 12.---

Job 32. 16.---

Job 32. 32.

Such is a charitable man; the Sun is not more liberal of his light and warmth, than he is of beneficial influence.

He doth not ſpare his ſubſtance, being *rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing to communicate*; And where his eſtate faileth, yet the contribution of his endeavour will not be wanting; he will be ready to draw and preſs others to beneficence; ſo doing good not only according to his power, but in a manner beyond it, making the ability of others to ſupply his own weakneſs, and being liberal with their wealth. The deſcription of *Cimon* is a good character of a charitable man, *Nulli fides ejus, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit.*

Corn. Nep. (*in* Cimone.)

Thus may the pooreſt men be great benefactours; ſo the poor Apoſtles who *had nothing*, yet *did enrich many*; not only in ſpiritual treaſure, but taking care for ſupply of the poor, by their precepts and moving

(1 Cor. 4. 11.) 2 Cor. 6. 10. ὡς πτωχοί, πολλὰς δὲ πλουτίζοντες.

ving exhortations; and he that *had not where to lay his head*, was the
2 Cor. 8. 9. most bountiful person that ever was; *for our sake he became poor, that we by his poverty might be made rich.*

In all kinds charity disposeth to further our neighbour's good, but especially in the concerns of his soul; the which as incomparably they do surpass all others, so it is the truest and noblest charity to promote them.

Isa. 58. 7.---, 10. Ezek. 18. 16. It will incline us *to draw forth our soul to the hungry, and to satisfie the afflicted soul; to bring the poor that are cast out to our house; to cover the naked, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, to let the oppressed go free, to break every yoke*; to supply any corporal indigency, to relieve any temporal distress; but especially it will induce to make provision for the soul, to relieve the spiritual needs of our neighbour; by affording him good instruction, and taking care that he be informed in his duty, or conducted in his way to happiness; by admonition and exhortation quickning, encouraging, *provoking*, spurring him *to good works*; by resolving him in his doubts, and comforting him in his troubles of conscience; (*lifting up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees*) by seasonable and prudent reproof; by all ways *serving to convert him from the errour of his way*; and so *saving a soul from death, and hiding a multitude of sins*; which is the proper work of charity; for *charity* (saith saint *Peter*) *covereth a multitude of sins.*

Εἰς παροξυσμὸν καλῶν ἔργων. Heb. 10. 24. Heb. 12. 12. ἀνορθώσατε. 1 Thess. 5. 14. Jam. 5. 20. 1 Pet. 4. 8. Prov. 10. 12.

This was the charity of our Saviour, *He went about doing good*, healing the bodily infirmities, (*every sickness and every disease among the people*) satisfying their bodily necessities, comforting them in their worldly distresses, so far as to perform great miracles for those purposes (curing inveterate maladies, restoring limbs and senses, raising the dead, multiplying loaves and fishes) but his charity was chiefly exercised in spiritual beneficence; in purveying sustenance and comfort for their souls, in feeding their minds by wholsome instruction, in curing their spiritual distempers, in correcting their ignorances and errours, in exciting them to duty by powerful advices and exhortations, in supporting them by heavenly consolations against temptations and troubles.

Acts 10. 38. Matt. 4. 23. 9. 35.

Joh. 14. 1. 15. 11. 16. 33. Matt. 5. 10.---

Thus also did the charity of the holy Apostles principally exert itself: they did not neglect affording relief to the outward needs of men; they did take care by earnest intercession and exhortation for support of the poor; but especially they did labour to promote the spiritual benefit of men; for this they did undertake so many cares, and toils, and travels; for this they did undergo so many hardships, so many hazards, so many difficulties and troubles; *Therefore* (said S. *Paul*) *I endure all things for the elects sake, that they may also obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory.*

Acts 3. 6. 5. 15, 16. 8. 7. 28. 8, 9. Act. 20. 35.-- Rom. 15. 26. 1 Cor. 16. 1. Gal. 2. 10. 2 Cor. 8. 7.--2 Cor. 9. 1.-- 1 Tim. 6. 18. Heb. 13. 16.

2 Tim. 2. 10.

X. This indeed is a property of Charity to make a man deny himself, to neglect his own interest, yea to despise all selfish regards for the benefit of his neighbour; to him that is inspired with charity his own good is not good, when it standeth in competition with the more considerable good of another; nothing is so dear to him, which he gladly will not part with upon such considerations.

Liberty is a precious thing, which every man gladly would enjoy, yet how little did Saint *Paul*'s charity regard it? how absolutely did he abandon it for his neighbour's good? *Though* (said he) *I am free from all men, yet I have made my self servant* (or have enslaved my self) *unto all, that I might gain the more*: And he did express much satisfaction

Πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα. 1 Cor. 9. 19.

on in the bonds which he bare for the good of his brethren. *I Paul* (saith he) *the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles*; —— *I suffer trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds*; ——*endure all things for the Elects sake.* Phil. 1. 12. Eph. 3. 1,-13 2 Tim. 2. 9, 10.

Every man loveth his own humour, and would please himself; but the charity of Saint *Paul* did rather chuse *to please all men*; *making him all things to all men, that by all means he might save some*; and the Rule he commended to others, and imposed on himself, was this, *We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves.* 1 Cor. 9. 33. 1 Cor. 10. 22. Rom. 15. 1.

Profit is the common mark of mens designs and endeavours; but charity often doth not aim thereat, but waveth it for its neighbour's advantage; for μὴ σκοπεῖτε, *Aim not every man at his own things, but every man also at the things of others*, is Saint *Paul*'s Rule; and, *not to seek his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be saved*, was his practice. Phil. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 10. 24.

To suffer is grievous to human nature, and every man would shun it; but charity not only doth support it, but joyeth in it, when it conduceth to its neighbour's advantage; *I rejoyce*, said that charitable Apostle, *in my sufferings for you.* Col. 1. 24. 2 Cor. 1. 4, 6, 7. 4.

Ease is a thing generally desirable and acceptable; but charity doth part with it, embracing labour, watchings, travels and troubles for its neighbour's good: upon this account did the holy Apostles undertake *abundant labours* (as Saint *Paul* telleth us) and *to this end* (saith he) *do I labour, striving according to his working, which worketh in me mightily*; to what end? *that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus*: this is that κόπος ἀγάπης, that *labour of love*, which they did commend in others, and so notably themselves exercise. 1 Thess. 2. 9. 2 Thess. 3. 8. 2 Cor. 11. 23. 6. 5. Εἰς ὃ καὶ κοπιῶ ἀγωνιζόμενος—— Col. 1. 29. Acts 21. 31, 35. Heb. 6. 7. 1 Thess. 1. 3.

Life of all things is most held precious and dear; yet *this* charity upon urgent occasions will expose, will sacrifice for its neighbour's good; *This* (our Lord telleth us) *is the greatest love that any man can express to his friend*; and the highest instance that ever was of charity was herein shewed; the imitation whereof Saint *John* doth not doubt to recommend to us; *In this* (saith he) *have we known the love of God, because he hath laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our life for the brethren*; and Saint *Paul*, *Walk in love, even as Christ loved us, and gave himself for us an offering and sacrifice to God*; the which Precept he backed with his own example, *I* (saith he) *very gladly will spend and be spent for your souls*; and, *If I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all*; and, *being affectionately desirous of you, we were willing to have imparted unto yo not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.* John. 15. 13. 1 John. 3. 16. John. 15. 12. Eph. 5. 2. 2 Cor. 12. 15. Phil. 2. 17. 1 Thess. 2. 8.

Reputation to some is more dear than life, and 'tis worse than death to be held a malefactour, to be loaded with odious reproaches, to have an infamous character; yet charity will ingage men hereto, willingly to sustain the most grievous obloquy and disgrace; for this the same heroical Apostles did pass through *honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true*— for this they *were made a spectacle to the world, as fools, as weak, as despicable*; —were *reviled, defamed, made as the filth of the world, and off-scouring of all things.* For this S. *Paul* was content to *suffer* ὡς κακοῦργος, *as a malefactour.* So there was nothing which charity will not deny it self, and lose for the good of its neighbour. 2 Cor. 6. 8. 1 Cor. 4. 9, 10. 13. 2 Tim. 2. 9.

XI. It

XI. It is a property of Love not to ſtand upon diſtinctions and nice reſpects, but to be condeſcenſive, and willing to perform the meaneſt offices, needful or uſeful for the good of its friend.

He that truly loveth is a voluntary ſervant, and gladly will ſtoop to any employment, for which the need, or conſiderable benefit of him whom he loveth doth call.

So the greateſt Souls, and the moſt glorious Beings, the which are moſt endewed with Charity, by it are diſpoſed with greateſt readineſs to ſerve their inferiours.

1 Cor. 9. 19. This made Saint *Paul* conſtitute himſelf *a ſervant* (we might render it a Slave) *of all men*, abſolutely devoted to the promoting their intereſts with his utmoſt labour and diligence; undertaking toilſome drudgeries, running about upon errands for them.

Pſal. 91. 11. 34. 7. Heb. 1. 7, 14. This maketh the bleſſed and glorious Angels (the principalities and powers above) vouchſafe to wait on men, to be the guards of all good men, to be miniſtring Spirits, *ſent out to miniſter for them who ſhall inherit ſalvation*; not only obedience to God enforceth them, but charity diſpoſeth them gladly to ſerve us, who are ſo much their inferiours; Luk. 15. 7, 10. ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων. the ſame charity, which produceth joy in them at the converſion of a ſinner.

This made the Son of God to deſcend from heaven; and lay aſide that Joh. 17. 5. *glory which he had with God before the world was*; this made him who 2 Cor. 8. 9. was ſo *rich, to become poor, that we by his poverty might be enriched*; Luk. 22. 27. Matt. 20. 28. this made him *converſe* and demean himſelf among his ſervants, *as he that miniſtred*; this made him to waſh his Diſciples feet; thereby deſigning inſtructively to exemplifie the duty and nature of Charity, for Joh. 13. 14. *If* (ſaid he) *I your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, then ye alſo ought to waſh one anothers feet: for I have given you an example, that ye ſhould do as I have done to you.*

Iſa. 57. 15. This maketh God himſelf (*the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity*) to condeſcend ſo far, as to be continually employed in carefully watching over, in providing for, in protecting and aſſiſting us vile and Pſal. 113. 6. wretched *worms*; for though *he dwelleth on high, yet humbleth he himſelf to behold the things that are in heaven and earth.* This maketh him (Pſal. 8. 4. 144. 3. Job. 7. 17.) with ſo much pain and patience to ſupport our infirmities, to bear with our offences, to wait for our converſion; according to that Proteſtation in the Prophet, Iſa. 43. 24. *Thou haſt made me to ſerve with thy ſins, thou haſt wearied me with thine iniquities.*

In conformity to this wonderful practice, whoſe actions are the beſt rules and patterns of our deportment, charity ſhould diſpoſe us, according to Saint *Paul*'s practice, Gal. 5. 13. *by love to ſerve one another.*

Indeed it will not ſuffer any man to look down on another with ſupercilious contempt or neglect; as if he were unworthy or beneath our regard. It will incline ſuperiours to look on their inferiours (their ſubjects, their ſervants, their meaneſt and pooreſt neighbours) not as beaſts Job 31. 13. or as ſlaves; but as men, as brethren; as deſcending from the ſame 14, 15. ſtock, as partakers of the common nature and reaſon; as thoſe *who have* 2 Pet. 1. 1. *obtained the like precious faith*; as heirs of the ſame precious promiſe and glorious hopes; as their equals in the beſt things, and in all conſiderable advantages; equals * Eph. 6. 9. * in God's ſight, and according to our Lord' Col. 4. 1. intent, when he ſaid, Matt. 23. 9. *one is your Maſter, even Chriſt, and all ye are brethren*; according to Saint *Paul*'s exhortation to *Philemon*, that he would Philem. 16. receive *Oneſimus, not now as a ſervant, but above a ſervant, a brother beloved in the Lord.*

According

Accordingly charity will diſpoſe men of rank in their behaviour to be condeſcenſive, lowly, meek, courteous, obliging and helpful to thoſe, who in humane eye or in worldly ſtate are moſt below them; remembring that ordinance of our Lord, charged on all his Diſciples, and enforced by his own pattern, *He that is greateſt among you let him be your ſervant.* Matt. 23. 11. Luk. 22. 27.

Love indeed is the great Leveller, which in a manner ſetteth all things on even ground, and reduceth to a juſt poiſe; which bringeth down heaven to earth, and raiſeth up earth to heaven; which inclineth the higheſt to wait upon the loweſt, which engageth the ſtrength of the mightieſt to help the weakeſt, and the wealth of the richeſt to ſupply the pooreſt, ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης, that *there may be an equality*; that no where there may be an uſeleſs abundance, or a helpleſs indigence. *Amicitia pares invenit, aut facit.* 2 Cor. 8. 14.

XII. Charity doth regulate our dealing, our deportment, our converſation toward our neighbour, implying good uſage, and fair treatment of him on all occaſions; for no man doth handle that which he loveth rudely or roughly, ſo as to endanger the loſs, the detriment, the hurt or offence thereof.

Wherefore the language of charity is ſoft and ſweet, not wounding the heart, nor grating on the ear of any with whom a man converſeth; like the language of which the Wiſe-man ſaith, *The words of the pure are pleaſant words*——; ſuch as are *ſweet to the ſoul, and health to the bones*; and, *The words of a wiſe man's mouth are gracious*; ſuch as our Lord's were, λόγοι χάριτος, *words of grace*; ſuch as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of, *Let your ſpeech be always,* ἐν χάριτι, *with grace*——ſuch as may *give grace to the hearers*; being entertained, not with averſation, but with favourable acceptance. Prov. 15. 26. Prov. 16. 24. Eccleſ. 10. 12. Luk. 4. 22. Col. 4. 6. ἵνα δῶ χάριν τοῖς ἀκούσι. Eph. 4. 29.

Its carriage is gentle, courteous, benign; bearing in it marks of affection and kind reſpect.

Its dealing is equal, moderate, fair, yielding no occaſion of diſguſt, or complaint; not catching at, or taking advantages, not meeting hard meaſure.

It doth not foſter any bad paſſion or humour, which may embitter or ſour converſation, ſo that it rendreth a man continually good company.

If a man be harſh or ſurly in his diſcourſe, rugged or rude in his demeanour, hard and rigorous in his dealing, it is a certain argument of his defect in charity; for that calmeth and ſweetneth the mind, it quaſheth keen, fierce, and boiſterous paſſions; it diſcardeth thoſe conceits, and thoſe humours, from whence ſuch practice doth iſſue.

Charity (ſaith Saint *Paul*) οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, *behaveth not it ſelf unhandſomely*; is not untoward, unſeemly, uncivil, or clowniſh in word, or in carriage, or in deed; It is in truth the moſt civilizing, and moſt poliſhing diſpoſition that can be: Nothing doth render a man ſo compleatly Gentile; not in an affected, or artificial way, (conſiſting in certain poſtures or motions of body; (dopping, cringing, *&c.*) in forms of expreſſion, or modiſh addreſſes, which men learn like Parrots, and vent by rote, uſually not meaning any thing by them, often with them diſguiſing fraud and rancour) but in a real and natural manner, ſuggeſted by good judgment and hearty affection. 1 Cor. 13. 5.

A charitable man may perhaps not be guilty of courtſhip, or may be unpractiſed in the modes of addreſs; but he will not be deficient in the ſubſtance of paying every man proper and due reſpect: this indeed is true courteſie, grounded on reaſon, and proceeding from the heart, which

which therefore is far more genuine, more ſolid, more ſteady, than that which is built on faſhion, and iſſueth from affectation; the which indeed only doth ape or counterfeit the deportment of charity; for what a charitable man truly is, that a Gallant would ſeem to be.

Such are the properties of Charity.

There be alſo farther many particular Acts, which have a very cloſe alliance to it; being ever Coherent with it, or ſpringing from it; which are recommended to us by precepts in the holy Scripture; the which it will be convenient to mention.

1. It is a proper act of Charity to forbear anger upon provocation, or to repreſs its motions, to reſent injuries and diſcourteſies either not at all, or very calmly and mildly: for

1 Cor. 13. 5. Charity ἐ παροξύνεται, *is not eaſily provoked.*
V. 4. Charity μακροθυμεῖ, *ſuffereth long and is kind.*
V. 7. Charity πάντα ὑπομένει, *doth endure all things.*

Anger is a violent inſurrection of the mind againſt a perſon; but love is not apt to riſe up in oppoſition againſt any; anger is an intemperate heat, love hath a pure warmth quite of another nature; as natural heat is from a fever; or as the heat of the Sun from that of a culinary fire; which putteth that out, as the Sun-beams do extinguiſh a culinary fire; anger hath an ὄρεξις ἀωύνης, *an appetite of revenge*, or doing miſ-
Rom. 13. 10. chief to the object of it; but love is innocent *and worketh no evil.*

Love diſpoſeth, if our neighbour doth misbehave himſelf toward us (by wrongful uſage, or unkind carriage) to be ſorry for him, and to pity him; which are paſſions contrary to anger, and ſlaking the violences of it.

Cant. 8. 7. It is ſaid in the *Canticles*, *Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it*; charity would hold out againſt many neglects, many provocations.

Ἀνέχεσθε ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ. Eph. 4. 1, 2. Eph. 4. 31. 1 Theſſ. 1. 14. μακροθυμεῖτε. Col. 3. 8. * Jam. 1. 19. Hence the Precepts; *Walk with all lowlineſs, and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering, forbearing one another in love: Let all bitterneſs, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking be put away from you, with all malice: Put off anger, wrath, malice*, &c. * *Be ſlow to wrath.*

2. It is a proper Act of Charity to remit offences, ſuppreſſing all deſigns of revenge, and not retaining any grudge: for,

1 Cor. 13. 7. Prov. 10. 12. 1 Pet. 4. 8. Jam. 5. 20. *Charity*, πάντα στέγει, *doth cover all things*; and in this ſenſe doth *hide a multitude of ſins*: all diſpoſitions, all intents to do harm are inconſiſtent with it, are quite repugnant to it.

Col. 3 12, 13. μορφώ. Eph. 4. 32. Hence thoſe Precepts, *Put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering, forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man hath a quarrel againſt any, even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye: Be ye kind one to ather, tender hearted, forgiving one another*; *even as God for Chriſt's ſake*
1 Theſſ. 5. 15. *hath forgiven you: See that none render evil for evil, but ever follow*
1 Pet. 3. 9. *that which is good both among your ſelves and to all men*: And many the
Rom. 12. 17. Matt. 6. 14. like Precepts occur in the Goſpels, the Apoſtolical Writings; yea even
5. 44. in the Old Teſtament, wherein charity did not run in ſo high a ſtrain.
Prov. 20. 22. 25. 21. 3. It is a Duty coherent with charity, to maintain concord and peace; to abſtain from contention and ſtrife; together with the ſources of them, pride, envy, emulation, malice.

Phil. 2. 2. 1 Pet. 3. 8. Acts 4. 32. Eph. 4. 3. Phil. 2. 2. 1, 27. We are commanded to be σύμψυχοι, and ὁμόφρονες, *of one ſoul, of one mind* (like *the multitude of believers* in the *Acts*, who *had one heart and one ſoul*) that we ſhould *keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace*; that we ſhould be *of one accord, of one mind, ſtanding faſt in*

one

one ſpirit, with one mind: that we ſhould *all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that there be no diviſions among us, but that we be perfectly joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgment:* that there be no factions, or *ſchiſms in the body:* that all diſſentions, all clamours, all murmurings, all emulations ſhould be abandoned and put away from us; that we ſhould *purſue and maintain peace with all men:* obedience to which commands can only be the reſult of charity, eſteeming the perſon and judgment of our neighbour; deſiring his good will, tendring his good; curbing thoſe fleſhly luſts, and thoſe fierce paſſions, from the predominancy whereof diſcords and ſtrifes do ſpring.

1 Cor. 1. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Rom. 15. 5, 6. 12. 16. Phil. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 12. 25. 11. 18. 1. 11. 3. 3. 2 Cor. 12. 20. Phil. 2. 14. Heb. 12. 14. Rom. 12. 18. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Jam. 4. 1.

4. Another charitable practice is, being candid in opinion, and mild in cenſure about our neighbour and his actions; having a good conceit of his perſon, and repreſenting him to our ſelves under the beſt character we can; making the moſt favourable conſtruction of his words, and the faireſt interpretation of his deſigns.

1 Cor. 3. 3. Gal. 5. 20. 1 Tim. 6. 4.

Charity diſpoſeth us to entertain a good opinion of our neighbour, for deſiring his good we ſhall be concerned for him, and prejudiced (as it were) on his ſide; being unwilling to diſcover any blemiſh in him to our own diſappointment and regret.

Love cannot ſubſiſt without eſteem; and it would not willingly by deſtroying that loſe its own ſubſiſtence.

Love would preſerve any good of its friend, and therefore his reputation, which is a good in it ſelf precious, and ever very dear to him.

Love would beſtow any good, and therefore its eſteem; which is a conſiderable good.

Harſh cenſure is a very rude kind of treatment, grievouſly vexing a man, and really hurting him; charity therefore will not be guilty of it.

It diſpoſeth rather to overſee, and connive at faults, than to find them, or to pore on them; rather to hide and ſmother, than to diſcloſe or divulge them; rather to extenuate and excuſe, than to exaggerate or aggravate them.

Are words capable of a good ſenſe? charity will expound them thereto: may an action be imputed to any good intent? charity will ever refer it thither: doth a fault admit any plea, apology or diminution? charity will be ſure to alledge it: may a quality admit a good name? charity will call it thereby.

It doth not λογίζεσθαι κακὸν, *impute evil*, or put it to any mans account, beyond abſolute neceſſity. 1 Cor. 13. 5.

It *hopeth all things*, and *believeth all things*; hopeth and believeth all things for the beſt, in favour to its neighbour, concerning his intentions and actions liable to doubt. 1 Cor. 13. 7.

It baniſheth *all evil ſurmiſes*; it rejecteth all ill ſtories, malicious inſinuations, perverſe gloſſes and deſcants. 1 Tim. 6. 4.

5. Another charitable practice is to comport with the infirmities of our neighbour; according to that Rule of Saint *Paul*, *We that are ſtrong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves*; and that Precept, *Bear one anothers burthens, and ſo fulfil the Law of Chriſt.* Ἀντέχεσθε ἀδενῶν. Acts 20. 35. 1 Theſſ. 5. 14. Rom. 15. 1. Gal. 6. 2.

Is a man wiſer than his neigbour (or in any caſe freer of defects) charity will diſpoſe to uſe that advantage ſo as not to contemn him, or inſult over him; but to inſtruct him, to help him, to comfort him.

As we deal with children, allowing to the infirmities of their age, bearing their ignorance, frowardneſs, untoward humours, without diſtacing them; ſo ſhould we with our brethren who labour under any weakneſs of mind or humour.

6. 'Tis an act of charity to abstain from offending, or scandalizing our brethren; by doing any thing, which either may occasion him to commit sin, or disaffect him to Religion, or discourage him in the practice of duty, (that which Saint *Paul* calleth to * *defile* and *smite his weak conscience*) or which any-wise may discompose, vex, and *grieve* him: for, *If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably.*

* Μολύνεται. 1 Cor. 10. 7. Τύπτοντες δὲ συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν. 1 Cor. 8. 12. Rom. 14. 15. Οὐκέτι κατὰ ἀγάπην περιπατεῖς. 1 Cor. 10. 32. 8. 13. Rom. 14. 21.

SERMON XXVIII.

Motives and Arguments to Charity.

HEBREWS. 10. 24.

Let us consider one another to provoke unto love, and to good works.

THAT which is here recommended by the Apostle, as the common Duty of Christians toward each other, upon emergent occasions, with zeal and care to provoke one another to the practice of Charity and Beneficence, may well be conceived the special Duty of those, whose Office it is to instruct and guide others, when opportunity is afforded: with that obligation I shall now comply, by representing divers considerations serving to excite and encourage us to that practice: this (without premising any description or explication of the Duty; the Nature, special Acts and Properties whereof I have already declared) I shall immediately undertake.

I. First then, I desire you to remember and consider that you are men, and as such obliged to this Duty; as being very agreeable to humane nature, the which (not being corrupted or distempered by ill use) doth incline to it, doth call for it, doth like and approve it, doth find satisfaction and delight therein.

Saint *Paul* chargeth us to be εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι; or *to have a natural affection one toward another*; that supposeth a στοργὴ inbred to men, which should be rowsed up, improved and exercised: Such an one indeed there is, which although often raked up and smothered in the common attendances on the providing for our needs, and prosecuting our affairs, will upon occasion, more or less break forth and discover itself.

Rom. 12. 10

That the constitution and frame of our nature disposeth to it, we can not but feel, when our bowels are touched with a sensible pain at the view of any calamitous object, when our fancies are disturbed at the report

report of any disaster befalling a man; when the sight of a Tragedy wringeth compassion and tears from us; which affections we can hardly quash by any reflexion, that such events (true or feigned) do not concern our selves.

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἕλοιτ' ἂν καθ' αὑτὸν τὰ πάντ' ἔχειν ἀγαθά. Arist. *Eth.* 9. 9.

Hence doth nature so strongly affect society and abhor solitude; so that a man cannot enjoy himself alone, or find satisfaction in any good without a companion; not only for that he then cannot receive, but also because he cannot impart assistance, consolation and delight in converse; for men do not affect society only that they may obtain benefits thereby; but as much or more, that they may be enabled to communicate them; nothing being more distastful than to be always on the taking hand: neither indeed hath any thing a more pleasant and savoury relish than to do Good; as even *Epicurus*, the great Patron of pleasure did confess.

Hominem homini natura conciliat. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

Nullius boni sine socio jucunda possessio est. Sen. *Eph.* 6.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς βουλόμενος συνδῆσαι πάντας ἀλλήλοις, τοιαύτην τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην, ὡς ἐν τῷ τῶν πλησίον συμφέροντι τὸ τῶν ἑτέρου δεδέσθαι· καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἅπας οὕτω συνέστηκε. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 25.

The practice of benignity, of courtesie, of clemency do at first sight, without aid of any discursive reflexion, obtain approbation and applause from men; being acceptable and amiable to their mind, as beauty to their sight, harmony to their hearing, fragrancy to their smell, and sweetness to their taste; And correspondently uncharitable dispositions and practices (malignity, harshness, cruelty,) do offend the mind with a disgustful resentment of them.

We may appeal to the conscience of each man, if he doth not feel dissatisfaction in that fierceness or frowardness of temper, which produceth uncharitableness; if we have not a complacence in that sweet and calm disposition of soul, whence charity doth issue; if he do not condemn himself for the one, and approve himself in the other practice.

This is the common judgment of men; and therefore in common language this practice is styled humanity, as best sorting with our nature, and becoming it; and the principle whence it springeth is called good-nature; and the contrary practice is styled inhumanity, as thwarting our natural inclinations, or divesting us of manhood; and its source likewise is termed ill-nature, or a corruption of our nature.

Εἰς γὰρ φιλανθρωπίας ἔργα ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευ ἀσμεθα. Flavian. CP. *Ep. in Syn.* Chalc. *Acts* 1. (*p.* 111.)

It is therefore a monstrous paradox, crossing the common sense of men, which in this loose and vain world hath lately got such vogue, that all men naturally are enemies one to another: it pretendeth to be grounded on common observation and experience; but it is only an observing the worst actions of the worst men; of dissolute ruffians, of villainous cheats, of ravenous oppressours, of malicious politicians, of such degenerate Apostates from humanity; by whose practice (debauched by vain conceits and naughty customs) an ill measure is taken of mankind: *Aristotle* himself, who had observed things as well as any of these men, and with as sharp a judgment, affirmeth the contrary, that all men are friends, and disposed to entertain friendly correspondence with one another: Indeed to say the contrary is a blasphemy against the Authour of our nature; and is spoken no less out of profane enmity against him, than out of venomous malignity against men: out of hatred to God and Goodness they would disparage and vilifie the noblest work of God's Creation; yet do they

Οἰκεῖον πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. Arist. *Eth.* 8. 1. *Rhet.* 1. 11.

Ἐνέθηκε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς φίλτρον τῇ φύσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, ὥστε ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν. Chrys. *in* Eph. *Orat.* 2.

Συνδεσμῶν εἰς ὁμογνωμοσύνην ὁ ἀριστοτέχνης θεὸς ἣν ἐδημιούργησε φύσιν τῇ διαθέσει τοὺς λόγῳ διοικουμένως συνέσφιγξε, &c. Proclus Constantinopl. *Syn.* Chalc. *Acts* 14.

(if we found the bottom of their mind) imply themselves to admire this quality, and by their decrying it do commend it; for it is easie to discern that therefore only they slander mankind as uncapable of goodness, because out of malignity they would not allow it so excellent a quality.

II. Let us consider what our neighbour is, how near in blood, how like in nature, how much in all considerable respects the same with us he is.

Should any one wrong or defame our brother, we should be displeased; should we do it our selves, or should we omit any office of kindness toward him, we should blame our selves; Every man is such, of one stock, of one blood with us; and as such may challenge and call for real affection from us.

Should any one mar, tear, or deface our Picture, or shew any kind of disrespect thereto, we should be offended, taking it for an indignity put on our selves; and as for our selves, we should never in such a manner affront or despight our selves; Every man is such, our most lively image, representing us most exactly in all the main figures and features of body, of soul, of state; we thence do owe respect to every one.

Δὶ ὁμοιότητες πάντα φιλεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλα σωφρόνως. Plato *Symp.*

Every man is another self, partaker of the same nature, endewed with the same faculties, subject to the same Laws, liable to the same fortunes; distinguished from us only in accidental and variable circumstances; whence if we be amiable or estimable, so is he upon the same grounds; and acting impartially (according to right judgment) we should yield love and esteem to him: by slighting, hating, injuring, hurting him we do consequentially abuse our selves, or acknowledge our selves deservedly liable to the same usage.

Every man, as a Christian, is in a higher and nobler way allied, assimilated and identified to us; to him therefore upon the like grounds improved charity is more due; and we wrong our heavenly relations, our better nature, our more considerable selves, in withholding it from him.

III. Equity doth plainly require Charity from us; for every one is ready not only to wish and seek, but to demand and claim love from others; so as to be much offended, and grievously to complain if he do not find it.

We do all conceive love and respect due to us from all men; we take all men bound to wish and tender our welfare, we suppose our need to require commiseration and succour from every man; if it be refused, we think it a hard case, and that we are ill used; we cry out of wrong, of discourtesie, of inhumanity, of baseness practised toward us.

A moderate respect and affection will hardly satisfie us, we pretend to them in the highest degree, disgusting the least appearance of disregard or disaffection; we can scarce better digest indifference than hatred.

This evidenceth our opinion and conscience to be, that we ought to pay the greatest respect and kindness to our neighbour; for it is plainly unjust and ridiculously vain, to require that from others, which we refuse to others, who may demand it upon the same title; nor can we without self-condemnation practise that which we detest in others.

In all reason and equity, if I would have another my friend, I must be a friend to him; if I pretend to charity from all men, I must render it to all in the same kind and measure.

Matt. 7. Hence is the Law of Charity well expressed in those terms, *of doing to others whatever we would have them do to us*; whereby the palpable equity of this practice is demonstrated.

IV. Let

IV. Let us consider that Charity is a right noble and worthy thing; greatly perfective of our nature; much dignifying and beautifying our soul.

It rendreth a man truly great, enlarging his mind unto a vast circumference, and to a capacity near infinite; so that it by a general care doth reach all things; by an universal affection doth embrace and grasp the world.

By it our reason obtaineth a field or scope of employment worthy of it, not confined to the slender interests of one person, or one place, but extending to the concerns of all men.

Charity is the imitation and copy of that immense love, which is the fountain of all being and all good; which made all things, which preserveth the world, which sustaineth every creature; Nothing advanceth us so near to a resemblance of him, who is essential love and goodness; who freely and purely, without any regard to his own advantage, or capacity of finding any beneficial return, doth bear and express the highest good-will, with a liberal hand pouring down showers of bounty and mercy on all his creatures: who daily putteth up numberless indignities and injuries; upholding and maintaining those who offend and provoke him.

Chrys. *in* Eph. *Or.* 9.

Ἡμᾶς εἴτις ἐρωτήσεις, τὶ τὸ τιμώμενον ὑμῖν καὶ προσκυνούμενον, πρόχειρον εἰπεῖν ἡ ἀγάπη; ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἡ ἀγάπη ἐστι, ῥῆσις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, καὶ τοῦτο χαίρει μᾶλλον ἀκούων ὁ θεὸς, ἢ τι ἄλλο. Naz. *Or.* 14.

Καθ' ἑκάστην ὑβρίζεται τὴν ἡμέραν, παρῶν καὶ ὁρῶν, καὶ ἀκούων, καὶ οὔτε σκηπτὸν ἀφῆκε, &c. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. γ'.

Charity rendreth us as Angels, or Peers to those glorious and blessed Creatures, who without receiving or expecting any requital from us, do heartily desire and delight in our good, are ready to promote it, do willingly serve and labour for it. Nothing is more amiable, more admirable, more venerable, even in the common eye and opinion of men; it hath in it a beauty and a majesty apt to ravish every heart; Even a spark of it in generosity of dealing breedeth admiration, a glimpse of it in formal courtesie of behaviour procureth much esteem, being deemed to accomplish and adorn a man; how lovely therefore and truly gallant is an intire, sincere, constant and uniform practice thereof, issuing from pure good-will and affection!

Love indeed or goodness (for true love is nothing else but goodness exerting it self, in direction toward objects capable of its influence) is the only amiable and only honourable thing: Power and Wit may be admired by some, or have some fond Idolaters; but being severed from goodness, or abstracted from their subserviency to it, they cannot obtain real love, they deserve not any esteem; for the worst, the most unhappy, the most odious and contemptible of Beings do partake of them in a high measure: The Prince of Darkness hath more power, and reigneth with absolute Sovereignty over more Subjects by many than the *Great Turk*; One Devil may have more wit than all the politick *Achitophels*, and all the profane *Hectors* in the world; yet with all his power and all his Wit he is most wretched, most detestable, and most despicable; and such in proportion is every one, who partaketh in his accursed dispositions of malice and uncharitableness. For,

On the other side Uncharitableness is a very mean and base thing: It contracteth a man's soul into a narrow compass, or straitneth it as it were into one point; drawing all his thoughts, his desires, his affections into himself, as to their centre; so that his reason, his will, his activity have but one pitiful object to exercise themselves about: To scrape together a little pelf, to catch a vapour of fame, to prog for a frivolous semblance of power or dignity, to sooth the humour or pamper the sensuality

Sen. *de Tranq.* 3.

ſenſuality of one poor worm, is the ignoble ſubject of his buſie care and endeavour.

By it we debaſe our ſelves into an affinity with the meaneſt things; becoming either like Beaſts or Fiends; like Beaſts, affecting only our own preſent ſenſible good; or like Fiends, deſigning miſchief and trouble to others.

It is indeed hard for a man without Charity, not to be worſe than an innocent beaſt; not at leaſt to be as a Fox, or a Wolf; either cunningly
Ezek. 22. 27. lurching, or violently ravening for prey; Love only can reſtrain a man from flying at all, and ſeiſing on whatever he meeteth; from biting, from worrying, from devouring every one that is weaker than himſelf, or who cannot defend himſelf from his paws and teeth.

V. The practice of Charity is productive of many great benefits and advantages to us; ſo that to love our neighbour doth involve the trueſt love to our ſelves; and we are not only obliged in duty, but may be encouraged by our intereſt thereto: Beatitude is often pronounced to it, or to ſome particular inſtances of it; and well may it be ſo, for it indeed will conſtitute a man happy, producing to him manifold comforts and conveniences of life: ſome whereof we ſhall touch.

Ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος καὶ φθόνου καὶ ὀργῆς καὶ βασκανίας καὶ ἀπονοίας καὶ κενοδοξίας, καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ παντὸς ἔρωτος ἀτόπου, καὶ παντὸς νοσήματος καθαρεύουσαν τηρήσει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Orat.* 32.

VI. (1.) Charity doth free our ſouls of all thoſe bad diſpoſitions and paſſions which vex and diſquiet them; from thoſe gloomy paſſions, which cloud our mind, from thoſe keen paſſions, which fret our heart, from thoſe tumultuous paſſions, which ruffle us and diſcompoſe the frame of our ſoul.

It ſtifleth anger, (that ſwoon of reaſon, tranſporting a man out of himſelf) for a man hardly can be incenſed againſt thoſe whom he tenderly loveth: a petty neglect, a hard word, a ſmall diſcourteſie will not fire a charitable ſoul; the greateſt affront or wrong can hardly kindle rage therein.

Φθόνος, ἡ δαπάνη τῶν ἐχόντων, ὁ τῶν παχόντων ἰός, τὸ μόνον τῶν παθῶν ἀδικώτατόν τε ἅμα καὶ δικαιότατον, τὸ μὲν ὅτι πᾶσι διοχλεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τήκει τοὺς ἔχοντας. Gr. Naz. *Or.* 27.

It baniſheth envy (that ſeverely juſt vice, which never faileth to puniſh it ſelf) for no man will repine at his wealth or proſperity, no man will malign his worth or vertue, whoſe good he charitably deſireth and wiſheth.

It excludeth rancour and ſpite, thoſe diſpoſitions which create a hell in our ſoul; which are directly repugnant to charity, and thereby diſpelled as darkneſs by light, cold by heat.

It ſuffereth not revenge (that canker of the heart) to harbour in our breaſt, for who can intend miſchief to him, in whoſe good he delighteth, in whoſe evil he feeleth diſpleaſure?

1 Joh. 4. 18. κόλασιν ἔχει. It voideth fear, ſuſpicion, jealouſie of miſchief deſigned againſt us; the which paſſions *have torment*, or do puniſh us (as Saint *John* ſaith) racking us with anxious expectation of evil; wherefore *there is*, ſaith he, *no*
Oderunt quem metuunt. *fear in love, but perfect love caſteth out fear*: No man indeed is apt to fear him whom he loveth, or is able much to love him whom he feareth for love eſteemeth its object as innocent, fear apprehendeth it as hurtful; love diſpoſeth to follow and embrace, fear inclineth to decline and ſhun. To ſuſpect a friend therefore is to diſavow him for ſuch; and upon ſlender grounds to conceit ill of him, is to deem him unworthy of our love; The innocence and inoffenſiveneſs of charity, which provoketh no man to do us harm, doth alſo breed great ſecurity and confidence; any man will think he may walk unarmed and unguarded among thoſe to whom he beareth good-will, to whom he neither meaneth

eth, nor doth any harm; being guarded by a good conſcience and ſhielded with innocence.

It removeth diſcontent or diſſatisfaction in our ſtate; the which uſually doth ſpring from ill conceits and ſurmiſes about our neighbour, or from wrathful and ſpiteful affections toward him; for while men have good reſpect and kindneſs for their neighbours, they ſeldom are diſſatisfied in their own condition; they can never want comfort or deſpair of ſuccour.

It curbeth ambition and avarice; thoſe impetuous, thoſe inſatiable, thoſe troubleſome diſpoſitions; for a man will not affect to climb above thoſe, in whoſe honour he findeth ſatisfaction; nor to ſcramble with them for the goods, which he gladly would have them to enjoy; a competency will ſatisfie him, who taketh himſelf but for one among the reſt, and who can as little endure to ſee others want as himſelf: who would trouble himſelf to get power over thoſe, to o'er-top them in dignity and fame, to ſurpaſs them in wealth, whom he is ready to ſerve in the meaneſt offices of kindneſs, whom he would in honour prefer to himſelf, unto whom he will liberally communicate what he hath for his comfort and relief?

Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαπωμένῳ ἐκ ἂν τις ἐπαρθείη πόλε. Chryſoſt. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32.

In the prevalence of ſuch bad paſſions and diſpoſitions of ſoul our miſery doth moſt conſiſt; thence the chief troubles and inconveniences of our life do proceed; wherefore charity doth highly deſerve of us in freeing us from them.

VII. (2.) It conſequently doth ſettle our mind in a ſerene, calm, ſweet and cheerful ſtate; in an even temper and good humour, and harmonious order of ſoul, which ever will reſult from the evacuation of bad paſſions, from the compoſure of ſuch as are indifferent, from the excitement of thoſe which are good and pleaſant: *The fruits of the Spirit*, ſaith Saint *Paul*, *are love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs* (or benignity:) love precedeth, joy and peace follow as its * conſtant attendants, gentleneſs and benignity come after as its certain effects. Gal. 5. 22. Eph. 5. 12. Col. 3. 15. * Eldeſt Daughter.

Love indeed is the ſweeteſt of all paſſions, ever accompanied with a ſecret delectation and pleaſant ſenſe; whenever it is placed upon a good object, when it acteth in a rational way, when it is vigorous, it muſt needs yield much joy.

It therefore greatly conduceth to our happineſs, or rather alone doth ſuffice to conſtitute us happy.

VIII. (3.) Charity will preſerve us from divers external miſchiefs and inconveniences, to which our life is expoſed, and which otherwiſe we ſhall incur.

If we have not charity toward men, we ſhall have enmity with them; and upon that do wait troops of miſchief; we ſhall enjoy nothing quietly or ſafely, we ſhall do nothing without oppoſition or contention; no converſation, no commerce will be pleaſant; clamour, obloquy, tumult and trouble will ſurround us; we ſhall live in perpetual danger; the enmity of the meaneſt and weakeſt Creature being formidable.

But all ſuch miſchiefs charity will prevent or remove; damming up the fountains, or extirpating the roots of them: for who will hate a perſon that apparently loveth him; who can be ſo barbarous or baſe as to hurt that man, whom he findeth ever ready to do himſelf good? what brute, what devil can find in his heart to be a foe to him, who is a ſure friend to all? No Publican can be ſo wretched-

Τίς δ' ἂν τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐλόγως μισοῖτο ἀνδρὸς ἀδικεῖν μίαν ἀδικοῦντος παρέχοντος αἰτίαν ἐχθρᾶς; Clem. *Str.* 7. (*p.* 532.)

Chryſ. *in* 1 Theſſ. *Or.* 4. Κἂν θηρίον ἐκεῖνον ᾖ, κἂν λίθος, &c.

Οὐδεὶς ἐχθρὸς τῷ σπουδαίῳ. Hier.

Οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀγαπώμενον μὴ τὸν ἀγαπῶντα. Chryſ. *in* Gen. *Or.* 32.

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Matt. 5. 46. ly vile, no ſinner ſo deſtitute of goodneſs; for, *If* (ſaith our Lord, upon common experience) *you love them which love you, what reward have you, do not even the publicans the ſame?* and, *If you do good to them which do good to you, what thank have you? for ſinners alſo do even the ſame:* It ſeemeth beyond the greateſt degeneracy and curruption whereof human nature is capable, to requite charity with enmity, yea not to return ſome kindneſs for it: Τὶς ὁ κακώσων; *Who* (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *is he that will do you hurt, if you be followers of that which is good*; or imitators of him that is good; (of the Sovereign goodneſs?) none ſurely can be ſo unjuſt, or ſo unworthy.

1 Pet. 3. 13. Ἐὰν τ ἀγαθ μιμηταὶ γένησθε.

As charity reſtraineth us from doing any wrong, or yielding any offence to others in thought, in word, in deed; from entertaining any bad conceits without ground, from hatching any miſchievous deſigns againſt our neighbour; from uſing any harſh, virulent, biting language; from any rugged, diſcourteous, diſobliging behaviour; from any wrongful, rigorous, ſevere dealing toward him; from any contemptuous pride, or ſupercilious arrogance; ſo it conſequently will defend us from the like treatment; for ſcarce any man is ſo malicious as without any provocation to do miſchief; no man is ſo incorrigibly ſavage, as to perſiſt in committing outrage upon perfect innocence, joyned with patience, with meekneſs, with courteſie; Charity will melt the hardeſt heart, and charm the fierceſt ſpirit; it will bind the moſt violent hand, it will ſtill the moſt obſtreperous tongue; it will reconcile the moſt offended, moſt prejudiced heart: it is the beſt guard that can be of our ſafety from aſſaults, of our intereſt from damage, of our reputation from ſlander, detraction and reproach.

Vincit malos pertinax bonitas. Sen.

Carbones ignis congregabis ſuper caput ejus; non in maledictum & condemnationem, ut plerique exiſtimant, ſed in correctionem & pœnitudinem; ut ſuperatus beneficiis, excoctus fervore charitatis, inimicus eſſe deſiſtat. Hier. *in* Pelag. 1. *c.* 9.

If you would have Examples of this, experience will afford many; and ſome we have in the Sacred Records commended to our obſervation; *Eſau* was a rough man, and one who had been exceedingly provoked by his brother *Jacob*; yet how did meek and reſpectful demeanour overcome him! ſo that *Eſau* (it is ſaid in the hiſtory) *ran to meet him* (*Jacob*,) *and fell on his neck, and kiſſed him, and they wept.*

Gen. 32. 20.

Gen. 33. 4.

Saul was a man poſſeſſed with a furious envy and ſpite againſt *David*; yet into what expreſſions did the ſenſe of his kind dealing force him! *Is this thy voice, my Son David? —Thou art more righteous than I; for thou haſt rewarded me good, whereas I have rewarded thee evil; —behold I have played the fool, and have erred exceedingly.* So doth charity ſubdue and triumph over the moſt inveterate prejudices, and the moſt violent paſſions of men.

1 Sam. 24. 16, 17. 26. 17, 21.

Cadit ſtatim ſimultas ab altera parte deſerta—— Sen. *de Ir.* 2. 34.

If peace and quiet be deſirable things, as certainly they are, and that form implyeth, when by wiſhing peace with men, we are underſtood to wiſh all good to them, it is charity only that preſerveth them; which more ſurely than any power or policy doth quaſh all war and ſtrife; for war muſt have parties, and ſtrife implieth reſiſtance; be it the firſt or ſecond blow which maketh the fray, charity will avoid it; for it neither will ſtrike the firſt in offence, nor the ſecond in revenge. Charity therefore may well be ſtyled *the band of peace*, it being that only which can knit mens ſouls together, and keep them from breaking out into diſſenſions.

Eph. 4. 3.

It alone is that which will prevent bickering and claſhing about points of credit or intereſt; if we love not our neighbour, or tender not his good as our own, we ſhall be ever in competition and debate with him about

about those things, not suffering him to enjoy any thing quietly; struggling to get above him, scrambling with him for what is to be had.

IX. (4.) As charity preserveth from mischiefs, so it procureth many sweet comforts and fair accommodations of life.

Friendship is a most useful and pleasant thing; and charity will conciliate good store thereof; it is apt to make all men friends; for love is the only general philtre and effectual charm of souls; the fire which kindleth all it toucheth, and propagateth it self in every capable subject; and such a subject is every man in whom humanity is not quite extinct, and hardly can any such man be, seeing every man hath some good humour in him, some blood, some kindly juice flowing in his veins; no man wholly doth consist of dusky melancholy, or fiery choler; whence all men may be presumed liable to the powerful impressions of charity; its mild and serene countenance, its sweet and gentle speech, its courteous and obliging gesture, its fair dealing, its benign conversation, its readiness to do any good or service to any man, will insinuate good-will and respect into all hearts.

Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine, Si vis amari, ama. Sen. *Ep.* 9.

It thence will encompass a man with friends, with many guards of his safety, with many supports of his fortune, with many patrons of his reputation, with many succourers of his necessity, with many comforters of his affliction: for is a charitable man in danger, who will not defend him? is he falling, who will not uphold him? is he falsly accused or aspersed, who will not vindicate him? is he in distress, who will not pity him, who will not endeavour to relieve and restore him? who will insult over his calamity? will it not in such cases appear a common duty, a common interest to assist and countenance a common friend, a common benefactour to mankind?

Whereas most of our life is spent in society and discourse, charity is that which doth season and sweeten these, rendring them grateful to others, and commodious to ones self; for a charitable heart is a sweet spring, from whence do issue streams of wholsome and pleasant discourse; it not being troubled with any bad passion or design, which may sour or foul conversation, doth ever make him good company to others, and rendreth them such to himself; which is a mighty convenience. In short, *a* charitable man, or, *true lover of men will* (saith S. *Chrysostome*) *inhabit earth as a heaven, every where carrying a serenity with him, and plaiting ten thousand crowns for himself.* Again,

Prov. 15. 26. 16. 24.

Τὴν γῆν οὕτως ὡς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἰκήσει, πανταχοῦ γαλήνης ἀπολαύων, καὶ μυρίους ἑαυτῷ πλέκων στεφάνους. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. *Cr.* 32.

X. (5.) Charity doth in every estate yield advantages sutable thereto; bettering it, and improving it to our benefit.

It rendreth prosperity not only innocent and safe, but useful and fruitful to us, we then indeed enjoy it, if we feel the comfort of doing good by it: It solaceth adversity, considering that it doth not arise as a punishment or fruit of ill-doing to others; that it is not attended with the deserved ill-will of men; that no man hath reason to delight for it, or insult over us therein; that we may probably expect commiseration and relief, having been ready to shew the like to others.

It tempereth both states; for in prosperity a man cannot be transported with immoderate joy, when so many objects of pity and grief do present themselves before him, which he is apt deeply to resent; in prosperity he cannot be dejected with extreme sorrow, being refreshed by so many good successes befalling those whom he loveth: One condition will not puff him up, being sensible of his neighbours misery; the other will not sink him down, having complacence in his neighbours

welfare. Uncharitableneſs (proceeding from contrary cauſes, and producing contrary effects) doth ſpoil all conditions, rendring proſperity fruitleſs, and adverſity comfortleſs.

XI. (6.) We may conſider, that ſecluding the exerciſe of charity, all the goods and advantages we have (our beſt faculties of nature, our beſt endowments of ſoul, the gifts of providence, and the fruits of our induſtry) will become vain and fruitleſs, or noxious and bainful to us; for what is our reaſon worth, what doth it ſignifie, if it ſerveth only for contriving ſorry deſigns, or tranſacting petty affairs about our ſelves? what is wit good for, if it muſt be ſpent only in making ſport, or hatching miſchief? to what purpoſe is knowledge, if it be not applied to the inſtruction, direction, admonition or conſolation of others? what mattereth abundance of wealth, if it be to be uſeleſly hoarded up, or vainly flung away, in wicked or wanton profuſeneſs; if it be not employed in affording ſuccour to our neighbours indigency and diſtreſs? what is our credit but a mere noiſe or a puff of air, if we do not give a ſolidity and ſubſtance to it, by making it an engine of doing good? what is our vertue it ſelf, if it be buried in obſcurity, or choaked with idleneſs, yielding no benefit to others by the luſtre of its example, or by its real influence? What is any talent if it be wrapped up in a napkin, any light if it be hid under a buſhel; any thing private, if it be not by good uſe ſpread out and improved to publick benefit? If theſe gifts do miniſter only to our own particular advantage, to our perſonal convenience, glory or pleaſure, how ſlim things are they, how inconſiderable is their worth?

Paulùm ſepultæ diſtat inertiæ Celata virtus. Hor. *Carm.* 4. 9.

But they being managed by charity become precious and excellent things; they are great in proportion to the greatneſs of their uſe, or the extent of their beneficial influence: as they carry forth good to the world, ſo they bring back various benefits to our ſelves; they return into our boſom laden with reſpect and reward from God and from man; they yield thanks and commendation from without, they work comfort and ſatisfaction within: Yea, which is infinitely more conſiderable, and enhanceth the price of our gifts to a vaſt rate, they procure glory and bleſſing to God; for *hereby is God glorified, if we bring forth much fruit* and no good fruit can grow from any other ſtock than that of charity.

Luke 6. 38.

Joh. 15. 8. Phil. 1. 11. Matt. 5. 16. Prov. 4. 31. 2 Cor. 9. 11. 1 Cor. 13.

Uncharitableneſs therefore ſhould be loathed and ſhunned by us, as that which robbeth us of all our ornaments and advantages; which indeed marreth and corrupteth all our good things, which turneth bleſſings into curſes, and rendreth the means of our welfare to be cauſes of miſchief to us; for without charity a man can have no goods, but good worldly and temporal; and ſuch goods thence do prove impertinent baubles, burthenſome incumbrances, dangerous ſnares, baneful poiſons to him.

XII. (7.) Charity doth hugely advance and amplifie a man's ſtate putting him into the poſſeſſion or fruition of all good things: It will endow, enrich, ennoble, embelliſh us with all the world hath of precious of glorious, of fair; by appropriation thereof to our ſelves, and acquiring of a real intereſt therein. What men commonly out of fond ſelf love do vainly affect, that infallibly by being charitable they may compaſs, the engroſſing to themſeves all kinds of good: moſt eaſily, moſt innocently, in a compendious and ſure way, without any ſin or blame without any care or pain, without any danger or trouble, they may come to attain and to enjoy whatever in common eſteem is deſirable or valuable; they may, without greedy avarice, or the carkings, the drudgeries

drudgeries, the disgraces going with it, procure to themselves abundant wealth; without fond ambition, or the difficulties, the hazards, the emulations, the strugglings to which it is liable, they may arrive to great honour; without sordid voluptuousness, or the satieties, the maladies, the regrets consequent thereon, they may enjoy all pleasure; without any wildness or wantonness, pride, luxury, sloth, any of its temptations and snares, they may have all prosperity; they may get all learning and wisdom without laborious study, all vertue and goodness without the fatigues of continual exercise: for are not all these things yours, if you do esteem them so, if you do make them so, by finding much delight and satisfaction in them? doth not your neighbours wealth enrich you, if you feel content in his possessing and using it? doth not his preferment advance you, if your spirit riseth with it in a gladsome complacence? doth not his pleasure delight you, if you relish his enjoyment of it? doth not his prosperity bless you, if your heart doth exult and triumph in it? do not his endowments adorn you, if you like them, if you commend them, if the use of them doth minister comfort and joy to you? This is the divine Magick of charity, which conveyeth all things into our hands, and enstateth us in a dominion of them, whereof nothing can dissesse us; by vertue whereof *being* (as Saint *Paul* speaketh of himself) *sorrowful we yet always rejoyce, having nothing we yet possess all things.* 2 Cor. 6. 10.

Neither is this property in things merely imaginary or phantastick (like that of Lunaticks, who fancy themselves mighty Princes, or rich Aldermen) but very substantial and real; yea far more real to the charitable person, than it is commonly to those, who in legal or popular account are masters of them; for how is propriety in things otherwise considerable, than for the content and pleasure which they yield to the presumed owner? the which if a charitable person abundantly draweth from them, why are they not truly his? why is not the Tree his, if he can pull and taste its Fruits without injury or blame? yea doth not the propriety more really belong to him, as to the gross possessour, if he doth equally enjoy the benefit, without partaking the inconveniences and impurities adherent to them; if he taste them innocently and purely, without being cloyed, without being distracted, without being puffed, without being encumbred, ensnared or corrupted by them? than

A charitable man therefore can never (in a moral account) be poor, or vile, or any-wise miserable; except all the world should be cast into penury and distress; for while his neighbour hath any thing, he will enjoy it; *rejoicing with those that rejoice*, as the Apostle doth enjoin.

XIII. (8.) If therefore we love our selves, we must love others, and do others good; charitable beneficence carrying with it so many advantages to our selves.

We by charitable complacence do partake in their welfare, reaping pleasure from all the fruits of their industry and fortune.

We by charitable assistance do enable and dispose them to make grateful returns of succour in our need.

We thence assuredly shall obtain their good-will, their esteem, their commendation: we shall maintain peaceable and comfortable entercourse with them, in safety, in quiet, in good humour and cheer.

Besides all other benefits we shall get that of their prayers; the which of all prayers have a most favourable audience and assured efficacy: for if the complaints and curses of those who are oppressed or neglected by uncharitable dealing, do certainly reach God's ears, and pull down ven- Jam. 5. 4. Deut. 24. 15. Ecclus. 4. 6.

geance from above; how much more will the interceſſions and bleſſings of the poor pierce the heavens, and thence draw recompence; ſeeing God is more ready to perform his proper and pleaſant works of bounty and mercy, than to execute his *ſtrange* and unpleaſing *work* of puniſhment; Eſpecially the bleſſings of the poor being always accompanied with praiſes and glorifications of him, who enableth and diſpoſeth men to do good; the which praiſes will ever be reckoned on the account of him who drew them forth by his beneficence; it will be (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *fruit redounding to his account*; while *it aboundeth by many thankſgivings to God.*

Pſal. 62. 12. Mic. 7. 18. Iſa. 28. 21. Phil. 4. 17. 2 Cor. 9. 11. 8. 19.

So in virtue of Charity the pooreſt man amply may requite the wealthieſt; and a peaſant may out-do the greateſt Prince in beneficence.

XIV. We may conſider, that Charity is a practice ſpecially grateful to God, and a moſt excellent part of our Duty; not only becauſe he hath commanded it as ſuch with greateſt earneſtneſs; nor only becauſe it doth conſtitute us in neareſt reſemblance of him; but as a peculiar expreſſion of love and good-will toward him; for if we love him, we muſt for his ſake have a kindneſs for his friends, we muſt tender his intereſts, we muſt favour his reputation, we muſt deſire his content and pleaſure, we muſt contribute our endeavours toward the furtherance of theſe his concerns: Seeing then God is an aſſured friend to all men, ſeeing he hath a property in all men (for he is God and Lord of all) ſeeing he much concerneth himſelf for all mens welfare; ſeeing from the proſperity, from the vertue, from the happineſs of every man he gaineth honour and praiſe; ſeeing he is greatly ſatisfied and delighted in the good of men, we alſo muſt love them; otherwiſe we greatly ſhall diſoblige and diſguſt him.

Ezek. 18.

Ὅταν ϛυγῇ τις ἄνδρα, τὸν θεὸς φιλεῖ, ἔστι μεγίϛην μωρίαν κατεισάγει φανερῶς γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ κιρύσσεται. *Vid.* Anthol. Δεῖ γὰρ φιλεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ὃ θεὸς φιλεῖ. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32.

Is it not indeed a practice guilty of notorious enmity toward him, inconſiſtent with the maintenance of any friendſhip or peace with him, to diſcord in affection from him, maligning or diſaffecting thoſe whom he dearly loveth and favoureth, who are ſo nearly allied to him by manifold relations, as his Creatures, his Subjects, his Servants, his Children, whom he deſigneth and deſireth to crown with eternal glory and bliſs?

XV. Seeing God vouchſafeth to eſteem whatever is done in Charity to our neighbour (if done with an honeſt and pious mind, as to his friends) to be done unto himſelf; that in feeding our indigent neighbour, we refreſh him; in cloathing our neighbour, we comfort him; we do by charitable beneficence oblige God, and become in a manner benefactours to him; and as ſuch aſſuredly ſhall be requited by him; and is not this a high privilege, a great honour, a mighty advantage to us? If a man had opportunity to do that, which his Prince would acknowledge a courteſie and obligation to him, what a happineſs would he account it? and how far more conſiderable is it, that we can ſo eaſily do that which the Lord of all, in whoſe diſpoſal all things are, will take ſo kindly at our hands?

Rom. 12. 8. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγάπη μετὰ τοῦ κέρδους πολλὴν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν, καὶ πόνον οὐδένα——— Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32. 2 Cor. 9. 7. 8. 12. Ποῖος πόνος μὴ καχῶς εἰπεῖν οὐδένα; ποία δυσκολία ἀταλλαγῆναι φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας; ποῖος μόχθος μὴ κακῶς εἰπεῖν μηδένα;-Chryſ. Ἀνδρ η'.

XVI. We may conſider, that Charity is a very feaſible and very eaſie Duty; it requireth no ſore pain, no grievous trouble, no great coſt; for it conſiſteth only in good-will, and that which naturally ſpringeth thence; willingneſs and chearfulneſs are neceſſary ingredients or adjuncts of it, the which imply facility: whence the weakeſt and pooreſt man

man is no leſs able to perform it than the greateſt potentate; his heart may be as charitable, though his hand cannot be ſo liberal; one of the moſt noble and moſt famous charities that ever was, was the giving two mites; and the *giving a cup of cold water* is the inſtance of that beneficence, which ſhall not fail of being rewarded. Luk. 21. 2. Matt. 10. 42. *At nunc cùm omnia quæ Difficiliora ſunt vel modica ex parte faciamus, hoc ſolum non facimus quod & factu facilius eſt, & abſque quo caſa ſunt univerſa quæ facimus: Jejunii corpus ſentit injuriam, vigiliæ carnem macerant——hæc omnia ſunt qui faciant, ſola charitas ſine labore eſt.* Hier. *in* Gal. 5. 13.

XVII. We may conſider, that Charity is the beſt, the moſt aſſured, the moſt eaſie and expedite way, or inſtrument of performing all other dutys toward our neighbour: If we would diſpatch, love and all is done; if we would be perfect in obedience, love and we ſhall not fail in any point; for *love is the fulfilling of the law*; love *is the bond of perfectneſs:* would we be ſecure in the practice of juſtice, of meekneſs, of humility toward all men, of conſtant fidelity toward our friends, of gentle moderation toward our enemies, of loyalty toward our ſuperiours, of benignity toward our inferiours; if we would be ſure to purifie our minds from ill thoughts, to reſtrain our tongues from ill ſpeaking, to abſtain from all bad demeanour and dealing; it is but having charity, and infallibly you will do all this; for *love worketh no ill to its neighbour; love thinketh no evil; love behaveth not it ſelf unſeemly.* Rom. 13. 10. Gal. 5. 14. Rom. 12. 1 Cor. 13. 5.

Would we diſcharge all our Duties without any reluctancy or regret, with much ſatisfaction and pleaſure? love will certainly diſpoſe us thereto; for it always acteth freely and chearfully, without any compulſion or ſtraining; it is ever accompanied with delectation: If we would know its way and virtue of acting, we may ſee it repreſented in the proceeding of *Jacob*, who being inſpired by love did contendedly and without regret endure ſo long and hard toil, ſuch diſappointments and ſuch affronts; *And Jacob*, ſaith the Text, *ſerved ſeven years for Rachel, and they ſeemed to him but a few days for the love he had to her.* Gen. 29. 20.

Εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἠγάπων καὶ ἠγαπῶντο, οὐδὲν ἂν ἠδίκησεν οὐδείς, &c. Chryſ. *in* Cor. *Or.* 32.
It is winged.
It is fire.

Amor obſequitur ſponte, gratis obtemperat, liberè reveretur. Bern. *ad* Eug. Prol. *Vid.* Bern. *Ep.* 11. *p.* 1404——

This is the root, from whence voluntary obedience doth naturally grow; if it be planted in our heart, we need not fear but that all kind of good fruit will ſprout forth into converſation and practice.

Ὁ γὰρ φιλῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιτάττων, ὡς ἐπιταττόμενος χαίρει, &c. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 32.

But without it we ſhall not ever perform any good work perfectly, ſteadily, in a kindly manner; no other principle will ſerve, if we are only moved by whip and ſpur, driven on by fear, or incited by hope, we ſhall go forward unwillingly and dully, often halting, ever flagging; thoſe principles which do put ſlaves and mercenaries on action, as they are not ſo noble and worthy, ſo neither are they ſo effectual and ſure; as ambition, vain-glory, ſelf-intereſt, deſign of ſecurity, of profit, of compliance with the expectation of men, *&c.*

XVIII. Charity giveth worth, form and life to all vertue, ſo that without it no action is valuable in it ſelf, or acceptable to God. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 25.

Sever it from courage; and what is that, but the boldneſs or fierceneſs of a beaſt? from meekneſs; and what is that, but the ſoftneſs of a woman, or weakneſs of a child? from courteſie; and what is that, but affectation or artifice? from juſtice; what is that, but humour or policy? from wiſdom; what is that, but craft and ſubtilty?

What

What meaneth faith without it, but dry opinion; what hope, but blind presumption; what alms-doing, but ambitious ostentation; what undergoing martyrdom, but stiffness or sturdiness of resolution; what is devotion, but glozing or mocking with God? what is any practice (how specious soever in appearance, or materially good) but an issue of
1 Cor. 13.2,3. self-conceit, or self-will, of servile fear, or mercenary design? *Though I have faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing; though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor; and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.*

But Charity doth sanctifie every action, and impregnate all our practice with a savour of goodness, turning all we do into vertue; it is true fortitude and gallantry indeed, when a man out of charity and hearty design to promote his neighbours good doth encounter dangers and difficulties; it is genuine meekness, when a man out of charity and unwillingness to hurt his neighbour, doth patiently comport with injuries and discourtesies; it is vertuous courtesie, when cordial affection venteth it self in civil language, in respectful deportment, in obliging performances; it is excellent justice, when a man regarding his neighbours case as his own, doth unto him, as he would have it done to himself: it is admirable wisdom, which sagaciously contriveth and dexterously manageth things with the best advantage toward its neighbours good:
Gal. 5. 6. Jam. 2. 26. It is a worthy faith, which being *spirited* and *actuated* by charity, doth produce goodly fruits of beneficence; it is a sound and solid hope, which
1 Cor. 3. 8. is grounded on that everlasting foundation of charity, which *never doth fail*, or fall away; it is sincere alms, which not only the hand, but the heart doth reach forth; it is an acceptable sacrifice, which is kindled by the holy fire of fervent affection; it is a pure devotion, which is offered
1 Tim. 2. 8. Matt. 5. 23. up with a calm and benign mind, resembling the disposition of that goodness which it adoreth.

If therefore we would do any thing well, if we would not lose all the vertue, and forfeit all the benefit of what we perform, we must follow the Rule of Saint *Paul*, *to do all our works in charity.*
1 Cor. 16. 14.

XIX. So great benefits doth Charity yield; yet if it did not yield any of them, it would deserve and claim our observance; without regard to its sweet fruits and beneficial consequences, it were to be embraced and cherished; for it carrieth a reward and a heaven in it self; the very same which constituteth God himself infinitely happy, and which beatifieth every blessed Spirit, in proportion to its capacity and exercise thereof: A man doth abundantly enjoy himself in that steddy composedness, and savoury complacence of mind which ever doth attend it; and as the present sense, so is the memory of it, or the good conscience of having done good, very delicious and satisfactory.

As it is a raskally delight (tempered with regret, and vanishing into bitterness) which men feel in wreaking spite, or doing mischief; such as they cannot reflect upon without disgust and condemning their base impotency of soul; so is the pleasure which charity doth breed altogether pure, grateful to the mind, and encreasing by reflexion; never perishing or decaying; a man eternally enjoying the good he hath done, by remembring and ruminating thereon. In fine,

XX. Whereas the great obstacle to Charity is self-love, or an extravagant fondness of our own interests, yet uncharitableness destroyeth that: for how can we love our selves if we do want charity, how can we appear lovely to our selves if we are destitute of so worthy an endowment? or if we can discern those unworthy dispositions, which accompany

company the defect of it; can we esteem so mean, so vile, so ugly things as we then are? *Aristotle* saith, that bad men cannot be friends to themselves, because *having in themselves nothing amiable, they can feel no affection toward themselves*; and certainly, if we are not stark blind, or can but see wrath, spite, envy, revenge in their own black and ugly hue, we must needs (if they do possess our souls) grow odious and despicable to our selves. And being they do rob us of so many great benefits, and bring so many grievous mischiefs on us, we cannot be otherwise than enemies to our selves by cherishing them, or suffering them to lodge in us.

Οὐδὲν φιλητὸν ἔχοντες ἐαυτὸν φιλικὸν πάσχουσι. Arist. Eth. 9. 4.

These are some very considerable inducements to the practice of this great vertue; there are divers others of a higher nature, derivable from the inmost bowels of our Religion, grounded on its peculiar Constitution and Obligations, which I shall now forbear to mention, reserving them for a particular Discourse by themselves.

O Lord, who hast taught us, that all our doings without Charity are nothing worth; Send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of Charity, the very bond of peace and of all vertues, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead before thee. Grant this for thine only Son Jesus Christ's sake. Quinquag. Sund.

SERMON XXIX.

Of a Peaceable Temper and Carriage.

ROMANS 12. 18.

If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

THIS Chapter containeth many excellent Precepts and wholsome advices (scarce any portion of Holy Scripture so many in so little compass.) From among them I have selected one, alas, but too seasonable and pertinent to the unhappy condition of our distracted Age, wherein to observe this, and such like Injunctions, is by many esteemed an impossibility, by others a wonder, by some a crime. It hath an apt coherence with, yet no necessary dependence upon the parts adjoining; whence I may presume to treat upon it distinctly by it self; and without farther preface or circumstance we may consider several particulars therein.

I. And First, Concerning the advice it self, or the Substance of the Duty charged on us, Εἰρηνεύειν *(to be in peace,* or *live peaceably)* we may take notice, that, whether according to the more usual acception it be applied to the publick estate of things, or as here doth relate only to private conversation, it doth import, 1. Not

1. Not barely a negation of doing, or ſuffering harm; or an abſtinence from ſtrife and violence (for a mere ſtrangeneſs this may be, a want of occaſion, or a truce, rather than a peace) but a poſitive Amity, and diſpoſition to perform ſuch kind offices, without which good correſpondence among men cannot ſubſiſt. For they who by reaſon of diſtance of place, non-acquaintance, or defect of opportunity maintain no entercourſe, cannot properly be ſaid to be in peace with one another: But thoſe who have frequent occaſion of commerce, whoſe conditions require enterchanges of courteſie and relief, who are ſome way obliged and diſpoſed to afford needful ſuccour, and ſafe retreat to each other; Theſe may be ſaid to live in peace together; and theſe only; it being in a manner impoſſible, that they who are not diſpoſed to do good to others (if they have power and opportunity) ſhould long abſtain from doing harm.

2. Living peaceably implies not ſome few tranſitory performances, proceeding from caſual humour or the like; but a conſtant, ſtable, and well-ſetled condition of being; a continual ceſſation from injury, and promptitude to do good offices. For as one blow doth not make a battel, nor one skirmiſh a war; ſo cannot ſingle forbearances from doing miſchief, or ſome few particular acts of kindneſs (ſuch as mere ſtrangers may afford each other) be worthily ſtyled a being in peace: but an habitual inclination to theſe, a firm and durable eſtate of innocence and beneficence.

3. Living in peace ſuppoſes a reciprocal condition of being: not only a performing good, and forbearing to do bad offices, but a receiving the like treatment from others. For he, that being aſſaulted is conſtrained to ſtand upon his defence, may not be ſaid to be in peace, though his not being ſo (involuntarily) is not to be imputed to him.

4. Being in peace imports not only an outward ceſſation of violence and ſeeming demonſtration of amity, but an inward will and reſolution to continue therein. For he that intends, when occaſion is preſented, to do miſchief to another, is nevertheleſs an enemy, becauſe more ſecret and dangerous: an ambuſcado is no leſs a piece of war, than confronting the enemy in open field. Proclaiming and denouncing ſignifie, but good and ill intention conſtitute, and are the ſouls of peace and war. From theſe conſiderations we may infer a deſcription of being in peace, *viz.* that it is, to bear mutual good-will, to continue in amity, to maintain good correſpondence, to be upon terms of mutual courteſie and benevolence; to be diſpoſed to perform reciprocally all offices of humanity; aſſiſtance in need, comfort in ſorrow, relief in diſtreſs; to pleaſe and ſatisfie one another, by advancing the innocent delight, and promoting the juſt advantage of each other; to converſe with confidence and ſecurity, without ſuſpicion on either hand of any fraudulent, malicious, or hurtful practices againſt either: Or, negatively; Not to be in a ſtate of enmity, perſonal hatred, pertinacious anger, jealouſie, envy, or ill-will; not to be apt to provoke, to reproach, to harm, or hinder another, nor to have reaſonable grounds of expecting the ſame bad uſage from others: to be removed from danger of vexatious quarrels, entercourſe of odious language, offending others or being diſquieted ones ſelf. This I take to be the meaning of living, or being in peace, differing only in degree of obligation, and latitude of object, from the ſtate of friendſhip properly ſo called, and oppoſed to a condition of enmity, defiance, contention, hatred, ſuſpicion, animoſity.

II. In

II. In the next place we may consider the Object of this Duty, signified in those words, *With all men.* We often meet in Scripture with exhortations directed peculiarly to Christians, to be at peace among themselves; as (*Mark* 9. 50.) Our Saviour layes this Injunction upon his Disciples, εἰρωδεῖτε ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *Have peace one with another*; inculcated by Saint *Paul* upon the *Thessalonians* in the same words: and the like we have in the Second Epistle to *Timothy*, Chap. 2. Ver. 22. *Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace with them that call upon the Lord out of a pure heart*; and to the *Romans*, (14. 17.) *Let us therefore follow after the things that make for peace, and things wherewith one may edifie another.* But here the Duty hath a more large and comprehensive Object; πάντες ἄνθρωποι, *all men:* as likewise it hath in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, Chap. 12. Ver. 14. *Pursue peace with all men*; with all men without any exception, with men of all Nations, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and Barbarians; of all Sects and Religions; persecuting Jews and Idolatrous Heathens; (for of such consisted the generality of men at that time) and so Saint *Paul* expresly in a like advice, (1 *Cor.* 10. 32. *Give no offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*; *Even as I please all men.*) And I may add by evident parity of reason, with men of all degrees and estates, high and low, noble and base, rich and poor; of all tempers and dispositions, meek and angry, gentle and froward, pliable and perverse; of all endowments, wise and foolish, vertuous and vicious; of all judgments and persuasions, Orthodox and Heretical, peaceable and schismatical persons: this universally vast and boundless term, *All men*, contains them all. Neither is there any evading our obligation to this Duty, by pretending about others, that they differ from us in humour and complexion of soul, that they entertain opinions irreconcileably contrary to ours; that they adhere to sects and parties which we dislike and disavow, that they are not so vertuous, so religious, so holy as they should be, or at least not in such a manner as we would have them; for be this allegation true or false, it will not excuse us; while they are not divested of humane nature; and can truly lay claim to the name and title of men, we are by virtue of this Precept obliged to live peaceably with them.

1 Thess. 5. 13.

Vid. Eph. 4. 3.

III. We may consider the Qualification of the Duty here expressed, and what those words mean; *If it be possible, as much as lieth in you.* To which purpose we may advert; from our description of living peaceably, that it consists mainly of two parts: one *active*, or proceeding from us, and terminated on others, To bear good-will, to do good offices, to procure the profit, delight and welfare, to abstain from the displeasure, damage and disturbance of others: The other *passive*, issuing from others, and terminated on our selves; That they be well affected toward us, inclinable to do us good, and no wise disposed to wish, design or bring any harm, trouble or vexation upon us. Whereof the former is altogether in our power, consisting of acts or omissions depending upon our free choice and counsel; and we are directly obliged to it, by virtue of those words, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, *as much as lieth in you*: the latter is not fully so, yet commonly there be probable means of effecting it, which we are hence bound to use, though sometimes they may fail of success. For the words εἰ δυνατὸν, *if it be possible*, as they signifie the utmost endeavour is to be employed; and that no difficulty (beneath the degree of impossibility) can discharge us from it, so they intimate plainly, that sometime our labour may be lost, and our purpose defeated; and that by the default of others it may be impossible we should

arrive to a peaceable condition of life with all men. However, by this Rule we are directed not only our ſelves not to infringe the terms of peace towards others, but to endeavour earneſtly by all honeſt and prudent means to obtain the good-will, favour and reſpect of others, by which they may be diſpoſed to all friendly correſpondence with us, and not to diſturb the quiet and tranquility of our lives.

Having thus by way of Explication ſuperficially glanced upon the words, we will proceed to a more large and punctual review of them; and ſhall conſider more diſtinctly the Particulars groſly mentioned; and

I. What thoſe eſpecial Duties are, included in this more comprehenſive one of living peaceably with all men; both thoſe which are directly required of us, as the neceſſary cauſes or immediate reſults of a peaceable diſpoſition in us toward others; and alſo thoſe which are to be performed by us, as juſt and reaſonable means conducible to beget or preſerve in others a peaceable inclination toward us: theſe I ſhall conſider promiſcuouſly: and

1. We are by this Precept directly obliged heartily to love, that is, to bear good-will to, to wiſh well to, to rejoice in the welfare, and commiſerate the adverſities of all men: at leaſt not to hate, or bear ill-will to, to deſire, or deſign the harm, to repine at the happy ſucceſs, or delight in the misfortunes of any: for as it is very hard to maintain peace and amicable correſpondence with thoſe we do not truly love; ſo it is abſolutely impoſſible to do it long with thoſe we hate; this Satanick paſſion (or diſpoſition of ſoul) always prompting the mind poſſeſſed therewith to the contrivance and execution of miſchief; whence, he that
1 Joh. 3. 15. hates his brother, is ſaid to be a murtherer, as having in him that bitter root, from whence, if power and occaſion conſpire, will probably ſpring that moſt extreme of outrages, and capital breach of peace. Love is the only ſure cement, that knits and combines men in friendly ſociety; and hatred the certain fountain of that violence which rends and diſſolves it. We cannot eaſily hurt, or ſtrive with thoſe we love and wiſh well to: we cannot poſſibly long agree with thoſe we hate and malign. Peace without love can be eſteemed little more than politick diſſimulation; and peace with hatred is really nothing leſs than an artificial diſguiſe, or an inſidious covert of enmity.

2. We are hence obliged to perform all kind offices of humanity which the condition of any man can require, and may by us be performed without conſiderable inconvenience or detriment to our ſelves or others. When, for the preſervation, or comfortable accommodation of life, they need our help or our advice, we are readily to afford them: when they are in want or diſtreſs, we are to miniſter to them what comfort and relief we can. We are (upon this very ſcore) to obey
Gal. 6. 10. that Injunction of Saint *Paul* to the *Galatians*; *As we have opportunity let us do good to all men.* For without this beneficence a man's carriage (though otherwiſe harmleſs and inoffenſive) appears rather a ſuſpicious ſtrangeneſs, than a peaceable demeanour, and naturally produces an enmity in thoſe that are concerned in it. For he to whom, being preſſed with neceſſity, requiſite aſſiſtncae is denied, will infallibly be apt to think himſelf not only neglected and diſeſteemed, but affronted alſo and injured; (Need in the general conceit of men, and eſpecially of thoſe that feel it, begetteth a kind of title to ſome competent relief and conſequently will heinouſly reſent, and complain bitterly of ſuch ſuppoſed wrong, and if ever he become able, repay it with advantage. And much more are we upon the ſame account not to perform ill offi-

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ces toward any man; not to disturb him in the enjoyment of his innocent pleasure, nor to hinder him in the advancing his lawful profit, nor to interrupt him in the prosecution of his reasonable designs; nor any wise to vex and grieve him needlesly; and (above all) not to detain him in, nor to aggravate his affliction. For these are actual violations of peace, and impediments of good correspondence among men. Farther,

3. In this Duty of living peaceably is included an obligation to all kind of just and honest dealing with all men; punctually to observe contracts, impartially to decide controversies, equally to distribute rewards; to injure no man either in his estate, by violent or fraudulent encroachments upon his just possessions; or in his reputation, by raising or dispersing slanderous reports concerning him: For these courses of all others are most destructive to peace, and upon the pretence of them most quarrels that ever were, have been commenced.

Justice in its own nature is, and by the common agreement of men hath been designed the Guardian of peace and sovereign remedy of contention: but not to insist long upon such obvious subjects.

4. It much conduceth to the preservation of peace, and upholding amiable correspondence in our dealings and transactions with men, liable to doubt and debate, not to insist upon nice and rigorous points of right, not to take all advantage offered us, not to deal hard measure, not to use extremities, to the damage or hindrance of others, especially when no comparable benefit will thence accrue to our selves. For such proceedings, as they discover in us little kindness to, or tenderness of our neighbours good, so they exceedingly exasperate them, and perswade them we are their enemies, and render them ours, and so utterly destroy peace between us. When as abating something from the height and strictness of our pretences, and a favourable recession in such cases will greatly engage men to have an honourable opinion, and a peaceable affection towards us. *Vid.* Tit. 3. 2. ἀμάχους εἶναι. ἐπιεικεῖς.

5: If we would attain to this peaceable estate of life, we must use toward all men such demonstrations of respect and courtesie, which according to their degree and station custom doth entitle them to, or which upon the common score of humanity they may be reasonably deemed to expect from us: respective gestures, civil salutations, free access, affable demeanour, cheerful looks and courteous discourse. These as they betoken good-will in them that use them, so they beget, cherish and encrease it in those, whom they refer to: and the necessary fruit of mutual good-will is peace. But the contrary carriages; contemptuous or disregardful behaviour, difficulty of admission to converse, a tetrical or sullen aspect, rough and fastidious language, as they discover a mind averse from friendly commerce, so they beget a more potent disdain in others: Men generally (especially those of generous and hearty temper) valuing their due respect beyond all other interests, and more contentedly brooking injury than neglect. Whence this skill and dexterity of deportment (though immediately, and in its own nature of no great worth, and regulating actions of small importance, gestures, looks and forms of speech) yet because it is a nurse of peace, and greatly contributes to the delightfulness of society, hath been always much commended, and hath obtained a conspicuous place in the honourable rank of vertues, under the titles of courtesie, comity and affability; and the opposites thereto, rudeness and rusticity, have been deservedly counted and called vices in morality.

6. This Precept directly prohibits the use of all reproachful, scornfull and provoking language; these being the immediate results of enmity, and actual breaches of peace. Whence Saint *Paul* conjoins, Μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, and ἀμάχους εἶναι, *Tit.* 3. 2. *To speak evil of no man, to be no quarrellers,* (or fighters) *but gentle, shewing all meekness unto all men.* For war is managed (and that with more deadly animosity) with the tongue, as well as with the hand (*There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword,* saith *Solomon*; and *whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongue a sharp sword,* saith *David.*) Words are with more anguish felt than blows; their wounds are more incurable, and they leave a deeper scar. Men usually dread more the loss of their honour than their lives, and take more grievously the ravishing of their credit than the depredation of their estate. Living peaceably therefore implies as much abstaining from opprobrious words as injurious actions; yea more: for reviling is not only a violation of peace, but a dishonourable waging of war; like shooting arrows dipt in poison, and discharging sluggs against our neighbours reputation; practices condemned by all as base and inhumane, and contrary to the laws of a noble warfare; being arguments, we affect rather our adversaries utter ruine, than a gallant victory over him. There be fair ways of disputing our cause, without contumelious reflexions upon persons; and the errours of men may be sufficiently refuted without Satyrical virulency. One good reason modestly propounded hath in it naturally more power and efficacy to convince him that is in a mistake, or to confound him with shame that is guilty of a fault, than ten thousand scoffs and ignominous taunts. When we are to express those deeds of nature (the performance of which is concealed, as containing in it something of supposed turpitude) we are wont to veil them in such modest circumlocutions, that by the hearers without offence to their bashfulness may sufficiently be understood. So when it is needful or expedient to confute the opinions, or reprove the actions of men, if we either charitably design their amendment, or desire to maintain peaceable correspondence with them, it behoves that we do not by using the most broad and distastful language immoderately trespass upon their modesty and patience; that (to use *Seneca*'s phrase) we do *Agere curam non tantùm salutis, sed & honestæ cicatricis,* De Clem. *lib.* 1. *c.* 17. *Have a care not only to cure the wound, but to leave a comely scar,* and not to deform him, whom we endeavour to reform; for no sore is the easilier cured for being roughly handled, and least of all those in manners and opinion. A soft hand, and a tender heart, and a gentle tongue are most convenient qualities of a spiritual Chirurgeon. But farther to this purpose.

Tit. 3. 2.

Ποταπὸν ὃ χρῆμα λοιδορία; ὡς δυμοδακὲς ἀλεθῶς, ἢ ἀμύσσον ψυχὴ μᾶλλον, ἢ σίδηρος χρῶτα. Jul. 2. *Orat.* Prov. 12. 18. Psal. 57. 4. and 64. 3. Prov. 18. 8.

Ζῆλος γὰ συγγνώμης ἀπεστερημένος ζῆλος, ἀλλὰ δυμὸς μᾶλλον ὄζων, καὶ νεοσσὸς φιλανθρωπίαν οὐκ ἔχουσα, βασκανίας δὲ δοκεῖ. Chrys. *tom.* 5. *p.* 32.

Vid. *Egregium* Antonini *locum, lib.* 11. § 18. 9. ἀδήκτως.

7. If we desire to live peaceably with all men we are to be equal in censuring mens actions, candid in interpreting their meanings, mild in reprehending, and sparing to relate their miscarriages, to derive their actions from the best principles (from which in the judgment of charity they may be supposed to proceed, as from casual mistake rather than from wilful prejudice; from humane infirmity rather than from malicious design) to construe ambiguous expressions to the most favourable sense they may admit; not to condemn mens practices without distinct knowledge of the case, and examining the reasons, which possibly may absolve or excuse them: to extenuate their acknowledged faults

Prov. 15. 1.

faults by such circumstances as aptly serve that purpose, and not to exaggerate them by streined consequences, or uncertain conjectures. To rebuke them (if need be) so as they may perceive we sincerely pity their errours, and tender their good; and wish nothing more than their recovery, and do not design to upbraid, deride, or insult over them being fallen; and finally not to recount their mis-deeds over-frequently, unseasonably, and with complacence. Prov. 17. 9. He that thus demeaneth himself, manifestly sheweth himself to prize his neighbours good-will, and to be desirous to continue in amity with him; and assuredly obliges him to be in the same manner affected toward him. But he that is rigidly severe and censorious in his judgments, blaming in them things indifferent, condemning actions allowable, detracting from qualities commendable, deducing mens doings from the worst causes, and imputing them to the worst ends, and representing them under the most odious appellations; that calls all Impositions of superiours, which he dislikes, Tyranny, and all manners of divine worship, that sute not to his fancy, superstition, and all pretences to conscience in those that dissent from him, hypocrisie, and all opinions different from his, heresie; that is suspicious of ill intention without sufficient ground, and prejudicates mens meanings before he well apprehends them, and captiously perverts sayings capable of good construction; That is curiously inquisitive into his neighbours life, and gladly observes failings therein, and upon all occasions recites stories to his disgrace and disadvantage: that is immoderately bitter, fierce and vehement in accusing and inveighing against others, painting such, as he assumes to impugn, with the blackest colours, in the most horrid shape and ugly dress, converting all matter of discourse (though never so unseasonably and impertinently) into declamation, and therein copiously expatiating; in fine, employing his utmost might of wit and eloquence and confidence in rendring †that to others as hateful, as he signifies they are to himself; such men, what do they else but loudly proclaim that they despise their neighbours good-will, purposely provoke his anger, and defie his utmost enmity? for 'tis impossible such dealing should not by them, who are therein concerned, be accounted extremely unjust, and to proceed from desperate hatred.

That flies like a Vulture to Carrion only. Plut. *de util. cap. ex inim.* Prov. 17. 9. Prov. 24. 17.

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8. He that would effectually observe this Apostolick rule, must be disposed to overlook such lesser faults committed against him, as make no great breach upon his interest or credit, yea, to forget or forgive the greatest and most grievous injuries: To excuse the mistakes, and connive at the neglects, and bear patiently the hasty passions of his neighbour, and to embrace readily any seasonable overture, and accept any tolerable conditions of reconcilement. For even in common life that observation of our Saviour most exactly holds, *It is impossible that offences should not come*, The air may sooner become wholly fixed, and the sea continue in a perfect rest without waves or undulations, than humane conversation be altogether free from occasions of distaste, which he that cannot either prudently dissemble, or patiently digest, must renounce all hopes of living peaceably here. He that like tinder is inflammable by the least spark, and is inraged by every angry word, and resents deeply every petty affront, and cannot endure the memory of a past unkindness should upon any terms be defaced, resolves surely to live in eternal tumult and combustion; to multiply daily upon himself fresh quarrels, and to perpetuate all enmi-

Sen. *Ben.* 7. 31. *Vincit malos pertinax bonitas.* Νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν. Rom. 12. 21.

Iracitur aliquis? tu contrà beneficiis provoca: cadit statim simultas ab altera parte deserta; nisi par non pugnat: si utrinque certabitur, ille est melior, qui prior pedem retulit; victus est qui vicit. Sen. *de Ira*, 2. 34.

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ty already begun. Whenas by total paſſing by thoſe little cauſes of diſguſt, the preſent contention is altogether avoided, or inſtantly appeaſed, our neighbours paſſion ſuddenly evaporates and conſumes it ſelf; no remarkable footſteps of diſſention remain; our neighbour reflecting upon what is paſt ſees himſelf obliged by our diſcreet forbearance, however all poſſible means are uſed to prevent trouble and preſerve peace. To this purpoſe (*The diſcretion of a man deferreth his anger, and it is his glory to paſs over a tranſgreſſion*) ſaith *Solomon:* and, *He that covereth a tranſgreſſion ſeeketh love*, ſaith the ſame wiſe Prince. But farther,

Prov. 19. 11. Prov. 17. 9.

9. If we would live peaceably with all men, we muſt not over highly value our ſelves, nor over eagerly purſue our own things. We muſt not admire our own endowments, nor inſiſt upon our deſerts, for this will make us apt to depretiate others, and them to loath us. We muſt not be over tender of our credit, and covetous of reſpect; for this will render us apt to take exceptions, and engage us in troubleſome competitions for ſuperiority of place, and preeminence in the vain opinions of men. (*He that is of a proud heart ſtirreth up ſtrife:* and, *Onely (i. e.* chiefly) *from pride cometh contention*, ſaith *Solomon.*) We muſt not be much addicted to our own intereſts, for this will diſpoſe us to encroach upon the concernments of others, and them to reſiſt our attempts, whence conflict and enmity will neceſſarily ariſe. We muſt not prefer our own judgments, and imperiouſly obtrude them upon others; nor be pertinacious in perſuading them to embrace our private opinions, nor violently urgent to a compliance with our humour. For theſe things are intolerably faſtidious in converſation, and obnoxious to be charged with uſurpation and iniquity; all men naturally challenging to themſelves an equal, or at leaſt a proportionable ſhare of reaſon, together with the free conduct of their lives uncontrollable by private dictates. If therefore we deſire to live quietly, and not needleſly to diſoblige or diſpleaſe others, we ſhould be modeſt in eſteeming our own abilities, and moderate in purſuing our own advantages, and in our converſe not leſs complacent to others than we deſire they ſhould be to us; and as liberal in allowing leave to diſſent from us, as we are bold in taking freedom to abound in our own ſenſe. And if in debate a modeſt declaration of our opinion, and the reaſons inducing us thereto, will not prevail, it behoves us to give over ſuch a ſucceſleſs combat, and to retire into the ſilent enjoiment of our own thoughts. From not obſerving which rule diſcourſe grows into contention, and contention improves into feud and enmity.

Prov. 28. 25. Prov. 13. 10.

10. If we would live peaceably, it concerns us to abſtain from needleſs conteſts about matters of opinion, and queſtions either merely vain and frivolous, of little uſe or concernment, or over nice and ſubtile, and thence indeterminable by reaſon; or that are agitated with extraordinary eagerneſs and heat of paſſion; or ſuch as are already defined by general conſent, or ſuch upon the deciſion of which the publick peace and ſafety do depend. There are ſome controverſies prickly like brambles and apt to ſcratch thoſe that handle them, but yielding no ſavoury or wholeſome fruit: ſuch as concern the conſequences of imaginary ſuppoſitions, the ſtate and circumſtances of Beings to us unknown, the right application of artificial terms, and the like impertinent matters; which ſerve to no other purpoſe but the exerciſe of curious wits, and excitir emulation among them. Others there be concerning matters of mo weighty moment, yet having the reſolution depending upon ſecrets u ſearchable, or the interpretation of ambiguous words and obſcure phraſ

or upon ſome other uncertain conjectures; and are yet rendred more difficult by being intangled with inextricable folds of ſubtilty, nice diſtinctions, and crafty evaſions, deviſed by the parties engaged in them for the maintenance of their cauſes reſpectively, whence it hath happened, though with immenſe care and diligence of both parts they have been long canvaſed; that yet they do, and in all probability will for ever remain undecided. So that now to engage in conteſt about them, may be reaſonably deemed nothing more than a wilfull miſpenſe of our time, labour and good humour; by vainly reciprocating the ſaw of endleſs contention. Other queſtions there be in themſelves of more eaſie reſolution, and of conſiderable importance, which yet by extreme oppoſition of parties are ſo clouded and overgrown with inſuperable prejudices, that the diſputing them is ſeldom attended with other ſucceſs, than an inflaming our ſelves and others with paſſion. Others are by ſmall and obſcure parties managed againſt the common conſent, and againſt the poſitive decrees of the moſt venerable authorities among men, by ventilating which as truth is like to gain little, ſo peace is ſure to ſuffer much. For as it is no-wiſe a ſafe or adviſed courſe (except in caſe of neceſſary defence) to ſubject received opinions to the hazardous trial of a tumultuary conflict, their credit being better upheld by a ſtately reſervedneſs, than by a popular forwardneſs of diſcourſe; as buildings ſtand faſteſt that are never ſhaken, and thoſe poſſeſſions remain moſt ſecure that are never called in queſtion; ſo on the other hand to countenance new and uncouth paradoxes, as it argues too much arrogance and preſumption in confronting our ſingle apprehenſions againſt the deliberate ſenſe and ſuffrage of ſo many men, yea ſo many ages of men; and is likely to prove a ſucceſleſs attempt, like ſwimming againſt the current, accompanied with much toil and little progreſs, ſo it ſerves no good end, but only foments diviſions, and diſturbs both our private and the publick peace. But moſt of all we are to be cautelous of medling with controverſies of dangerous conſequence, wherein the publick weal and quiet are concerned, which bare the roots of ſacred authority, and proſtitute the myſteries of government to vulgar inſpection. Such points ought to be ſubjects of law, not of ſyllogiſm, and the errors in them to be corrected by puniſhment, rather than confuted by argument: neither can it be thought reaſonable that the intereſt of publick Peace ſhould depend upon the event of private diſputation. It concerns us therefore, if we would live peaceably in ſuch diſputable matters, reſerving all due reverence to the judgments of the moſt, the beſt and wiſeſt perſons, to be content in a modeſt privacy, to enjoy the reſults of a ſerious and impartial diſquiſition, patiently enduring others to diſſent from us, and not attempting by needleſs, fruitleſs and endleſs contentions to gain others to our perſuaſions; eſpecially ſince the truth contended for may not be worth the paſſion employed upon it, and the benefits of the victory not countervail the prejudices ſuſtained in the combat. For goodneſs and vertue may often conſiſt with ignorance and error, ſeldom with ſtrife and diſcord. And this conſideration I ſhall conclude with thoſe exhortations of Saint *Paul*, Tit. 3. 9. *But fooliſh queſtions, and genealogies, and contentions, and law-conteſts decline, for they are unprofitable and vain.* And in 2 Ep. to *Tim.* cap. 2. v. 23. *But fooliſh and unlearned queſtions avoid, knowing that they gender ſtrifes; And the ſervant of the Lord* (that is, a miniſter of Religion) *muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient. In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that are*

Non amplius inveniri licet quàm quod à Deo diſcitur. Tertull. *de Anim. cap.* 2.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀποροῦντες πότερον δεῖ τὸς θεὸς τιμᾶν, καὶ τὸς γονεῖς ἀγαπᾶν, ἢ ἐκ κολάσεως δέονται· οἱ δὲ πότερον ἡ χιὼν λευκὴ, ἀϊδήσεως. Arift. *Top.* 1. 8.

* Τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους. *are * contrarily disposed.* And in the same Chapter, v. 14. *Of these things put them in remembrance, charging them before the Lord, that they strive not about words to no profit, to the subverting of the hearers:* Of so pernicious consequence did Saint *Paul* esteem unnecessary wrangling and disputing to be. But farther,

According to S. *Paul*'s advice (1 *Thess.* 4. 11.) *Strive* (or be ambitious) *to be quiet, and to mind your own business.* (Φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ πράσσειν τὰ ἴδια.)

11. If we desire to live peacably, we must restrain our pragmatical curiosity within the bounds of our proper business and concernment, not [being *curiosi in aliena Republ.*] invading other mens provinces, and without leave or commission intermedling with their affairs; not rushing into their Closets, prying into their concealed designs, or dictating counsel to them without due invitation thereto; not controlling their actions, nor subjecting their proceedings to our censure without competent Authority. For these courses men usually look upon as rash intrusions, both injurious and reproachful to them, usurping upon that freedom of choice (which all men passionately affect to preserve entire to themselves) and arguing them of weakness and incapacity to manage their own business: neither do men more naturally drive away flies that buzze about their ears and molest them in their employments, than they with disdain repel such immodest and unseasonable medlers in their affairs. Let no man suffer (saith S. *Peter*)
1 Pet. 4. 15. *as a busie body in other mens matters*: intimating that those who are impertinently inquisitive into other mens matters, make themselves liable to suffer (and that deservedly) for their fond curiosity and bold pre-
Prov. 26. 17. sumption. And *He that passeth by, and medleth with strife belonging not to him, is like one that taketh a dog by the ears* (saith *Solomon*;) that is, he catcheth at that which he cannot hold, and vainly aims at that which he cannot effect, and rashly irritates those which will turn upon him and bite him. If therefore we would neither molest others, nor be disquieted our selves, we must be like natural agents, never working ought beyond our proper sphere of activity. But especially, if we desire to live peaceably, we must beware of assuming to our selves a liberty to censure the designs, decrees, or transactions of publick authority, and of saying to our Superiours, what doest thou? and much more, by querulous murmurings, or clamorous declamations, of bringing envy and *odium* upon them. Few private men are capable of judging aright concerning those things, as being placed beneath in a valley, and wanting a due prospect upon the ground and causes of their proceedings, who by reason of their eminent station can see more and farther than they; and therefore are incompetent Judges, and unjustly presume to interpose their sentence in such cases. But suppose the actions of Superiours notoriously blameable and scandalous, and that by infallible arguments we are persuaded thereof; yet seeing neither the taxing of, nor complaint against them doth in any wise regularly belong to us, nor the discovery of our mind therein can probably be an efficacious means of procuring redress, and immediately tends to diminish the reputation and weaken the affection due to government, and consequently to impair the peaceable estate of things, which by them is sustained, we are wholly to abstain from such unwarrantable, unprofitable and turbulent practices; and with a submiss and discreet silence, passing over the miscarriages of our Superiours, to wait patiently upon the providence, and implore the assistance of Him, who is the onely competent Judge of such, and sove-
Prov. 21. 1. reign disposer of all things, who hath their hearts in his hands, and fa-
Prov. 33. 15. shioneth them as he thinks good. Farther,

12. I

12. If we would live peaceably with all men, it behoves us not to engage our ſelves ſo deeply in any ſingular friendſhip, or in devotion to any one party of men, as to be entirely partial to their intereſts, and prejudiced in their behalf, without diſtinct conſideration of the truth and equity of their pretences in the particular matters of difference; not to approve, favour or applaud that which is bad in ſome; to diſlike, diſcountenance or diſparage that which is good in others: not out of exceſſive kindneſs to ſome, to give juſt cauſe of diſtaſte to others: not for the ſake of a fortuitous agreement in diſpoſition, opinion, intereſt or relation to violate the duties of juſtice or humanity. For he that upon ſuch terms is a friend to any one man, or party of men, as to be reſolved (with an implicit faith, or blind obedience) to maintain what-ever he or they ſhall affirm to be true, and what-ever they ſhall do to be good, doth in a manner undertake enmity againſt all men beſide, and as it may happen doth oblige himſelf to contradict plain truth, to deviate from the rules of vertue, and to offend Almighty God himſelf. This unlimited partiality we owe only to truth and goodneſs, and to God (the fountain of them) in no caſe to ſwerve from their dictates and preſcriptions. He that followed *Tiberius Gracchus* in his ſeditious practices, upon the bare account of friendſhip, and alledg'd in his excuſe, that if his friend had required it of him, he ſhould as readily have put fire to the Capitol, was much more abominable for his diſloyalty to his Country, and horrible impiety againſt God, than commendable for his conſtant fidelity to his friend. And that Souldier, which is ſaid to have told *Cæſar* (in his firſt expedition againſt *Rome*) that in obedience to his commands he would not refuſe to ſheath his ſword in the breaſt of his Brother, or in the throat of his aged Father, or in the bowels of his pregnant Mother, was for his unnatural barbarity rather to be abhorred, than to be eſteemed for his loyal affection to his General. And in like manner he that to pleaſe or gratifie the humour of his friend, can be either injurious, or treacherous, or notably diſcourteous to any man elſe, is very blameable, and renders himſelf deſervedly odious to all others. *Lælius*, who incomparably well both underſtood and practiſed the rules of friendſhip, is by *Cicero* reported to have made this the firſt and chief Law thereof. *Ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati, That we neither require of our friends the performance of baſe and naughty things; nor, being requeſted of them, perform ſuch our ſelves.* And in the heraldry, or compariſon of duties, as all others muſt give place to thoſe of piety, verity and vertue, ſo after them the duties of humanity juſtly challenge the next place of reſpect, even above thoſe which belong to the higheſt degree of friendſhip (due to our neareſt relations, yea to our Country it ſelf) preciſely taken, abſtracted and diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of humanity. For the World is in nature the firſt, the moſt comprehenſive and deareſt Country of us all; and our general obligations to mankind are more ancient, more fundamental, and more indiſpenſible, than thoſe particular ones ſuperadded to or ſuperſtructed on them. The peace therefore of the World, and the general welfare of men its Citizens, ought to be more dear to us, and the means conducing thereto more carefully regarded by us in our actions, than either the love, favour or ſatisfaction of any particular perſons is to be valued or purſued. And the not obſerving this rule may reaſonably be eſteemed to have a great influence upon the continuance of thoſe implacable feuds and diſſentions wherewith the world is ſo miſerably torn and ſhattered.

Cic. *in* Lælio.

Luc. *lib.* 1.

Prov. 24.24. *He that ſaith to the wicked, thou art righteous, him ſhall the people curſe, nations ſhall abhor him.*

Cic. *in* Lælio.

Mens being peremptorily resolved to extol, countenance, or excuse promiscuously all the principles and proceedings of the party to which they have addicted themselves, and to see no errour, fault or abuse in them; but by all means to depress, vilifie and condemn (if not to reproach, calumniate and persecute) the opinions and practices of others and not to acknowledge in them any thing considerably good or commendable; whence commonly all apprehend their adversaries extremely unjust and disingenuous towards them, and are alienated from all thoughts, (or however discouraged from all hopes) of friendly accommodation and reconcilement. But he that would live peaceably with all men, must be free in his judgment, impartial in his dealing, and ingenuous in his carriage toward all: not θαυμάζων πρόσωπα, admiring or wondring at some men (as if they were impeccable, or infallible) nor having the truth in respect of persons, abetting in his friends only what is just and true, and allowing the same in others, but in neither by signal approbation countenancing any thing false or evil; for so demeaning himself, he giveth no man just occasion of displeasure or enmity against him.

Jud. 16. Jam. 2. 1.

13. If we would live peaceably our selves, we should endeavour to preserve peace, and prevent differences, and reconcile dissentions among others, by doing good offices, and making fair representations of intercurrent passages between them; by concealing causes of future disgust and removing present misunderstandings, and excusing past mistakes by allaying their passions, and rightly informing their minds, by friendly intercessions, and pacifick advises. For the fire that devoureth our neighbours house threatneth and endangereth ours, and it is hard to approach contention without being engaged therein. 'Tis not easie to keep our selves indifferent or neutral, and doing so we shall in likelihood be maligned and persecuted by both the contending parties. *Blessed are the peace-makers*, saith our Saviour, *for they shall be called the sons of God* that is, they shall be highly esteemed and reverenced for this divine quality, wherein they so nearly resemble the God of peace, and his blessed Son the great Mediatour: but farther, without respect to other recompence, and from the nature of their employment, such are immediately happy, and in this their vertuous practice rewards it self, that by appeasing others quarrels, they save themselves from trouble, and enjoy themselves that tranquility which they procure to others *. But those informing Sycophants, those internuncio's of pestilent tales, and incendiaries of discord, that (from bad nature, or upon base design) by the stil breath of clandestine whispers, or by the more violent blasts of impudent calumnies kindle the flames of dissention, or foment them among others; that, by disseminating infamous rumours, and by malicious suggestions, instil jealousies into, and nourish malevolent surmises in the minds of men, *separating* (as it is in the *Proverbs*) *between chief friends* and widening the distance between others; These (I say) from the seeds of variance they scatter among others, reap in the end mischief and disturbance to themselves; nor can expect to enjoy the benefit of that quiet, which they labour to deprive others of. *The beginning of strife* (saith *Solomon*) *is as when one letteth out water*; and he that to the intent his neighbours Lands should be overflown with a torrent of dissension, doth unloose the damms, and cut the banks of former friendship may (if he be wise) expect the mercileſs flood should at length reach himself, and that his own habitation should be at last surrounded therewith. For when men at length begin to be weary, and to repent of their needless

Matt. 5. 9.

* *To the Counsellours of peace is joy.* Prov. 12. 20.

Prov. 16. 28.

Prov. 17. 14.

Prov. 25. 8.

needleſs quarrels, and the miſchievous conſequences attending them, and to be inquiſitive into the cauſes and inſtruments of their vexation, they will certainly find out, deteſt and invert the edge of their diſpleaſure upon theſe wretched makebates; and ſo the poiſon they mingled for others they themſelves drink up; the Cataſtrophe of the Tragedy (begun by them) is acted upon themſelves; they ſink down into the pit they made for others, and in the net which they hid is their own foot taken: *Et delator habet quod dedit exitium.*

Vid. Prov. 11. 27. *He that diligently ſeeketh good procureth favour; but he that ſeeketh miſchief it ſhall come upon him.*

Laſtly, If we would effectually obſerve this Precept, we muſt readily comply with the innocent cuſtoms, and obey the eſtabliſhed laws of the places where we live. I ſay firſt comply with the cuſtoms; which alſo are in effect inferiour laws enacted by the tacit agreement of the generality of men; the non-obſervation of which is upon many accounts very prejudicial to peaceable life. For to thoſe concern'd in it, it will always ſeem to intimate a ſqueamiſh niceneſs, a froward perverſeneſs, an arrogant ſelf-conceitedneſs, a manifeſt deſpiſing other mens judgments, and a virtual condemning their practices of fault or folly, and conſequently a monopolizing all goodneſs, and appropriating all wiſdom to himſelf; qualities intolerably odious to men and productive of enmity. It incenſes the people (hugely ſuſceptive of provocation) with a ſenſe of notable injury done, and contempt caſt upon it. For the onely authority, which the commonalty can lay claim to, conſiſts in preſcribing Rules of decency in language, habit, geſture, ceremony, and other circumſtances of action, declared and ratified by ordinary practice; non-conformity to which is by them adjudged a marvellous irregularity, contumacy and rebellion againſt the Majeſty of the people, and is infallibly revenged and puniſhed by them.

There's no preſerving peace, nor preventing broils and ſtirs, but by punctually obſerving that ordinary Rule of equity, That in caſes of doubtful debate, and points of controverted practice, the feweſt ſhould yield to the moſt, the weakeſt bend to the ſtrongeſt, and that to the greateſt number ſhould be allowed at leaſt the greateſt appearance of reaſon. To which purpoſe we may obſerve, that the beſt and wiſeſt men, (not to diſpleaſe thoſe with whom they converſed, as far as their Duty to God, and their conſcience would permit) have commonly in their manners of life followed not what in their retired judgment they moſt approved, but what ſuted to the cuſtoms of their times and places, avoiding a moroſe ſingularity as offenſive to others, and productive of diſquiet to themſelves. You know how *Cicero* cenſured *Cato* for endeavouring, againſt the grain and predominant *genius* of thoſe times, to reduce things to a ſtrict agreement with his private notions: *Ille optimo animo utens, & ſummâ fide nocet interdum Reipublicæ. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis* πολιτείᾳ, *non tanquam in Romuli fæce ſententiam.* But a more clear and pertinent inſtance we have in Saint *Paul*, who thus repreſents his own practice: *I have made my ſelf a ſervant to all: Unto the Jews I became as a Jew; to them that are without law as without law: To the weak became I as weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means ſave ſome.* Saint *Paul* wiſely knew, that by a prudent compliance with mens cuſtoms, and condeſcenſion to their capacities, he engaged to him, or at leaſt did not alienate from him, their affections; and thereby became more capable of enfuſing good Doctrine into their minds,

Id agamus, ut meliorem vitam ſequamur quàm vulgus non ut contrariam, alioqui quos emendari volumus fugamus & à nobis avertimus.

Temperetur vita inter bonos mores & publicos, &c. Sen. *Epiſt.* 5.

Epiſt. ad Att. *Lib.* 2. *Ep* 1.

1 Cor. 9. 22. 10. 33.

Vid. Act. 21.

and promoting their ſpiritual good. And the ſame courſe was generally taken by the primitive Chriſtians, who in all things (not inconſiſtent with the rules and principles of their Religion) did induſtriouſly conform their converſation to the uſual practices of men; thereby ſhunning thoſe ſcandalous imputations of pride and perverſeneſs, which then rendred the Jews ſo odious to the world, as appears by divers paſſages in the ancient Apologiſts for Chriſtian Religion: particularly *Juſtin Martyr* (in his Epiſtle to *Diognetus*) hath theſe words: Χριστιανοὶ γὰρ οὔτε γῇ, οὔτε φωνῇ, οὔτε ἔθεσι διακεκριμένοι τῶν λοιπῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρώπων· οὔτε γὰρ πού τινας ἰδίας κατοικοῦσιν, οὔτε διαλέκτῳ τινὶ παρηλλαγμένῃ χρῶνται, οὔτε βίον παρήσημον ἀσκοῦσιν· . . κατοικοῦντες δὲ πόλεις Ἑλληνικάς τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐκληρώθη, καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἔθεσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, &c. *The Chriſtians neither in dwelling, language or cuſtoms differ from the reſt of men; they neither inhabit towns proper to themſelves, nor uſe any peculiar dialect, nor exerciſe an uncouth manner of living, but, as by chance it is allotted to them, inhabiting cities belonging both to Greeks and Barbarians, comply with the cuſtoms of the country.* And much more hath he there; and much *Tertullian* likewiſe in his *Apologetick*, to the ſame purpoſe. Neither do we find in the life of our Saviour, that exact pattern of wiſedom and goodneſs, that in any thing he did affect to differ from the received cuſtoms of his time and country, except ſuch as were grounded upon vain conceits, extremely prejudicial to piety, or directly repugnant thereto.

And I cannot except from this Rule the compliance with religious cuſtoms uſed in the Worſhip and Service of God: ſince a wilful diſcrepancy from them doth much more deſtroy peace, and kindle the flame of contention, in as much as men are apt to apprehend themſelves much more ſlighted and more condemned by a diſagreement in thoſe, than in matters of leſſer concernment. And it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that the God of love and peace, who queſtionleſs delights to ſee men converſe in peace and amity, and who therefore in
Rom. 14. 19. general terms enjoyns us, to purſue the things that make for peace (whereof certainly in reaſon and to experience, following indifferent and harmleſs cuſtoms, not expreſly repugnant to his law, nor to the dictates of natural reaſon, is one thing, and not the leaſt) in our addreſſes to himſelf (partly deſigned and mainly ſerving more ſtrictly to unite, not to diſſociate men in affection) ſhould diſlike or diſapprove the uſe of this courſe ſo expedient and conducible to peace: eſpecially ſince he infinitely more regards the ſubſtance of the Duty, and the devotion of the heart therein, than the manner or any circumſtantial appendages thereof: 'Tis certain however, that Saint *Paul* intimates a wilful departure from ordinary practice in ſuch caſes, to proceed from a contentious diſpoſition: *But if any man* (ſaith he) *have a mind to*
1 Cor. 11. 16. *be contentious* (ſo δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶ imports) *we have no ſuch cuſtom, nor the Churches of God.*

But yet much more is peaceable converſation impeached by diſobedience to eſtabliſhed Laws, thoſe great bulwarks of Society, fences of Order, and ſupports of Peace; which he that refuſes to obey, is ſo far from living peacably with all men, that he may reaſonably be preſumed unwilling to have peace with any man; ſince in a manner he defies all mankind, vilifies its moſt ſolemn Judgments, endeavours to diſſolve thoſe ſacred bands by which its union is contained, and to ſubvert the only foundations of publick tranquility. He declares himſelf either to affect an univerſal tyranny over, or an abhorrency from ſociety with

with other men, to be unwilling to live with them upon equal terms, or to submit to any fair arbitration, to desire that strifes should be endless and controversies never decided, who declines the verdict of Law, the most solemn issue of deliberate advice, proceeding from the most honourable, most wise, most worthy and select persons, and involving in it the consent of the whole Commonwealth. Saint *Paul* directing that prayers should be made for Princes and those in Authority, assigns the reason, *that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty:* And certainly if we are to pray for, we are also obliged to obey them in order to the same end, which to do is absolutely in our power, and more immediately requisite to that purpose. For as no peace can be preserved without the influence of authority; so no authority can subsist without obedience to its sanctions. He that is desirous to enjoy the privileges of this happy estate of peace, must in reason be content to perform the Duties injoined, and bear the common burthens imposed by those who are the protectours of it. 1 Tim. 2. 2.

Thus, as plainly as I could, have I described what it is to live peaceably, and what the means are that principally conduce thereto: I should now proceed to consider the Object of the Duty, and the Reasons why it respects all men: As also whence it comes, that sometimes we may fail in our endeavour of attaining this desirable condition: And lastly to propound some Inducements persuasive of its practice. But I must not farther encroach on your patience, and shall therefore reserve these things to the next opportunity.

Now: The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord; and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, be among you, and remain with you always. Amen.

SER-

SERMON XXX.

Of a Peaceable Temper and Carriage.

ROMANS 12. 18.

If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.

I Have very lately considered what it is to *live peaceably*, and what are the Duties included therein; and what Means conduce thereto.

II. I procceed now to consider the Object thereof, and why the Duty of living peaceably extends to *all men*, that is, why we are bound to bear good-will, and do good offices, and shew civil respects to all men: and to endeavour, that all men reciprocally be well affected toward us. For it might with some colour of reason be objected, and said: Why should I be obliged heartily to love those, that desperately hate me, to treat them kindly, that use me despitefully; to help them, that would hinder me; to relieve them, that would plunge me into utter distress; to comfort them, that delight in my affliction; to be respective to and tender of their reputation, who despise, defame and reproach me; to be indulgent and favourable to them, who are harsh and rigorous in their dealings with me; to spare and pardon them, who with implacable malice persecute me? why should I seek their friendship, who disdainfully reject mine; why prize their favour, who scorn mine; why strive to please them, who purposely offend me? or why should I have any regard to men void of all faith, goodness or desert? And most of all why should I be bound to maintain amicable correspondence with those who are professed enemies to piety and vertue, who oppugn truth, and disturb peace, and countenance vice, errour and faction? How can any love, consent of mind, or communion of good offices intercede between persons so contrarily disposed? I answer, they may and ought, and that because the obligation to these ordinary performances is not grounded upon any peculiar respects, special qualifications, or singular actions of men (which are contingent and variable) but upon the indefectible score of common humanity. We owe them, (as the Philosopher alledged when he dispensed his alms to an unworthy person) ὃ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ· not to the men, but to humane nature resident in them. There be indeed divers other sorts of love, in nature and object more restrained, built upon narrower foundations, and requiring more extraordinary acts of duty and respect (not competent to all men) as a love of friendship, founded upon long acquaintance, suitableness of disposition, and frequent exchanges of mutual kindness; a love of gratitude due to the reception of valuable benefits; a love of esteem belong-

in

ing to persons endued with worth and vertue; a love of relation resulting from kindred, affinity, neighbourhood and other common engagements. But the love of benevolence (which is precedent to these, and more deeply rooted in nature, more ancient, more unconfined, and more immutable) and the duties mentioned consequent on it, are grounded upon the natural constitution, necessary properties, and unalterable condition of humanity, and are upon several accounts due thereto.

1. Upon account of universal cognation, agreement and similitude of nature. For οἰκεῖον ἅπας ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον. *All men naturally are of kin, and friends to each other*, said *Aristotle*. *Et fratres etiam vestri sumus jure naturæ matris unius*; *We are also your brethren in the right of nature our common mother*, said *Tertullian* of old, in the name of the Christians to the Heathens. We are but several streams issuing from one primitive source; several branches sprouting from the same stock; several stones hewed out of the same quarry. One substance, by miraculous efficacy of the divine benediction diffused and multiplied. One element affords us matter, and one fire actuates it, kindled at first by the breath of God. One blood flows in all our veins; one nourishment repairs our decayed bodies, and one common air refreshes our languishing spirits. We are cohabitants of the same earth, and fellow-citizens of the same great Common-wealth; *Unam Remp. omnium agnoscimus mundum*, said the forementioned Apologist for Christianity. We were all fashioned according to the same original Idea (resembling God our common Father) all endowed with the same faculties, inclinations and affections; all conspire in the essential and more notable ingredients of our constitution; and are only distinguished by some accidental inconsiderable circumstances of age, place, colour, stature, fortune, and the like; in which we differ as much from our selves in successions of time. So that what *Aristotle* said of a friend, is applicable to every man: Every man is ἄλλος αὐτὸς, *Another our-self*; And he that hates another, detests his own most lively picture; he that harms another, injures his own nature; he that denies relief to another, starves a member of his own body, and withers a branch of his own tree. *The merciful man doeth good to his own soul; but he that is cruel troubleth his own flesh.* Neither can any personal demerit of vicious habit, erroneous opinion, enormous practice, or signal discourtesie towards us, dissolve these bands: for as no unkindness of a brother can wholly rescind that relation, or disoblige us from the duties annexed thereto: so neither upon the faults or injuries of any man can we ground a total dispensation from the offices of humanity, especially if the injuries be not irreparable, nor the faults incurable.

8 *Eth. cap.* 1.

In Apolog.

Ἀνδράποδον οὐκ ἀνέξῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν σαυτῶν ὃς ἔχει τὴν Δία πρόγονον· ὅς περ υἱὸς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων γέγονε, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἄνωθεν καταβολῆς, &c. Epict. 1. 13.

Acts 17. 26.

Nemo est in genere humano, cui non dilectio, etsi non pro mutua charitate, pro ipsa tamen communis naturæ societate debeatur. Aug. *Ep.* 121. *ad* Probam.

Cic. *Nihil est enim unum uni tam simile, tam par, quàm omnes inter nosmetipsos sumus*, &c. *de Legib. pag.* 161.

Prov. 11. 17.

See *Deut.* 25. 3. --- *lest thy brother seem vile unto thee.*

2. We are indispensably obliged to these duties, because the best of our natural inclinations prompt us to the performance of them; especially those of pity and benignity, which are manifestly discernible in all, but most powerful and vigorous in the best natures; and which questionless by the most wise and good Author of our beings were implanted therein both as monitors to direct, and as spurrs to incite us to the performance of our duty. For the same bowels, that in our want of necessary sustenance, do by a lively sense of pain inform us thereof, and instigate us to provide against it; do in like manner grievously resent the distresses

diſtreſſes of another, and thereby admoniſh us of our duty, and provoke us to relieve them. Even the ſtories of calamities, that in ages long ſince paſt have happened to perſons, no-wiſe related to us, yea the fabulous reports of tragical events, do (even againſt the bent of our wills, and all reſiſtance of reaſon) melt our hearts with compaſſion, and draw tears from our eyes: and thereby evidently ſignifie that general ſympathy which naturally intercedes between all men, ſince we can neither ſee, nor hear of, nor imagine anothers grief without being afflicted our ſelves. Antipathies may be natural to wild beaſts; but to rational creatures they are wholly unnatural. And on the other ſide, as nature to eating and drinking, and ſuch acts requiſite to the preſervation of our life, hath enjoyned a ſenſible pleaſure and ſatisfaction, enticing us to and encouraging us in the performance of them; ſo, and doubtleſs to the ſame end, hath ſhe made relieving the neceſſities of others, and doing good offices to them, to be accompanied with a very contentful and delicious reliſh to the mind of the doer. *Epicurus*, that great Maſter of pleaſure, did himſelf confeſs, that to beſtow benefits was not only more brave, but more pleaſant, than to receive them; (Ἐπίκουρος, ſaith * *Plutarch*, τῶν εὖ πάσχειν, τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, οὐ μόνον κάλλιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναι φησὶ). And certainly no kind of actions, a man can perform, are attended with a more pure, more perfect, more ſavoury delight, than thoſe of beneficence are. Since nature therefore hath made our neighbours miſery our pain, and his content our pleaſure; ſince with indiſſoluble bands of mutual ſympathy ſhe hath concatenated our fortunes and affections together; ſince by the diſcipline of our ſenſe ſhe inſtructs us, and by the importunity thereof ſolicits us to the obſervance of our duty, let us follow her wiſe directions, and conſpire with her kindly motions; let us not ſtifle, or weaken by diſuſe, or contrary practice, but by conformable action cheriſh and confirm the good inclinations of nature.

--- hæc noſtri pars optima ſensûs,
---mutuûs ut nos Affectus petere auxilium, & præſtare juberet. Juven. *Sat.* 15.

* *De philoſ. convictu. cum Princip.* Εὐφραίνου τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. M. Ant.

3. We are obliged to theſe duties upon account of common equity. We have all (the moſt ſowre and ſtoical of us all) implanted in us a natural ambition, and a deſire (which we can by no means eradicate) of being beloved and reſpected by all; and are diſpoſed in our need to demand aſſiſtance, commiſeration of our misfortunes, and relief in our diſtreſs of all that are in capacity to afford them; and are apt to be vehemently diſpleaſed, to think our ſelves hardly dealt with, and to complain of cruelty and inhumanity in thoſe that refuſe them to us: and therefore in all reaſon and equity we ſhould readily pay the ſame love, reſpect, aid and comfort to others, which we expect from others; for, *Beneficium qui dare neſcit, injuſtè petit*: Nothing is more unreaſonable, or unequal, than to require from others thoſe good turns, which upon like occaſion we are unwilling to render to others.

4. We are obliged to theſe duties of humanity, upon account of common intereſt, benefit and advantage. The welfare and ſafety, the honour and reputation, the pleaſure and quiet of our lives are concerned in our maintaining a loving correſpondence with all men. For ſo uncertain is our condition, ſo obnoxious are we to manifold neceſſities, that there is no man, whoſe good-will we may not need, whoſe good word may not ſtand us in ſtead, whoſe helpful endeavour may not ſometime oblige us. The Great *Pompey*, the glorious Triumpher over Nations, and admired darling of fortune, was beholden at laſt to a ſlave for the compoſing his aſhes and celebrating his funeral obſequies. The honour of the greateſt men depends on the eſtimation of the leaſt, and the good-will of the meaneſt peaſant is a brighter ornament to the fortune, a greater acceſſi-

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on to the grandeur of a Prince, than the moſt radiant gemme in his oyal diadem. However the ſpite and enmity of one (and him the noſt weak otherwiſe and contemptible) perſon, may happen to ſpoil he content of our whole life, and deprive us of the moſt comfortable njoyments thereof; may divert our thoughts from our delightful employments to a ſolicitous care of ſelf-preſervation and defence; may diſcompoſe our minds with vexatious paſſions; may by falſe reports, odious ſuggeſtions, and ſlanderous defamations blaſt our credit, raiſe a ſtorm of general hatred, and conjure up thouſands of enemies againſt us; nay by inſidious practices ſupplant and undermine us, prejudice our welfare, endanger our eſtate, and involve us in a bottomleſs gulf of rouble: it is but reaſonable therefore, if we deſire to live ſecurely, comortably and quietly, that by all honeſt means we ſhould endeavour to urchaſe the good-will of all men, and provoke no man's enmity needeſly; ſince any man's love may be uſeful, and every man's hatred is angerous.

5. We are obliged to theſe duties by a tacit compact and fundamenal conſtitution of mankind, in purſuance of thoſe principal deſigns, for vhich men were incorporated, and are ſtill contained in civil Society. or to this purpoſe do men congregate, cohabit, and combine themſelves n ſociable communion, that thereby they may enjoy a delightful conerſation, void of fear, free from ſuſpicion, and free from danger; promote mutual advantage and ſatisfaction; be helpful aud beneficial each o other: abſtracting from which commodities the retirements of a cloyter, or the ſolitudes of a deſart; the life of a recluſe, or of a wild beaſt, vould perhaps be more deſirable, than theſe of gregarious converſe: or as men, being pleaſed and well affected to each other, are the moſt bliging friends, and pleaſant companions; ſo being enraged, they are he moſt miſchievous and dangerous neighbours, the moſt fierce and ſaage enemies. By neglecting therefore or contravening theſe duties of umanity, we fruſtrate the main ends of ſociety, diſappoint the expetations of each other, ſubvert the grounds of ordinary civility, and in he commonwealth deal as unpolitickly, as the members in the body hould act unnaturally, in ſubtracting mutual aſſiſtance, or harming ach other; as if the eye ſhould deny to the hands the direction of ſight, nd the hands in revenge ſhould pluck out the eyes.

6. We are by obſerving theſe rules to oblige, and render men wellffected to us, becauſe being upon ſuch terms with men conduceth to ur living (not only delightfully and quietly, but) honeſtly and reigiouſly in this world. How peace and edification, ſpiritual comfort nd temporal quiet do concur and co-operate, we ſee intimated *Act.* 9. *v.* 31. *Then had the Churches peace throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt were multiplied.* Saint *Paul* adviſed the Chriſtians of his time, liable to perſecution, *to make prayers for all men* (and 1 Tim. 2. 2. eſpecially for thoſe in eminent power,) *that they might lead* * *a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty*; to pray for them, that is, to pray that they might be ſo diſpoſed, as not to moleſt, interrupt or diſcourage them in the exerciſe of vertue, and practice of piety. For theſe by a tranquility of mind, a ſedateneſs of affections, a competency of reſt and leiſure and retirement, a freedom from amazing fear, diſtracting care, and painful ſenſe are greatly advanced; of which advantages by contentious broils and enmities we are deprived, and encumbred with the contrary impediments. They breed thorny anxieties, and by them

* Ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον, (a retired and quiet life.)

choak the ſeeds of good intention: they raiſe dusky fumes of melancholy, by them intercepting the beams of ſpiritnal light, and ſtifling the flames of devout affection. By them our thoughts are affixed upon the baſeſt, and taken off from the moſt excellent objects; our fancies are diſordered by turbulent animoſities; our time is ſpent, and our endeavour taken up in the moſt ungrateful, and unprofitable employments of defeating the attempts, reſiſting the aſſaults, diſproving the calumnies, countermining the plots of adverſaries; they bring us upon the ſtage againſt our will, and make us act parts in Tragedies, neither becoming, nor delighting us. They diſturb often our natural reſt, and hinder us in the diſpatch of our ordinary buſineſs; and much more impead the ſteadineſs of our devotion, and obſtruct the courſe of religious practice. They tempt us alſo to omiſſions of our duty, to unſeemly behaviour, and to the commiſſions of grievous ſin; to harſh cenſure envious detraction, unwarrantable revenge, repining at the good ſucceſſes, and delighting in the misfortunes of others. Many examples occur in hiſtory, like thoſe of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, and *Quint. Metellus* (*Pompey*'s antagoniſt) who, in purſuance of ſome private grudges, have not only betrayed their own intereſts, and ſullyed their own reputations; but notably diſſerved, and damnified the publick weal of their country; And ſo will our being engaged in enmity with men cauſe us to neglect, if not to contradict, our deareſt concernments: Whence we ſhould carefully avoid the occaſions thereof, and by an innocent and beneficent converſation oblige men to a friendly correſpondence with us.

7. We are obliged to perform theſe duties of humanity, becauſe by ſo doing we become more capable of promoting goodneſs in others, and ſo of fulfilling the higheſt duties of Chriſtian Charity; of ſucceſsfully adviſing and admoniſhing others; of inſtructing their ignorance, and convincing their miſtakes; of removing their prejudices, and ſatisfying their ſcruples; of reclaiming them from vice, errour, faction; and reconciling them to vertue, truth and peace. For by no force of reaſon, or ſtratagem of wit are men ſo eaſily ſubdued, by no bait ſo throughly allured and caught, as by real courteſie, gentleneſs and affability; as on the other ſide, by a ſowre and peeviſh humour, ſupercilious looks, bitter language and harſh dealing men are rendred indocile and intractable, averſe from better inſtruction, obſtinate in their ways, and pertinacious in their conceits. Eaſily do men ſwallow the pill gilded with fair carriage, and ſweetned by kind ſpeech; readily do they afford a favourable ear to the advice ſeeming to proceed from good-will, and a tender care of their good; but the phyſick of wholeſome admonition being ſteeped in the vinegar of reproach, and tempered with the gall of paſſion, becomes diſtaſtful and loathſome to the patient; neither will men willingly liſten to the reaſonings of thoſe, whom they apprehend diſaffected to their perſons, and more deſirous to wound their reputations than to cure their diſtempers. The ſlighteſt argument, the moſt ſimple and unpoliſhed oration iſſuing from the mouth of a friend, is wonderfully more prevalent, than the ſtrongeſt demonſtration, than the moſt powerful eloquence of an enemy. For obliging uſage, and courteous ſpeech unlock the affections, and by them inſinuate into the reaſon of men; but ſurly deportment, and froward expreſſions damm up the attention with prejudice, and interclude all avenues to the underſtanding. An illuſtration of which diſcourſe we have from comparing the different practice of the *Jews*, and the ancient *Chriſtians*, with the contrary ſucceſſ

ceſſes thereof. The *Jews*, by their ſeditious, and turbulent practices, by their inſolent contempt, and implacable hatred of others (for you know what *Tacitus* ſaith of them: *Apud ipſos fides obſtinata, miſericordia in promptu, ſed adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*) by their perverſe and unſociable humours, declining all entercourſe, and refuſing ordinary offices of humanity (ſo much as to ſhew the way, or to direct the thirſty traveller to the fountain) to any not of their own ſect, did procure an *odium*, ſcorn and infamy upon their religion, rendred all men averſe from inquiring into, or entertaining any good opinion thereof, and ſo very little inlarged its bounds, and gained few proſelytes thereto. But the *Chriſtians* by a mild, patient and peaceable behaviour; by obedience to laws, and complyance with harmleſs cuſtoms: by perfect innocence, and abſtinence from doing injury; by paying due reſpects, and performing civil offices and demonſtrations of benevolence; by loving converſation, and friendly commerce with all, commended their doctrine to the regard of men: and by this only piece of Rhetorick (without terrour of arms, or countenance of power, or plauſibility of diſcourſe, or promiſe of temporal reward) ſubdued the faith of men, and perſuaded a great part of the world to embrace their excellent profeſſion. *Hiſt. lib. 5.*

Thus the ancient Chriſtians; but when religion declined, diſſention and ill-will did grow; ſo that the heathen Hiſtorian (*Am. Marc.* lib. 22.) could ſay of *Julian*: *Nullas infeſtas hominibus beſtias, ut ſunt ſibi ferales plerique Chriſtianorum, expertus.*

"We converſe with you like men, we uſe the ſame diet, habit, and "neceſſary furniture: We have recourſe to your tribunals; we frequent "your markets, your fairs, your ſhops, your ſtalls, your ſhambles, your "baths: We cohabit, we ſail, we warr, we till, we trade, we maintain "all manner of commerce with you; ſaith the Chriſtian Apologiſt, to the Pagans, in behalf of the ancient Chriſtians. Which kind of practice they derived not only from the ſweet temper and noble *Genius* of their Religion, but from the expreſs inſtitution of the firſt teachers thereof, and from their exemplary practice therein. For both by doctrine did the Apoſtles exhort, and by their example incite them to adorn the Goſpel, and render the diſcipline of Chriſt amiable by their meek, gentle, compliant and inoffenſive converſation; and thereby to allure others to a willing entertainment thereof. To this purpoſe are thoſe exhortations, *Phil.* 4. 5. *Let your moderation* (τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν, *your equity*, or *gentleneſs*) *be known to all men*: and, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 14. ——*Comfort the* * *afflicted, ſupport the weak, be long-ſuffering toward all. Be ye all careful not to render evil for evil; but always purſue goodneſs toward each other, and toward all*: and, *Gal.* 6: 10. *As we have opportunity, let us do good to all men*: and, *Tit.* 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be ſubject to principalities and powers, to be ready to every good work; to reproach no man; not to be contentious, but gentle, ſhewing all meekneſs to all men*: and, 1 *Tim.* 2. 24. *The Miniſter of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient: In meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves*: (or thoſe that are otherwiſe diſpoſed, Τὲς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους) *if peradventure God will give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth*: where gentleneſs toward all, and meekneſs toward adverſaries are oppoſitely conjoyned, with aptneſs to teach and inſtruct; the one qualification ſo effectually prediſpoſing to the other: and it is beſide intimated, that gentle and meek treatment are ſutable inſtruments ordinarily imployed by God to convert men from errour to truth. Tertul. *Apol.* * Τὲς ὀλιγοψύχους.

8. We are bound hereto in complyance and conformity to the beſt patterns: God, Chriſt, the Apoſtles, the Primitive Saints: This illuſtri-

ous Doctor of Christian Religion Saint *Paul* did not fail to second this his doctrine with his own example. For, *Give none offence* (saith he) *neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the Church of God*; *Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved: Please all men in all things*; what could Saint *Paul* say, or what do more? and again, *For though* (saith he) *I be free from all men, yet have I made my self a servant unto all, that I might gain the more: To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that by all means I might save some.* See how far this charitable design of doing good to others transported him: He parted with his own freedom, that he might redeem them from the slavery of a wicked life; he denyed his own present satisfaction that he might procure them a lasting content: he despised his own profit, that he might promote their spiritual advantage; he prostituted his own reputation, that he might advance them to a condition of true glory. He underwent grievous afflictions for their comfort; sustained restless pains for their ease, and hazarded his own safety for their salvation. He condescended to their infirmities, suted his demeanour to their tempers, complyed with their various humours, and contrary customs: He differed from himself, that he might agree with them, and transformed himself into all shapes, that he might convert them into what they should be, reform their manners, and translate them into a happy estate. But above all is the practice of our Lord himself most remarkable to this purpose: and discovers plainly to him that observes an universally large and unrestrained Philanthropie. For having from a wonderful conspiracy of kindness and good-will (between him and his eternal Father) toward the world of men, descended willingly from the throne of his celestial Majesty, and inveloped his divine glory in a cloud of mortal frailty, and *that* (as the Apostle saith) *he might reconcile all things in heaven and earth*, conjoin God and man by a nearer alliance, and unite men together by the more sacred bands of common relation to himself: Having assumed not only the outward shape and corporeal resemblance of man, but the inward frame, and real passions of humane souls; he disdained not accordingly to obey the laws, to follow the inclinations, to observe the duties of the best and most perfect humanity; with an equal and impartial bounty imparting free admittance, familiar converse, friendly aid and succour unto all even the worst of men in all appearance (and that so far, that some rigorous censurers thence presumed to tax him as *a glutton, and a good-fellow, a friend to publicans and sinners*) distributing liberally to all the incomparable benefits of his heavenly doctrine, of his holy example, of his miraculous power; instructing the ignorances, detecting the errours, dispossessing the devils; sustaining the weaknesses, overlooking the injuries, comforting the afflictions, supplying the necessities, healing the diseases, and remedying all the miseries of all, that did not wilfully reject their own welfare: *He went about* (saith Saint *Peter* in the *Acts*) *doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil*: And, * *He went about all the cities and villages teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom, and healing every sickness, and every disease among the people* (saith Saint *Matthew*'s Gospel.) He despised not the meanest, either in outward estate, or spiritual improvement. He invited all unto him, repelled, or discouraged none; nor refused to any that came unto him, his counsel, or his help. He was averse from no man's society (and if in any degree from any, chiefly from those, who confidently

1 Cor. 10. ult.

1 Cor. 19. &c.

Coloss. 1. 20.

Matt. 11. 19.

Act. 10. 38.

*Matt. 9. 35.

Luke 18. 9.

dently pretended to extraordinary ſanctity, and proudly contemned others.) Meek and gentle he was, mild and patient; courteous and benign; lowly and condeſcenſive; tender and compaſſionate in his converſation unto all. And for a compliment of his tranſcendent charity, and for an enforcement unto ours, he laid down his life for us all, as a common price to purchaſe remiſſion of ſins; a general ranſome to redeem the humane creation from the captivity of hell and ſlavery of corruption into the glorious liberty of the ſons of God; demoliſhing by his pacifick death all partition walls, and laying open all encloſures of the divine favour; reconciling God to man, and combining man to himſelf by the freſh cement of his precious blood: ſo that now not only as fellow-creatures; but (which is exceedingly more) as partakers of the ſame common redemption, as objects of the ſame mercy, as obliged in the ſame common debt, and as capable of the ſame eternal happineſs, by new and firmer engagements we are bound to all mutual kindneſs and benevolence toward all. For, *Deſtroy not* (ſaith Saint *Paul*, and by like reaſon I may ſay, Harm not, vex not, be not unkind to) *him, for whom Chriſt dyed.* Rom. 8. 21. Rom. 14.

Nay, farther, we have the example of Almighty God himſelf directing, and by our Saviour's expreſs admonition obliging us to this univerſal beneficence, compaſſion and patience towards all. Who by expreſs teſtimony of ſacred writ, and by palpable ſigns of continual experience declareth himſelf to be a * lover of mankind: to be good to all, and tenderly merciful over all his works: not to afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men: to compaſſionate the miſeries, and ſupply the needs, and relieve the diſtreſſes; to deſire the ſalvation, and to delight in the happineſs of men. Who with an indifferent, unlimited munificence diſpenſes his bleſſings, extends his watchful providence, and imparts his loving care unto all: Cauſing his Sun with comfortable beams to ſhine, and the refreſhing ſhowres to deſcend upon the earth to yield her pleaſant fruits; the temperate ſeaſons to recur, and all the elements to miniſter ſuccour, joy and ſatisfaction even to the moſt impious and ingrateful toward him. Who with immenſe clemency and long-ſuffe- rance overlooks the ſacrilegious affronts offered daily to his Majeſty; the outragious violations of his laws, and the contemptuous neglects of his unexpreſſible goodneſs: Who patiently waits for the repentance, and inceſſantly ſolicits the reconcilement, courts the amity, and in a manner begs the good-will of his moſt deadly enemies: whom he hath always in his hand, and can cruſh to nothing at his pleaſure. For, *We are Ambaſſadours for Chriſt, as if God by us did entreat you: We beſeech you in Chriſt's behalf; be reconciled to God* (ſaith Saint *Paul.*) * Tit. 3. 4. &c. Pſal. 145. 9. *vid.* Clement. *Epiſt. ad* Cor. *pag.* 27.

Since therefore upon account of natural conſanguinity, of our beſt inclinations, of common equity, and general advantage, and an implicite compact between men; of ſecuring our, and promoting others vertue and piety; from the exhortations of Scripture mentioned, and many more tending to the ſame purpoſe, from the example of the ancient Chriſtians, the Leaders and Champions of our Religion, of the Apoſtles, the Maſters and Patriarchs thereof, of our Bleſſed Redeemer, and of Almighty God himſelf, we are obliged to this Univerſal benevolence and beneficence toward all; No miſapprehenſions of judgment, no miſcariages in practice, no ill-diſpoſitions of ſoul, no demerits in himſelf, no diſcourteſies toward us ought wholly to alineate our affections from, or to avert us from doing good, or to encline us to render evil for evil unto any perſon: eſpecially conſidering, that the omiſſions of others, cannot

not excuſe us from the performance of our duty; that no man is to be preſumed incorrigible, nor (like the lapſed Angels) concluded in deſperate impenitence; and that our loving and gentle demeanour toward them may be inſtrumental to their amendment, and the contrary may contribute to their progreſs and continuance in offences; that God hath promiſed to us a reward of our patience, and hath reſerved to them a ſeaſon of judgment and puniſhment, if they perſiſt obſtinate in their diſorderly courſes; that to avenge their treſpaſſes belongs not to us, but to Almighty God, who is more nearly concerned in, and more injured by them, and is yet content to endure them, to prolong their lives, to continne his benefits to them, and to expect their converſion: That our differing from them is not to be attributed to our ſelves, but wholly, or chiefly to the goodneſs of God; that we always were, are, and ſhall be liable to the ſame errours, vices and miſdemeanours: that (laſtly) the faults and follies of others, like the maims of body, diſtempers of ſoul, or croſſes of fortune (being their own greateſt unhappineſſes) require rather our pity than our hatred, to be eaſed by our help, than aggravated by our unkindneſs. 'Tis two ſcant therefore and narrow a Charity that is limited by correſpondence of courteſie, or by the perſonal merits of others. We are bound to live peaceably with, that is, to be innocent, beneficial, reſpective to all, and to ſeek the reciprocal goodwill, love and amity of all. But I have inſiſted too long upon this particular, concerning the Object of this duty, and its extenſion.

III. I proceed briefly to conſider whence it comes, that (as I before obſerved was intimated in theſe words, *If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you*) though we do our parts, and perform carefully the duties incumbent on us, though we bear good-will, and do good offices, and yield due reſpects, and abſtain from all not only injurious, but rigorous dealing toward all; though we revile none, nor cenſure harſhly, nor preſumptuouſly intermeddle with others affairs; though we obey laws, and comply with received cuſtoms, and avoid all occaſions of contention, though our tempers be meek, our principles peaceable, and our converſations inoffenſive, we may yet prove ſucceſsleſs in our endeavours to live peaceably, and may be hated, harmed and diſquieted in our courſe of life. That it ſo happens, we find by plain experience, and manifold example. For *Moſes, the meekeſt man upon earth*, and commended beſide by all circumſtances of divine favour, and humane worth, was yet often envied, impugned and moleſted by thoſe, whom by all manner of benefits he had moſt highly obliged. And we find *David* frequently complaining, that by thoſe, whoſe good-will by performing all offices of friendly kindneſs, and brotherly affection, he had ſtudiouſly labour'd to deſerve, whoſe maladies and calamites he had not only tenderly commiſerated, but had prayed and humbled his ſoul with faſting for their recovery and deliverance from them, was yet recompenſed by their treacherous devices againſt his ſafety, by grievous reproaches, and ſcornful inſultings over him in his affliction; as we ſee at large in *Pſalms* the 35. and 69. And in *Pſalm* 120. he thus lamentably bemoans his condition: *Wo is me that I ſojourn in Meſech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar: My ſoul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace: I am for peace, but when I ſpeak, they are for war*: And our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf, though in the whole tenour of his life he demonſtrated an incomparable meekneſs and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, and exerciſed continually all manner of kindneſs and beneficence toward all men, was notwithſtanding loaded with all kinds of injuries and contumelies,

Vid. Pſal. 55. 10.

melies, was bitterly hated, ignominiously disgraced, and maliciously persecuted unto death: and the same lot befel his faithful Disciples, that although their design was benign and charitable, their carriage blameless and obliging toward all, they were yet pursued constantly both by the outrageous clamours of the people, and cruel usages from those in eminent power. Now though it seem strange and almost incredible, that they who are truly friends to all, and are ready to do to all what good they can; who willingly displease none, but industriously strive to acquire (not with glozing shews of popularity, but by real expressions of kindness) the good-will and favour of all, should yet be maligned, or molested by any; yet seeing it so happens, if we inquire into the reason, we shall find this miracle in morality, to proceed (to omit the neglect of the duties mentioned in our former discourse) chiefly from the exceeding variety, difference and contrariety of mens dispositions, joyned with the morosity, aptness to mistake, envy, or unreasonable perverseness of some; which necessarily render the means of attaining all mens good-will insufficient, and the endeavours unsuccessful. For men seeing by several lights, relishing with diversly disposed palates, and measuring things by different standards, we can hardly do or say any thing, which if approved and applauded by some, will not be disliked and blamed by others; if it advance us in the opinion of some, will not as much depress us in the judgment of others; so that in this irreconcileable diversity and inconsistency of mens apprehensions, it is impossible not to displease many: Especially since some men either by their natural temper, or from the influence of some sowre principles they have imbibed, are so morose, rigid and self-willed; so impatient of all contradiction to, or discrepancy from their sentiments, that they cannot endure any to dissent in judgment, or vary in practice from them, without incurring their heavy disdain and censure. And, which makes the matter more desperate and remediless, such men commonly being least able either to manage their reason, or to command their passion, as guided wholly by certain blind impulses of fancy, or groundless prejudices of conceit, or by a partial admiration of some mens persons, examples and authorities, are usually most resolute and peremptory in their courses, and thence hardly capable of any change, mitigation or amendment. Of which sort there being divers engaged in several ways, it is impossible to please some without disgusting the other; and difficult altogether to approach any of these wasps, without being stung or vexed by them. Some also are so apt to misunderstand mens meanings, to misconstrue their words, and to make ill descants upon, or draw bad consequences from their actions, that 'tis not possible to prevent their entertaining ill-favoured prejudices against even those that are heartily their friends, and wish them the best. To others the good and prosperous estate of their Neighbour, that he flourishes in wealth, power or reputation, is ground sufficient of hatred and enmity against him; for so we see that *Cain* hated his innocent brother *Abel*, because his brother's works were more righteous, and his sacrifices better accepted than his own: that *Joseph*'s brethren were mortally offended at him, because his father especially loved and delighted in him: that *Saul* was enraged against *David*, because his gallant deeds were celebrated with due praises and joyful acclamations of the people: and that the *Babylonian* Princes, upon no other score, maligned *Daniel*, but because he enjoyed the favour of the King, and a dignity answerable to his deserts: And who, that loves his own welfare,

fare, can poſſibly avoid ſuch enmities as theſe? But the fatal rock, upon which peaceable deſigns are moſt inevitably ſplit, and which by no prudent ſteering our courſe can ſometimes be evaded, is the unreaſonable perverſeneſs of mens pretences, who ſometimes will upon no terms be friends with us, or allow us their good-will, but upon condition of concurring with them in diſhoneſt and unwarrantable practices; of omitting ſome duties to which by the expreſs command of God, or evident dictates of right reaſon we are obliged, or performing ſome action repugnant to thoſe indiſpenſable rules. But though peace with men is highly valuable, and poſſeſſing their good-will in worth not inferiour to any other indifferent accommodation of life, yet are theſe nothing comparable to the favour of God, or the internal ſatisfaction of conſcience; nor though we were aſſured thereby to gain the entire love and favour of all men living, are we to purchaſe them at ſo dear a rate as with the loſs of theſe. We muſt not, to pleaſe or gratifie men, commit any thing prohibited, or omit any thing enjoyned by God, the leaſt glimpſe of whoſe favourable aſpect is infinitely more to be prized, than the moſt intimate friendſhip of the mightieſt Monarchs upon earth: and the leaſt ſpark of whoſe indignation is more to be dreaded, than the extremeſt diſpleaſure of the whole world. In caſe of ſuch competition, we muſt reſolve with Saint *Paul*, *Gal.* 1. 10. *Do I yet *conciliate God, or do I endeavour to ſooth men? for if I yet ſoothed* (or flattered) *men* (ſo you know ἀρέσκειν ſignifies) *I were not the ſervant of Chriſt.* Nor are we, that we may ſatisfie any man's pleaſure, to contravene the dictates of Reaſon (that ſubordinate guide of our actions) to do any diſhonourable or uncomely action, unworthy of a man, misbeſeeming our education, or incongruous to our ſtation in humane ſociety, ſo as to make our ſelves worthily deſpicable to the moſt by contenting ſome: Nor are we bound always to deſert our own conſiderable intereſt, or betray our juſt liberty, that we may avoid the enmity of ſuch as would violently or fraudulently encroach upon them. Nor are we in the adminiſtration of juſtice, diſtribution of rewards, or arbitration of controverſies to reſpect the particular favour of any, but the merits only of the cauſe, or the worth of the perſons concerned. Nor are we by feeding mens diſtempered humours, or gratifying their abuſed fancies to prejudice or neglect their real good; to encourage them in bad practices, to foment their irregular paſſions, to applaud their unjuſt or uncharitable cenſures, or to puff up their minds with vain conceit, by ſervile flattery: but rather, like faithful Phyſicians, to adminiſter wholeſome, though unſavoury, advice; to reveal to them their miſtakes, to check their intended progreſs in bad courſes, to reprove their faults ſeaſonably, and when it may probably do them good, though poſſibly thereby we may provoke their anger and procure their ill-will, and (as Saint *Paul* ſaith) become their enemies, for telling them the truth. Nor are we ever explicitly to aſſent to falſhoods (ſo apprehended by us,) to bely our conſciences, or contradict our real judgments (though we may ſometimes for peace-ſake prudently conceal them;) Nor to deny the truth our defence and patronage, when in order to ſome good purpoſe it needs and requires them, though thereby we may incur the diſlike, and forfeit the good-will of ſome men. Nor are we by entertaining any extraordinary friendſhip, intimate familiarity, or frequent converſe with perſons notoriouſly diſſolute in their manners, diſorderly in their behaviour, or erroneous in weighty points of opinion to countenance their miſdemeanours, diſhonour our profeſſion, render our

* Πείθω.

Gal. 4. 16.

our ſelves juſtly ſuſpected, run the hazard of contagion, or hinder their reformation. And eſpecially we are warily to decline the particular acquaintance of men of contentious diſpoſitions, miſchievous principles, and factious deſigns; a bare keeping company with whom looks like a conſpiracy, an approving or abetting their proceedings; The refuſing any encouragement, ſignification of eſteem, or vouchſafing any peculiar reſpect to ſuch, we owe to the honour of vertue, which they diſgrace, to the love of truth which they oppugn, to the peace of the world which they diſturb, and to the general good of mankind, which they impeach. And ſo S. *Paul* warns us not to *mingle* or conſort, not to *diet*, or *common* (μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι, & μὴ συνεσθίειν), with men of a diſſolute and diſorderly converſation: And, *to mark them which cauſe ſeditions, and ſcandals, contrary to Chriſtian doctrine, and to ſhun, or decline them* (ἐκκλίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν) and to repudiate, deprecate the familiarity of Hereticks (Αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον παραιτεῖσθαι.) And S. *John* forbids us to *wiſh joy*, or to allow the ordinary reſpects of civil ſalutation to Apoſtates and Impoſtours: *leſt* (by ſuch demonſtration of favour) *we communicate with them in their wicked works.* None of which Precepts are intended to interdict to us, or to diſoblige us from bearing real goodwill, or diſpenſing needful benefits to any, but to deter us from yielding any ſignal countenance to vice and impiety; and to excite us to declare ſuch diſlike and deteſtation of thoſe heinous enormities as may confer to the reclaiming of theſe, and prevent the ſeduction of others. So Saint *Paul* expreſly, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. 14. *But if any man obeyeth not our injunction by epiſtle, do not conſort with him, that he may by ſhame be reclaimed* (ἵνα ἐντραπῇ) And, *account him not an enemy, but admoniſh him as a brother.* Nor ought laſtly the love of peace, and deſire of friendly correſpondence with any men, avert us from an honeſt zeal, (proportionable to our abilities and opportunities) of promoting the concernments of truth and goodneſs, though againſt powerful and dangerous oppoſition: I ſay an honeſt zeal, meaning thereby not that blind, heady paſſion, or inflammation of Spirit, tranſporting men beyond the bounds of reaſon and diſcretion, upon ſome ſuperficially plauſible pretences, to violent and irregular practices; but a conſiderate and ſteady reſolution of mind, effectually animating a man by warrantable and decent means vigorouſly to proſecute commendable deſigns; like that S. *Jude* mentions, of *ſtriving earneſtly for the faith once delivered to the Saints.* For this zeal may be very conſiſtent with, yea greatly conducible to the deſigns of peace. And 'tis not a drouſineſs, a ſlack remiſsneſs, a heartleſs diffidence, or a cowardly flinching from the face of danger and oppoſition, we diſcourſe about, or plead for, but a wiſe and wary declining the occaſions of needleſs and unprofitable diſturbance to our ſelves and others.

1 Cor. 5. Ἀτάκτως περιπ. Rom. 16. 17. Tit. 3. 10. 2 Joh. 10. Jude 3.

To conclude this point (which if time would have permitted, I ſhould have handled more fully and diſtinctly) though to preſerve peace, and purchaſe the good-will of men, we may and ought to quit much of our private intereſt and ſatisfaction, yet ought we not to ſacrifice to them what is not our own, nor committed abſolutely to our diſpoſal, and which in value incomparably tranſcends them, the maintenance of truth, the advancement of juſtice, the practice of vertue, the quiet of our conſcience, the favour of Almighty God. And if for being dutiful to God, and faithful to our ſelves in theſe particulars, any men will hate, vex and deſpite us; fruſtrate our deſires, and defeat our purpoſes of living peaceably with all men in this world: we may comfort our

ſelves in the enjoyment of eternal peace and ſatisfaction of mind, in the aſſurance of the divine favour, in the hopes of eternal reſt and tranquility in the world to come.

Now briefly to induce us to the practice of this duty of living peaceably, we may conſider,

Pſal. 133. 1. 1. *How good and pleaſant a thing it is* (as *David* ſaith) *for brethren* (and ſo we are all at leaſt by nature) *to live together in unity.* How, Prov. 17. 1. that (as *Solomon* ſaith) *better is a dry morſel, and quietneſs therewith, than a houſe full of ſacrifices with ſtrife.* How delicious that converſation is, which is accompanied with a mutual confidence, freedom, courteſie and complacence: how calm the mind, how compoſed the affections, how ſerene the countenance, how melodious the voice, how ſweet the ſleep, how contentful the whole life is of him that neither deviſeth miſchief againſt others, nor ſuſpects any to be contrived againſt himſelf: and contrariwiſe, how ingrateful and loathſome a thing it is to abide in a ſtate of enmity, wrath, diſſention: having the thoughts diſtracted with ſolicitous care, anxious ſuſpicion, envious regret; the heart boiling with choler, the face overclouded with diſcontent, the tongue jarring and out of tune, the ears filled with diſcordant noiſes of contradiction, clamour and reproach; the whole frame of body and ſoul diſtempered and diſturbed with the worſt of paſſions. How much more comfortable it is to walk in ſmooth and even paths, than to wander in rugged ways, overgrown with briars, obſtructed with rubs, and beſet with ſnares; to ſail ſteadily in a quiet, than to be toſſed in a tempeſtuous Sea; to behold the lovely face of Heaven ſmiling with a cheerful ſerenity, than to ſee it frowning with clouds, or raging with ſtorms to hear harmonious conſents, than diſſonant janglings; to ſee objects correſpondent in graceful ſymmetry, than lying diſorderly in confuſed heaps; to be in health, and have the natural humours conſent in moderate temper, than (as it happens in diſeaſes) agitated with tumultuous commotions: How all ſenſes and faculties of man unanimouſly rejoyce in thoſe emblems of peace, order, harmony and proportion. Yea how nature univerſally delights in a quiet ſtability or undiſturbed progreſs of motion; the beauty, ſtrength and vigour of every thing requires a concurrence of force, co-operation, and contribution of help; *Vid.* Clem. *ad* Cor. *pag.* 27, *&c.* all things thrive and flouriſh by communicating reciprocal aid, and the world ſubſiſts by a friendly conſpiracy of its parts; and eſpecially that political ſociety of men chiefly aims at peace as its end, depends on it as its cauſe, relies on it as its ſupport. How much a peaceful ſtate reſembles Heaven, into which neither *complaint*, *pain*, nor *clamour* (ὔτε πένθος, ὔτε πόνος, ὔτε κραυγὴ, as it is in the *Apocalypſe*) Apoc. 21. do ever enter; but bleſſed ſouls converſe together in perfect love, and in perpetual concord; and how a condition of enmity repreſents the ſtate of Hell, that black and diſmal Region of dark hatred, fiery wrath, and horrible tumult. How like a paradiſe the world would be, flouriſhing in joy and reſt, if men would cheerfully conſpire in affection, and helpfully contribute to each others content: and how like a ſavage wilderneſs now it is, when, like wild beaſts, they vex and perſecute, worry and devour each other. How not only Philoſophy hath placed the ſupreme pitch of happineſs in a calmneſs of mind, and tranquility of life, void of care and trouble, of irregular paſſions and perturbations; but that Holy Scripture it ſelf in that one term of peace moſt uſually comprehends all joy and content, all felicity and proſperity: ſo that the heavenly conſort of Angels, when they agree moſt highly to bleſs, and to wiſh the greateſt

Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a ſtalled ox and hatred therewith. Prov. 15. 17.

Ἀταραξία.

Luk. 2. 14.

teſt happineſs to mankind, could not better expreſs their ſenſe, than by ſaying, *Be on earth peace, and good-will among men.*

2. That as nothing is more ſweet and delightful, ſo nothing more comely and agreeable to humane nature than peaceable living, it being (as *Solomon* ſaith) *an honour to a man to ceaſe from ſtrife*; and conſequently alſo a diſgrace to him to continue therein: That rage and fury may be the excellencies of beaſts, and the exerting their natural animoſity in ſtrife and combat may become them; but reaſon and diſcretion are the ſingular eminencies of men, and the uſe of theſe the moſt natural and commendable method of deciding controverſies among them: and that it extremely misbecomes them that are endowed with thoſe excellent faculties ſo to abuſe them, as not to apprehend each others meanings, but to ground vexatious quarrels upon the miſtake of them: not to be able by reaſonable expedients to compound differences, but with mutual damage and inconvenience to prorogue and encreaſe them: not to diſcern how exceedingly better it is to be helpful and beneficial, than to be miſchievous and troubleſome to one another. How fooliſhly and unskilfully they judge, that think by unkind ſpeech and harſh dealing to allay mens diſtempers, alter their opinions, or remove their prejudices; as if they ſhould attempt to kill by miniſtring nouriſhment, or to extinguiſh a flame by pouring oyl upon it. How childiſh a thing it is eagerly to contend about trifles, for the ſuperiority in ſome impertinent conteſt, for the ſatisfaction of ſome petty humour, for the poſſeſſion of ſome inconſiderable toy: yea how barbarous and brutiſh a thing it is to be fierce and impetuous in the purſuit of things that pleaſe us, ſnarling at, biting and tearing all competitors of our game, or oppoſers of our undertaking. But how divine and amiable, how worthy of humane nature, of civil breeding, of prudent conſideration it is, to reſtrain partial deſires, to condeſcend to equal terms, to abate from rigorous pretences, to appeaſe diſcords, and vanquiſh enmities by courteſie and diſcretion; like the beſt and wiſeſt Commanders, who by skilful conduct, and patient attendance upon opportunity, without ſtriking of ſtroke or ſhedding of blood, ſubdue their Enemy.

Prov. 20. 3.

3. How that peace with its near alliance and concomitants, its cauſes and effects, love, meekneſs, gentleneſs and patience, are in Sacred Writ reputed the genuine fruits of the Holy Spirit, iſſues of Divine Grace, and off-ſprings of heavenly Wiſdom; producing like themſelves a goodly progeny of righteous deeds. But that emulation, hatred, wrath, variance and ſtrife derive their extraction from fleſhly luſt, helliſh craft, or beaſtly folly; propagating themſelves alſo into a like ugly brood of wicked works. For ſo ſaith Saint *James*, *If you have bitter zeal and ſtrife in your hearts, glory not, * nor be deceived untruly: This wiſdom deſcendeth not from above, but is earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh: For where emulation and ſtrife are, there is † tumult, and every * naughty thing: but the wiſdom that is from above is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, * obſequious, full of mercy* (or beneficence) *and of good fruits, without partiality and diſſimulation*; *And the fruit of righteouſneſs is ſowed in peace to thoſe that make peace: and from whence are wars, and quarrels among you? Are they not hence, even from your luſts, that war in your members?* Likewiſe, *He loveth tranſgreſſion that loveth ſtrife*; and *A fools lips enter into contention, and his mouth calleth for ſtrokes*, ſaith *Solomon*. That the moſt wicked and miſerable of Creatures is deſcribed by titles denoting enmity and diſcord: *the hater* (Satan) *the enemy* (ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος) *the accuſer* (ὁ κατήγορος) *the ſlanderer* (ὁ διά-

Gal. 5.

Jam. 3. 14.

* Καὶ μὴ ψεύδεσθε κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας.

† Ἀκαταστασία, confuſion.

* Φαῦλον πρᾶγμα.

* εὐπειθής.

Prov. 17. 19.

Prov. 18. 6.

Qui poſuit in cœlo bellum, in paradiſo fratrem, odium inter primos fratres. Aug.

Mat. 13. 28. (ὁ διάβολος) *the deſtroyer* (ὁ ἀπολλύων) the furious dragon, and miſ-
Ἀντίδικος, 1 Pet. 5. 8. chievouſly treacherous ſnake: and how ſad it is to imitate him in his
A murtherer, Joh. 8. 44. practices, to reſemble him in his qualities: But that the beſt, moſt ex-
cellent, and moſt happy of Beings delihgts to be ſtyled, and accordingly
2 Cor. 13. 11. to expreſs himſelf, *The God of love, mercy and peace*; and his bleſſed Son
Philip. 4. 9. to be called, and to be, *the Prince of peace*, the great *Mediatour Recon-*
1 Theſſ. 5. 23. 2 Theſſ. 3. 16. *ciler*, and *Peace-maker*, who is alſo ſaid from on high to have viſited us,
Heb. 7. *To give light to them that ſit in darkneſs, and in the ſhadow of death, and*
Luk. 1. 79. *to guide our feet in the ways of peace.* That laſtly no devotion is pleaſing,
Χαίρει γὰρ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ λογικῶν ψυχῶν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἐκτρέπεται τὴν διαφωνίαν. Orig. c. Celſ. 8. (p. 424.) no oblation acceptable to God, conjoined with hatred, or proceeding from an unreconciled mind: For, *If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembreſt that thy brother hath ought againſt thee; Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift*, ſaith our Saviour.

Mat. 5. 23, 24. I cloſe up all with this *Corollary*: that if we muſt live lovingly, and peaceably with all men, then much more are we obliged to do ſo with all Chriſtians: to whom by nearer and firmer bands of holy alliance we are related; by more precious communions in faith and devotion we are endeared; by more peculiar and powerful obligations of divine commands, ſacramental vows, and formal profeſſions we are engaged: Our ſpiritual brethren, members of the ſame myſtical body, temples of the ſame Holy Spirit, ſervants of the ſame Lord, ſubjects of the ſame Prince, profeſſors of the ſame truth, partakers of the ſame hope, heirs of the ſame promiſe, and candidates of the ſame everlaſting happineſs.

Now Almighty God, the moſt good and beneficent Maker, gracious Lord, and merciful preſerver of all things, infuſe into our hearts thoſe heavenly graces of meekneſs, patience and benignity, grant us and his whole Church, and all his Creation to ſerve him quietly here, and in a bliſsful reſt to praiſe and magnify him for ever: To whom with his bleſſed Son, the great Mediatour and Prince of peace, and with his Holy Spirit, the ever-flowing Spring of all love, joy, comfort and peace, be all honour, glory and praiſe. And

The peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord: And the bleſſing of God Almighty, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt be among you, and remain with you for ever. Amen.

THE

THE
Duty and Reward
OF
BOUNTY
TO THE
POOR.

To the Right Honourable

Sir RICHARD FORD,

Lord MAYOR

OF

LONDON,

AND THE

Court of Aldermen.

Right Houourable,

AS out of grateful Respect I did (although otherwise indisposed for such Employments) endeavour to discharge that Service which You vouchsafed to call me unto, in conceiving and uttering these Meditations; so now, in publishing them, I do purely submit to Your Commands, meaning therein to approve my self,

Right Honourable,

Your most Obedient Servant,

Isaac Barrow

Sermon

SERMON XXXI.

The Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor.

PSAL. 112. 9.

He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor; his righteouſneſs endureth for ever, his horn ſhall be exalted with honour.

This Sermon was preached at the *Spittal* upon *Wedneſday* in *Eaſter*-week, *Anno Domini.* 1671.

AS this whole Pſalm appears to have a double intent; one to deſcribe the proper actions and affections of a truly religious or pious man; (of a man *who feareth the Lord, and delighteth greatly in his commandments*;) the other to declare the happineſs of ſuch a man's ſtate, conſequent upon thoſe his affections and actions, whether in way of natural reſult, or of gracious recompence from God: ſo doth this Verſe particularly contain both a good part of a pious man's character, and ſome conſiderable inſtances of his felicity. The firſt words (*He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor*) expreſs part of his character; the latter (*His righteouſneſs endureth for ever, his horn ſhall be exalted with honour*) aſſign inſtances of his felicity. So that our Text hath two parts, one affording us good information concerning our duty, the other yielding great encouragement to the performance thereof; for we are obliged to follow the pious man's practice, and ſo doing we ſhall aſſuredly partake of his condition. Theſe parts we ſhall in order proſecute, endeavouring (by God's aſſiſtance) ſomewhat to illuſtrate the words themſelves, to confirm the truths couched in them, and to inculcate the duties which they imply. Verſ. 1.

For the firſt part, *He hath diſperſed, he hath given to the poor*; theſe words in general do import the liberal bounty and mercy which a pious man is wont to exerciſe; doing which, doth in good part conſtitute him pious, and ſignally declareth him ſuch; is a neceſſary ingredient of his piety, and a conſpicuous mark thereof: But particularly they inſinuate ſome things concerning the nature, the matter, the manner, and the object of thoſe Acts.

He hath diſperſed, he hath given. Thoſe words being put indefinitely, or without determining what is diſperſed and given by him, may be ſuppoſed to imply a kind of univerſality in the matter of his beneficence; that he beſtoweth whatever he hath within compaſs of his poſſeſſion, or his power; his τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, (the things which he hath,) and his τὰ Luke 12. 33.
ὄντα, (the things which he may,) according to the preſcriptions of Luke 11. 41.
our Lord in the Goſpel. Every thing (I ſay) which he hath in ſubſtance, or can do by his endeavour, that may conduce to the ſupport of the life, or the health, or the welfare in any kind of his neighbour, to the ſuccour or relief of his indigency, to the removal or eaſement of his affliction, he may well here be underſtood to diſperſe and give. Feeding the

the hungry, cloathing the naked, viſiting the ſick, entertaining the ſtranger, ranſoming the captive, eaſing the oppreſſed, comforting the ſorrowful, aſſiſting the weak, inſtructing or adviſing the ignorant, together with all ſuch kinds or inſtances of beneficence, may be conceived either meant directly as the matter of the good man's diſperſing and giving, or by juſt analogy of reaſon reducible thereto: Subſtantial alms, as the moſt ſenſible and obvious matter of bounty, was ('tis probable) eſpecially intended, but thence no manner of expreſſing it is to be excluded; for the ſame reaſons which oblige us, the ſame affections which diſpoſe us to beſtow our money, or deal our bread, will equally bind and move us to contribute our endeavour and advice, for the ſuſtenance and comfort of our poor neighbour. Anſwerably our diſcourſe will more expreſly regard the principal matter; liberal communication of our goods; but it may be referred to all ſorts of beneficence.

Farther, the word *diſperſed* intimateth the nature of his bounty, in excluſion of practices different from it. He *diſperſeth*, and is therefore not tenacious, doth not hoard up his goods, or keep them cloſe to himſelf, for the gratifying his covetous humour, or nouriſhing his pride, or pampering his ſenſuality; but ſendeth them abroad for the uſe and benefit of others. He *diſperſeth* his goods, and therefore doth not fling them away altogether, as if he were angry with them, or weary of them, as if he loathed or deſpiſed them; but fairly and ſoftly, with good conſideration he diſpoſeth of them here and there, as reaſon and need do require. He *diſperſeth* them *to the poor*, not diſſipateth them among vain or lewd perſons in wanton or wicked profuſions, in riotous exceſſes, in idle divertiſements, in expenſive curioſities, in hazardous gamings, in any ſuch courſes which ſwallow whole all that a man hath, or do ſo cripple him, that he becomes unable to diſperſe any thing: Our good man is to be underſtood wiſely provident, honeſtly induſtrious, and ſoberly frugal, that he may have wherewith to be juſt firſt, and then liberal.

Οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε χρήματα ἔχειν μὴ ἐπιμελούμενον ὅπως ἔχῃ.

Ariſt. *Eth.* 4. 1.

His *diſperſing* alſo (or *ſcattering*, ſo the **Hebrew* word here uſed is otherwhere rendred: *There is* (ſaith the wiſe man) *that ſcattereth, and yet increaſeth:* where we may remark, that this word ſingly by it ſelf without any adjunct matter to limit or interpret it, is uſed to ſignify the kind of practice. This his *diſperſing*, (I ſay alſo) denotes the extent of the pious man's bounty, that it is very large and diffuſive, and in a manner unreſtrained; that it reacheth to many places, and is withheld from no perſons within the verge of his power, and opportunity to do good. This practice commonly by a like phraſe (unto which perhaps this word refers) is termed *ſowing*: *He* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall alſo reap ſparingly; and he which ſoweth bountifully ſhall alſo reap bountifully.* Now, he that ſoweth, having choſen a good ſoil, and a fit ſeaſon, doth not regard one particular ſpot, but throweth all about ſo much as his hand can hold, ſo far as the ſtrength of his arm doth carry. It is likewiſe called *watering*, (*He that watereth*, ſaith *Salomon*, *ſhall be watred himſelf:*) which expreſſion alſo ſeemeth to import a plentiful and promiſcuous effuſion of good, dropping in ſhowers upon dry and parched places; that is, upon perſons dry for want, or parched with affliction. So the good man doth not plant his bounty in one ſmall hole, or ſpout it on one narrow ſpot, but with an open hand diſſeminates it, with an impartial regard diſtils it all about. He ſtints it not to his own family or relations; to his neighbours or friends, or benefactors; to thoſe of his own ſect and opinion, or of his humour and diſpoſitio;

Eph. 4. 28.

*פזר

Prov. 11. 24.

2 Cor. 9. 6, 10.

Gal. 6. 7, 8.

Prov. 11. 18.

Prov. 11. 25.

diſpoſition; to ſuch as ſerve him, or oblige him, or pleaſe him; whom ſome private intereſt ties, or ſome particular affection endears him to: but ſcatters it indifferently and unconfinedly toward all men that need it; toward mere ſtrangers, yea, toward known enemies; toward ſuch who never did him any good, or can ever be able to do any; yea, even toward them who have done evil to him, and may be preſumed ready to do more. Nothing in his neighbour but abſence of need, nothing in himſelf but defect of ability, doth curb or limit his beneficence. In that προθυμία (that proclivity and promptitude of mind) which Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of, he doeth good every-where: where-ever a man is, there is a room for his wiſhing well, and doing good, if he can: he obſerves that rule of the Apoſtle, *As we have opportunity, let us do good unto all men.* So the pious man hath *diſperſed.* It follows,

Ἐὰν ἴδῃς πνὰ κακῶς πάσχοντα, μηδὲν περιεργάζου λοιπὸν· ἔχει τὸ δίκαιωμα τῆς βοηθείας, τῷ κακῶς παθεῖν αὐτόν.—τῷ Θεῷ δόξα, κὰν Ἕλλην, κὰν Ἰουδαῖος. *Chryſ. in Heb. Orat.* 10.

2 Cor. 8. 12.

Ubicunque homo eſt, ibi beneficio locus eſt. Sen. *de Vit. B. cap.* 24.

He hath given to the poor. Theſe words denote the freeneſs of his bounty, and determine the principal object thereof: He not only lendeth (though he alſo doth that upon reaſonable occaſion; for, *A good man*, as it is ſaid before in this Pſalm, *ſheweth mercy, and lendeth*; and other-where, *The righteous is ever merciful, and lendeth*; He I ſay, not only ſometimes willingly lendeth) to thoſe who in time may repay, or requite him; but he freely giveth to the poor, that is, to thoſe from whom he can expect no retribution back. He doth not (as good and pious, he doth not) preſent the rich: to do ſo is but a cleanly way of begging, or a ſubtile kind of trade; 'tis hardly courteſie; 'tis ſurely no bounty; for ſuch perſons (if they are not very ſordid or very careleſs, and ſuch men are not uſually much troubled with preſents) will it is likely over-do him, or at leaſt will be even with him in kindneſs. In doing this, there is little vertue; for it, there will be ſmall reward. For, *If you do good to them who do good to you*, (or whom you conceive able and diſpoſed to requite you,) ποῖα χάρις, *what thanks* are due to you? or that (ſaith our Saviour) *even ſinners* (even men notoriouſly bad) *do the ſame*: *And if you lend to them from whom you hope to receive, what thanks have you? for ſinners even lend to ſinners, to receive as much again.* All men commonly, the bad no leſs than the good, are apt to be ſuperfluouſly kind in heaping favours on thoſe whom fortune befriends, and whoſe condition requires not their courteſie; every one almoſt is ready to adopt himſelf into the kindred, or to ſcrue himſelf into the friendſhip of the wealthy and proſperous: but where kindred is of uſe, there it is ſeldom found; it is commonly ſo deaf, as not to hear when it is call'd; ſo blind, as not to diſcern its proper object, and natural ſeaſon; (*the time of adverſity, for which a brother is born.*) Men diſclaim alliance with the needy, and ſhun his acquaintance; ſo the Wiſe-man obſerved, *All the brethren of the poor do hate him, how much more do his friends go far from him?* Thus it is in vulgar practice: but the pious man is more judicious, more juſt, and more generous in the placing of his favours; he is courteous to purpoſe, he is good to thoſe who need. He, as ſuch, doth not make large entertainments *for his friends, his brethren, his kindred, his rich neighbours*; but obſerves that precept of the Lord, *When thou makeſt a feaſt call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou ſhalt be bleſſed: for they cannot recompenſe thee; thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the reſurrection of the juſt.* Thus the pious man giveth, that is, with a free heart

2 Cor. 9. 13.

Pſal. 112. 5.

Pſal. 37. 26.

Qui diviti donat, petit. He that giveth to the rich ſhall ſurely come to want.

Prov. 22. 16.

Luk. 6. 33, 34.

Ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδῷ, τί χρὴ φίλων; Ἀρκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ὠφελεῖν θέλων. Eurip. *in Creſt.*

Τῶν εὐτυχούντων πάντες εἰσὶ συγγενεῖς.

Prov. 17. 17.

Prov. 19. 7, 4.

Εὖ πεφυκὼς τὰ φίλων δ' ἐδέν, ἤν τις δυσυχῇ. Eurip.

Luk. 14. 12, 13, 14.

and pure intention beſtoweth his goods on the indigent, without deſigning any benefit, or hoping for any requital to himſelf; except from God, in conſcience, reſpect and love to whom he doeth it.

It may be alſo material to obſerve the form of ſpeech here uſed, in reference to the time: *He hath diſperſed, and he hath given*; or, *He doth diſperſe, he doth give*, (for in the *Hebrew* Language the paſt and preſet times are not diſtinguiſhed:) which manner of ſpeaking may ſeem to intimate the reality, or the certainty, and the conſtancy of his practice in this kind; for what is paſt or preſent, we are infallibly ſecure of and in morals, what one is ſaid to have done, or to do, is always underſtood according to habit, or cuſtom. It is not, *He will diſperſe, he will give*; that were no fit deſcription of a good man; to pretend to would be no argument of Piety; thoſe words might import uncertainty and delay in his practice: He that ſaith, *I will give*, may be fallaciou in his profeſſions, may be inconſiſtent with his reſolutions, may wilfully or negligently let ſlip the due ſeaſon of performing it. Our good ma is not a *Doſon*, or *Will-give*, (like that King of *Macedon*, who got tha name from often ſignifying an intention of giving, but never giving i effect;) he not only purpoſes well, and promiſes fairly for the future but he hath effectually done it, and perſeveres doing it upon every fi occaſion. He puts not his neighbour into tedious expectations, nor put him off with frivolous excuſes, ſaying to him, (as it is in the *Proverbs* *Go and come again, and to morrow I will give, when he hath it by him*: h bids him not have patience, or ſays unto him, *Depart in peace*, whe his need is urgent, and his pain impatient, when hunger or cold d then pinch him, when ſickneſs inceſſantly vexeth him, when preſe ſtraits and burthens oppreſs him: But he affordeth a ready, quick, ar ſeaſonable relief.

Ἐπεκλήθη δὲ Δώσων ὡς ἐπαγγελτικὸς μὲν, οὐ τελεσιουργὸς δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεω. Plut. *in* Paulo *Æmil.*

Prov. 3. 28.

Jam. 2. 16.

He hath diſperſed, and *given*, while he lives, not reſerving the d poſal of all at once upon his death, or by his laſt Will; that unwillir Will, whereby men would ſeem to give ſomewhat, when they can kee nothing; drawing to themſelves thoſe commendations and thanks, whi are only due to their mortality; when as were they immortal, th would never be liberal: No; it is, *he hath freely diſperſed*, not an in vitable neceſſity will extort it from him; it cannot be ſaid of him, th he never does well, but when he dies; So he hath done it really a ſurely.

Avarus, niſi cum moritur, nil rectè facit. Laber.

He alſo doeth it conſtantly, through all the courſe of his life, whe ever good opportunity preſents it ſelf. He doeth it not by fits, or by a cident, according to unſtable cauſes or circumſtances moving him, (wh bodily temper or humour inclineth him, when a ſad object makes veh ment impreſſion on him, when ſhame obligeth him to comply with t practice of others, when he may thereby promote ſome deſign, or pr cure ſome glory to himſelf) but his practice is conſtant and unifor being drawn from ſteady principles, and guided by certain rules, pr ceeding from reverence to God, and good-will toward Man; followir the clear dictates and immutable laws of Conſcience. Thus hath the p ous man *diſperſed*, and *given to the poor*: and let thus much ſuffice f explicatory reflexion upon the firſt words,

The main drift and purport of which is, to repreſent the liberal e ercifing of bounty and mercy, to be the neceſſary duty, the ordina practice, and the proper character of a truly pious man; ſo that pe forming ſuch acts, is a good ſign of true Piety; and omitting them, s a certain argument of ungodlineſs. For the demonſtration of whi

Poin,

Points, for exciting us to a practice answerable, I shall propound several considerations, whereby the plain reasonableness, the great weight, the high worth and excellency of this duty, together with its strict connexion with other principal duties of Piety, will appear. And first, I will shew with what advantage the Holy Scripture represents it to us, or presses it upon us.

I. Head of discourse.

1. We may consider, that there is no sort of duties which God hath more expressly commanded, or more earnestly inculcated, than these of bounty and mercy toward our brethren; whence evidently the great moment of them, and their high value in God's esteem may be inferred. Even in the ancient Law, we may observe very careful provisions made for engaging men to works of this kind, and the performance of them is with huge life and urgency prescribed. *Thou shalt not harden thy heart,* Deut. 15. 7. *nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother.——Thou shalt open thy hand* verse 11. *wide unto thy brother, unto thy poor, and to thy needy in the land.* So did *Moses*, in God's name, with language very significant and emphatical, enjoin to the children of *Israel*. The holy prophets also do commonly with an especial heat and vigour press these duties, most smartly reproving the transgression or neglect of them; especially when they reclaim men from their wicked courses, urging them seriously to return unto God and goodness, they propose this practice as a singular instance most expressive of their conversion, most apt to appease God's wrath, most effectual to the recovery of his favour. *Wash you,* (saith God in *Esay*) Esay 1. 16, *make you clean, put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes,* 17, 18. Jer. 7. 5, 6. *cease to do evil, learn to do well.* So in general he exhorts to repentance: then immediately he subjoins these choice instances thereof: *Seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.—— Come now,* (then he adds) *let us reason together: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.* When *Daniel* would prescribe to King *Nabuchadnezzar* the best way of amendment, and the surest means of averting God's judgments impendent on him, he thus speaks: *Wherefore, O King,* Dan. 4. 27. *let my counsel be acceptable unto thee; *break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor.* This he cull'd out as of all pious acts chiefly grateful to God, and clearly testifying repentance; and, *so very impious a person was Alms able to justify,* says the Father thereupon. So also when God himself would declare what those acts are which render penitential devotions most agreeable to him, and most effectual, he thus expresseth his mind: *Is not this the fast which I have* Isa. 58. 6, 7. *chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoak? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thine house; when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?* Of so great consideration and moment was this sort of duties, even under that old dispensation of weakness, servility and fear; so much tenderness of compassion and benignity did God exact even from that hard-hearted and worldly people, who were so little capable of the best rules, and had encouragements, in comparison, so mean toward performances of this nature. The same we may well conceive, under the more perfect discipline of universal amity, of ingenuity, of spiritual grace and goodness, in a higher strain, with more force and greater obligation to be imposed on us, who have so much

* Τὰς ἁμαρτίας σε ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι · so the LXX render those words, reading, it seems, פרת for פרק.

Ναβυχοδονόσορ, ὃ τοιοῦτον ἀσεβῆ, ἴσχυεν ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη δικαιῶσαι. Athan. ad Antioch. *Quæst.* 87.

much ſtronger engagements, and immenſly greater encouragements to them. And ſo indeed it is: for thoſe Precepts delivered by our Lord,

Luke 12. 33. 6. 30. 11. 41. Matt. 19. 21. 6. 19. *Sell all that you have, and give alms; If thou wilt be perfect, ſell all that thou haſt, and give to the poor; Give to every man that asketh thee; Treaſure not up to your ſelves treaſures upon the earth,* do indeed ſound high, but are not inſignificant, or impertinent. They cannot ſignify or deſign leſs than that we ſhould be always in affection, and diſpoſition of mind, ready to part with any thing we have for the ſuccour of our poor brethren; that to the utmoſt of our ability, (according to moral eſtimation prudently rated,) upon all occaſions we ſhould really expreſs that diſpoſition in our practice; that we are exceedingly obliged to the continual exerciſe of theſe duties in a very eminent degree. Theſe indeed were the duties which our Lord, as he did frequently in his diſcourſe commend and preſcribe, ſo he did moſt ſignally exemplify in his practice; his whole life being in effect but one continual act of moſt liberal bounty and mercy toward mankind; in charity to whom, he out-did his own ſevereſt rules, being content never to poſſeſs any wealth, never to enjoy any eaſe in this world. And therein (both as to doctrine and

2 Cor. 6. 10. practice) did the holy Apoſtles cloſely follow their Maſter: *As poor, yet enriching many; as having nothing, yet poſſeſſing all things.* So they throughly in deeds practiſed theſe duties, which in words they taught,

* Rom. 12. 13. and earneſtly preſſed; admoniſhing their Converts to * *diſtribute to the*
† Gal. 6. 10. *neceſſities of the Saints,* to † *do good to all men;* ‖ *to do good, and to com-*
‖ Heb. 13. 16. *municate not to forget; to ſhew mercy with chearfulneſs,* to * *put on bowels*
* Coloſ. 3. 12. *of mercy;* to † *be kind, and tender-hearted one toward another;* to *abound*
† Eph. 4. 32. *in the grace of liberality.* Such are their directions and injunctions to all
2 Cor. 8. 7. Chriſtian people; ſo did they preach themſelves, and ſo they enjoined

1 Tim. 6. 17, 18. others to preach. *Charge the rich in this world* (ſaith Saint *Paul* to his Scholar *Timothy*) *that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to diſtribute, willing to communicate:* and, *Theſe things* (ſaith he like-

Tit. 3. 8. wiſe adviſing Biſhop *Titus*) *I will that thou affirm conſtantly, that they which believe in God may be careful to maintain good works:* what *good works* he meaneth, the reaſon adjoined doth ſhew; *For theſe things* (ſaith he) *are good and profitable unto men.*

2. It is indeed obſervable, that as in every kind that which is moſt excellent doth commonly aſſume to it ſelf the name of the whole kind; ſo among the parts of righteouſneſs, (which word is uſed to comprehend all vertue and goodneſs) this of exerciſing bounty and mercy is peculiarly called *righteouſneſs*; ſo that *righteouſneſs* and *mercifulneſs*, (or *almsdeeds*) the righteous and bountiful perſon, are in Scripture-expreſſion ordinarily confounded, as it were, or undiſtinguiſhably put one for the other; it being often, when commendations are given to righteouſneſs, and rewards promiſed to righteous perſons, hard to diſcern, whether the general obſervance of God's law, or the ſpecial practice of theſe duties, are concerned in them. Likewiſe works of this nature are in way of peculiar excellency termed *good works*; and to perform them is uſually ſty-

* Acts 9. 36. led *to do good*, and *to do well*; (* ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, † καλὸν ποιεῖν, ‖ ἀ-
1 Tim. 5. 10. γαθοεργεῖν, * ἀγαθοποιεῖν, † εὖ ποιεῖν, ‖ εὐεργετεῖν, are words applied to
1 Tim. 6. 18. this purpoſe) which manners of expreſſion do argue the eminent digni-
Tit. 3. 8, 14. ty of theſe performances.
2 Cor. 9. 8.
Gal. 6. † 9. ‖ 10. 3. We may alſo conſequently mark, that in thoſe places of Scripture
* Luk. 6. 35. where the divine law is abridged, and religion ſumm'd up into a few
† Heb. 13. 16. particulars of main importance, theſe duties conſtantly make a part: ſo
‖ Act. 10. 38. when the Prophet *Micah* briefly reckons up thoſe things which are beſt in

the

the Law, and chiefly required by God, the whole catalogue of them consisting but of three particulars, *mercy* comes in for one; *He hath shewed thee, O man,* (saith he) *what is good: and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?* Likewise of those (βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου, those) more substantial and *weighty things of God's law,* the neglect of which our Saviour objecteth as an argument of impiety, and a cause of wo, to those pretending Zelots, this is one: *Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites; for ye pay tythe of Mint and Cumin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy and Faith.* The sum of Saint *John* the Baptist his instruction of the people is by Saint *Luke* reduced to this point; *The people asked him, saying, What shall we do?* He answering, saith unto them, *He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise.* Saint *James* his Systeme of Religion in this; *Pure and undefiled Religion before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widow in their affliction,* (that is, to comfort and relieve all distressed and helpless persons,) *and to keep himself unspotted from the world.* Saint *Paul* seems to be yet more compendious and close: *Bear ye* (saith he) *one another's burthens, and so fulfil the Law of Christ.* Yea, God himself comprises all the substantial part of Religion herein, when comparing it with the circumstantial part, he saith, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice.*

Micah 6. 8. Matt. 23. 23. Luk. 3. 10, 11. Jam. 1. 27. Gal. 6. 2. Hos. 6. 6.

4. It is in like manner considerable, that in the general descriptions of piety and goodness, the practice of these duties is specified, as a grand ingredient of them. In this *Psalm,* where such a description is intended, it is almost the only particular instance; and it is not only mentioned, but reiterated in divers forms of expression. In the 37. *Psalm* it is affirmed, and repeated, that *The righteous sheweth mercy; he sheweth mercy, and giveth; he sheweth mercy, and lendeth.* In the *Proverbs,* 'tis a commendation of the vertuous woman, *whose price is far above rubies,* that *She stretcheth out her hand to the poor, yea stretcheth forth both her hands to the needy.* And in *Ezekiel* (which is especially remarkable) the 18. Chapter, where the principal things constituting a pious man are, more than once professedly enumerated, this among a very few other particulars is expressed, and taketh up much room in the account; of such a person (who *shall surely live, and not die,* that is, who certainly shall abide in God's favour, and enjoy the happy consequences thereof) it is supposed, that he *neither hath oppressed any, nor hath withholden the pledge, nor hath spoiled by violence; but hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment, and hath taken off his hand from the poor.*

Psal. 37. 21, 26. The righteous giveth, and spareth not. Prov. 21. 26. Prov. 31. 20. Ezek. 18. 7, 16.

5. Also in the particular Histories of good men this sort of practice is specially taken notice of, and expressed in their characters. In the story of our Father *Abraham,* his benignity to strangers, and hospitableness, is remarkable among all his deeds of goodness, being propounded to us as a pattern and encouragement to the like practice. In this the Conscience of *Job* did solace it self, as in a solid assurance of his integrity: *I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing. I was eyes to the blind, and feet I was to the lame; I was a father to the poor. Did not I weep for him that was in trouble? was not my soul grieved for the poor?* Hence also did the good Publican recommend himself to the favour and approbation of our Saviour, saying, *Behold,* Lord, *half of my goods I give to the poor:* hence did *salvation come to* his *house:* hence he is proclaimed *a son of Abraham.*

Heb. 13. 2. Job 29. 12, 13, 15. Job 30. 25. Luk. 19. 8, 9.

Of

Of *Dorcas*, that good woman, who was so gracious and pretious among
Acts 9. 36. the Disciples, this is the commendation and character; *She was full of good works, and alms-deeds which she did*; such practice made her capable of that favour, so great and extraordinary, the being restored to life; at least in Saint *Chrysostom*'s judgment: *The force of her alms*, saith he, *did conquer the tyranny of death.* *Cornelius* also, that excellent person, who was, though a *Gentile* so acceptable to God, and had so extraordinary graces conferred on him, is thus represented; *He was a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his house, who gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway.* We may add, that to be hospitable (one branch of these duties, and inferring the rest) is reckoned a qualification of those who are to be the Guides and Patterns of goodness unto others. And particularly, one fit to be promoted to a widow's office in the Church is thus described: *well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children; if she have lodged strangers; if she have washed the Saints feet; if she have relieved the afflicted; if she have diligently followed every good work.*

Ἡ τῆ ἐλεημοσύνης δύναμις ἐνίκησε θανάτου τὸ τυραννίδα.
Chrys. *in Gen. Orat.* 55.
Acts 10. 2.
1 Tim. 3. 2.
Tit. 1. 8.
1 Tim. 5. 10.

6. So near to the heart of Piety doth the holy Scripture lay the practice of these duties: and no wonder; for it often expressly declares Charity to be the fulfilling of God's Law, as the best expression of all our duty toward God, of faith in him, love and reverence of him, and as either formally containing, or naturally producing all our duty toward our neighbour. And of Charity, works of bounty and mercy are both the chief instances, and the plainest signs: for whereas all Charity doth consist either in mental desire, or in verbal signification, or in effectual performance of good to our neighbour; this last is the end, the completion, and the assurance of the rest. Good-will is indeed the root of Charity; but that lies under-ground, and out of sight; nor can we conclude its being or life without visible fruits of beneficence. Good words are at best but fair leaves thereof, such as may (and too often do) proceed from a weak and barren disposition of mind. But these *good works* are *real fruits*, (so Saint *Paul* calls them; *Let ours also*, saith he, *learn to maintain good works for necessary uses, that they be not unfruitful*) which declare a true life, and a good strength of charity in the bearer of them: by them τὸ γνήσιον τῆς ἀγάπης, *the sincerity* (or genuineness) *of our charity is proved.* For as no man ever doth impress a false stamp on the finest metal; so costly charity is seldom counterfeit. It is to decline spending their goods, or their pains, that men forge and feign; pretending to make up in wishing well, the defect of doing so, and paying words instead of things: but he that freely imparts what he hath, or can do for his neighbour's good, needs no other argument to evince that he loves in good earnest, nor can indeed well use any other: for words, if actions are wanting, seem abusive; and if actions are present, they are superfluous. Wherefore Saint *John* thus advices; *My little children, let us not love in word, or in tongue,* (ἀλλ' ἔργῳ) *but in work and in truth.* To love in *work*, and to love in *truth*, he signifies to be the same thing; and to pretend love in speech, without practising it in deed, he implies not allowable. And Saint *James* in way of comparison says, that as faith without works is dead, so love without beneficence is useless. For, *If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto him, Depart in peace, be you warmed and filled, notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit? Even so faith without works is dead.* Cold wishes of good, working no real benefit to our neighbour, and a faint assent unto truth

Gal. 5. 14.
Rom. 13. 9, 10.
1 Tim. 1. 5.
Matth. 7. 12.
Ἐπίτασις ἀγάπης ὁ ἔλεος. Greg. Nyss. *in* Matth. 5. 7.
Tit. 3. 14.
Rom. 15. 28.
Phil. 4. 17.
2 Cor. 8. 8.
1 John 3. 18.
Jam. 2. 15, 16, 17.

truth, producing no constant obedience to God, are things near of kin, and of like value; both of little worth or use. Charity then being the main point of Religion, mercy and bounty being the chief parts of Charity, well may these duties be placed in so high a rank, according to the divine Heraldry of Scripture.

7. To enforce which observations, and that we may be farther certified about the weight and worth of these duties, we may consider, that to the observance of them most ample and excellent rewards are assigned; that in return for what we bestow on our poor brethren, God hath promised all sorts of the best mercies and blessings to us. The best of all good things, (that which in *David*'s opinion was better than life it self,) the fountain of all blessings (God's love and favour, or mercy) is procured thereby, or is annexed to it. For, *God loveth a chearful giver*, saith Saint *Paul*; and, *The merciful shall obtain mercy*, saith our Saviour; and, *Mercy rejoyceth against judgment*, (or boasteth, and triumpheth over it; ἔλεος κατακαυχᾶται κρίσεως· that is, it appeaseth God's wrath, and prevents our condemnation and punishment,) saith Saint *James*; God will not continue displeased with him, nor will withhold his mercy from him, who is kind and merciful to his neighbour. 'Tis true, if rightly understood, what the *Hebrew* Wise-man saith, *Water will quench a flaming fire, and alms maketh an atonement for sins.* For this practice hath the nature and name of a Sacrifice, and is declared, as such, both in excellency and efficacy to surpass all other Sacrifices; to be most acceptable to God, most available for expiation of guilt, most effectual in obtaining mercy and favour. Other sacrifices performed in obedience to God's appointment (on virtue of our Lord's perfect obedience, and with regard to his pure Sacrifice of himself) did in their way propitiate God, and atone sin; but this hath an intrinsick worth, and a natural aptitude to those purposes. Other obligations did signify a willingness to render a due homage to God; this really and immediately performs it. They were shadows or images well resembling that duty, (parting with any thing we have for the sake of God, and for purchasing his favour,) whereof this is the body and substance. This is therefore preferr'd as in it self excelling the rest, and more estimable in God's sight; so that in comparison or competition therewith, the other seem to be slighted and rejected. *I will* (saith God) *have mercy, and not sacrifice:* and, *Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oyl?* Will he, that is, he will not be pleased with such sacrifices, if they be abstracted from the more delightful sacrifices of bounty and mercy. God never made an exception against these, or derogated from them in any case; they absolutely and perpetually are (as Saint *Paul* speaketh) *Odours of a sweet smell, sacrifices acceptable and well-pleasing to God.* And the Apostle to the *Hebrews* seconds him: *To do good,* saith he, *and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.* By these, all other works and all enjoyments are sanctified; for, *Give alms* (saith our Lord) *of what you have, and behold all things are pure unto you.* Such charitable persons are therefore frequently pronounced blessed, that is in effect instated in a confluence of all good things. *Blessed is he that considereth the poor,* says the Psalmist; and, *He that hath a bountiful eye, is blessed,* saith *Solomon*; and, *He that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he,* saith the Wise-man again; and, *Blessed are the merciful,* saith our Lord himself. So in gross and generally. Particularly also, and in retail, the greatest blessings are expressly allotted to this practice: prosperity in all our affairs is promised thereto. *Thou* (saith *Moses*)

Pſal. 63. 3.
2 Cor. 9. 7.
Matth. 5. 7.
Jam. 2. 13.
Matth. 6. 14.
Ecclus. 3. 39. *Si nudum vestias, teipsum induis justitiam.* Ambr. *Offic.* 1. 11.
Hier. *in Pſalm.* 133.
Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 55.
Hoſ. 6. 6.
Micah. 6. 7.
Phil. 4. 18.
Heb. 13. 16.
Luke. 11. 41.
Pſalm. 41. 1.
Prov. 22. 9.
Prov. 14. 21.
Matth. 5. 7.
Deut. 15. 10.

Moſes) ſhalt ſurely give thy poor brother, and thine heart ſhall not be grieved that thou giveſt unto him; becauſe that for this thing the Lord thy God ſhall bleſs thee in all thy works, and in all that thou putteſt thine hand unto. Stability in a good condition is ordinarily conſequent thereon: ſo the Prophet *Daniel* implies, when, adviſing King *Nebuchadnezzar* to theſe
Dan. 4. 27. works, he adds, *If it may be a lengthening of thy tranquillity.* Deliverance from evil incumbent, protection in imminent danger, and ſupport in afflictions, are the ſure rewards thereof: ſo the Pſalmiſt aſſures us;
Pſalm. 41. 1. &c. *Bleſſed (ſaith he) is he that conſidereth the poor: The Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord will preſerve him and keep him alive, and he ſhall be bleſſed upon earth; and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his enemies. The Lord will ſtrengthen him upon the bed of languiſhing; thou wilt make all his bed in his ſickneſs.* Security from all want is
Prov. 28. 27. likewiſe a recompence proper thereto: for, *He that giveth to the poor ſhall*
Iſa. 58. 10, 11, 12. *not lack*, ſaith the Wiſe-man. *If thou draw out thy ſoul to the hungry, and ſatisfy the afflicted ſoul, then ſhall thy light ariſe in obſcurity*, &c. Thri-
Prov. 11. 25. ving in wealth and eſtate is another ſpecial reward: for, *The liberal ſoul ſhall be made fat*; the ſame Author gives us his word for it. Even of the good things here below, to thoſe who for his ſake in this or any o-
Matt. 19. 29. ther way do *let go houſes or lands*, our Lord promiſeth the return of *a hundred-fold*, either in kind, or in value. So great encouragements are annexed to this practice even in relation to the concernments of this tranſitory life: but to them beſide God hath deſtinated rewards incomparably more conſiderable and precious, ſpiritual and eternal rewards, treaſures of heavenly wealth, crowns of endleſs glory, the perfection of joy and bliſs to be diſpenſed *at the reſurrection of the juſt. He that for*
Luke. 14. 14. Matt. 19. 29. *my ſake hath left houſes or lands, ſhall receive a hundred-fold now at this*
Mark 10. 29, 30. *time*, (or in this preſent life,) *and in the world to come ſhall inherit everlaſting life*; ſo infallible Truth hath aſſured us. They who perform theſe duties are ſaid to *make themſelves bags, which wax not old, a trea-*
Luke 12. 33. *ſure that faileth not in the heavens*; to *make themſelves friends of the*
Luke 16. 9. *unrighteous mammon, who, when they fail*, (when they depart, and leave their earthly wealth,) *will receive them into everlaſting habitations*; to
1 Tim. 6. 19. *lay up in ſtore for themſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life:* Such rewards are promiſed to the obſervers.

8. And correſpondently grievous puniſhments are deſigned and denounced to the tranſgreſſours of theſe duties; the worſt of miſeries is their portion and doom: they, for being ſuch, do forfeit God's love and favour; they loſe his bleſſing and protection; they can have no ſure poſſeſſion, nor any comfortable enjoyment of their eſtate; for, *He*
Jam. 2. 13. (ſaith Saint *James*) *ſhall have judgment without mercy, who ſheweth no*
Job 20. 18, 19. *mercy*. And of ſuch a perſon it is ſaid in *Job*, *That which he laboureth for he ſhall reſtore, and ſhall not ſwallow it down: according to his ſubſtance ſhall the reſtitution be, and he ſhall not rejoyce therein; becauſe he hath oppreſſed, and forſaken the poor.* (Not only becauſe he hath unjuſtly oppreſſed, but becauſe he hath uncharitably forſaken the poor.) If by the divine forbearance ſuch perſons do ſeem to enjoy a fair *portion in this*
Pſal. 17. 14. *life*, (*proſpering in the world, and increaſing in riches*,) they will find a
Pſal. 73. 12. ſad reckoning behind in the other world: this will be the reſult of that
Luke 6. 24. Audit; *Wo be unto you, rich men, for you have received your conſolation* (ſuch rich men are meant, who have got, or kept, or uſed their wealth baſely; who have detained all the conſolation it yields to themſelves
Luke 16. 25. and imparted none to others;) and, *Remember, ſon, thou didſt receive*

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thy good things in this life; (so didst receive them, as to swallow them, and spend them here, without any provision or regard for the future in the use of them;) and, *Cast that unprofitable servant* (who made no good use of his Talent) *into utter darkness*. Such will be the fate of *every one that treasures up to himself, and is not rich unto God*; not rich in Piety and Charity, not rich in performing for God's sake works of bounty and mercy. Matt. 25. 30. Luke 12. 21.

9. It is indeed most considerable, that at the final reckoning, when all mens actions shall be strictly scann'd, and justly sentenced according to their true desert, a special regard will be had to the discharge or neglect of these duties. It is the bountiful and merciful persons, who have relieved *Christ* in his poor members and brethren, who in that day will appear to be the sheep at the right hand, and shall hear the good Shepherd's voice uttering those joyful words, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, enter into the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; I was naked, and ye cloathed me; I was sick, and ye visited me; I was in prison, and ye came unto me.* He doth not say, Because you have made goodly professions, because you have been orthodox in your opinions, because you have frequented religious Exercises, (have prayed often and long, have kept many Fasts, and heard many Sermons,) because you have been staunch in your conversations, because you have been punctual in your dealings, because you have maintained a specious guise of piety, sobriety and justice; (although, indeed, he that will come off well at that great Tryal, must be responsible, and able to yield a good account in respect to all those particulars;) but, Because you have been charitably benign and helpful to persons in need and distress, therefore blessed are you, therefore enter into the Kingdom of glorious bliss prepared for such persons. This proceeding more than intimates, that in the judgment of our Lord no sort of vertue or good practice is to be preferred before that of charitable bounty; or rather that, in his esteem, none is equal thereto: so that if the question were put to him, which is one of them to *Antiochus*, in *Athanasius* his works,) Which is the most eminent Virtue? our Lord would resolve it no otherwise than is done by that Father, affirming, that mercifulness is the Queen of Vertues; for that, at the final account, the examination chiefly proceeds upon that; it is made the special touchstone of piety, and the peculiar ground of happiness. On the other side, those who have been deficient in these performances (uncharitable and unmerciful persons) will at the last Tryal appear to be the wretched Goats on the left hand, unto whom this uncomfortable speech shall by the great Judge be pronounced, *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels: for I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye cloathed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not.* It is not, we may see, for having done what which in this world is called rapine or wrong, for having pillaged or couzened their neighbour, for having committed adultery or murther, or any other thing prohibited, that these unhappy men are bid to be formerly impeached, and finally condemned to that miserable doom; but for having been unkind and unmerciful to their poor brethren: this at that high Tribunal, will pass for a most enormous crime, Matt. 25. 34, &c. Athanasius *Tom.* 2. Matt. 25. 41, &c.

Οὐκ ὅτι διηρπάκασιν, οὐδ' ὅτι σεσυλήκασιν, ἢ μεμοιχεύκασιν, ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων πεποιήκασιν, ταύτῃ τῇ τάξιν καταικεσθέντες, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ χεῖρον διὰ τῶν δεομένων τεθεραπεύκασιν. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 16.

for the capital offence; for this it is that they ſhall be curſed, and caſt down into a wretched conſortſhip with thoſe malicious and mercileſs Friends, unto whoſe diſpoſition they did ſo nearly approach.

Thus it appears how mighty a ſtreſs God in the holy Scripture doth lay upon theſe duties, ſo peremptorily commanding them, ſo vehemently preſſing them, ſo highly commending them, ſo graciouſly by promiſes alluring us to the performance, ſo dreadfully by threatnings deterring us from the neglect of them. What an affront then will it be to God's authority, what a diſtruſt to his word, what a contempt of his power, his juſtice, his wiſdom, what a deſpight to his goodneſs and mercy, if, notwithſtanding all theſe declarations of his will and purpoſes, we ſhall preſume to be uncharitable in this kind? There are alſo conſiderations (very many, very clear, and very ſtrong) which diſcover the great reaſonableneſs and equity of theſe Laws, with our indiſpenſable obligation to obey them; the which indeed with greater force do exact theſe duties from us, and do more earneſtly plead in the poor man's behalf, than he can beg or cry. If we either look up unto God, or down upon our poor neighbour, if we reflect upon our ſelves, or conſider our wealth it ſelf, every-where we may diſcern various reaſons obliging us, and various motives inducing us to the practice of theſe duties.

In regard to God.

II. Head of diſcourſe. 1. We may conſider, that by exerciſing of bounty and mercy, we are kind and courteous to God himſelf; by neglecting thoſe duties, we are unkind and rude to him: for that what of good or evil is by us done to the poor, God interprets and accepts as done to himſelf. The poor have a peculiar relation to God; he openly and frequently profeſſeth himſelf their eſpecial friend, patron and protector; he is much concerned in, and particularly chargeth his providence with their ſupport. In effect therefore they ſhall ſurely be provided for, one way or other, (*The*

Pſal. 22. 26. *poor ſhall eat and be ſatisfied*; *God will ſave the afflicted people*; *The Lord*
18. 27. 146. 9. *preſerveth the ſtrangers, he relieveth the fatherleſs and widow. When the*
Iſa. 41. 17. *poor and needy ſeek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirſt, I the Lord will hear them, I the God of Iſrael will not forſake them*:) But out of goodneſs to us, he chuſeth, (if it may be, we freely concurring therein,) and beſt liketh, that it ſhould be done by our hands; this conducing no leſs to our benefit, than to theirs; we thereby having opportunity to ſhew our reſpect to himſelf, and to lay an engagement on him to do us good. God therefore lendeth the poor man his own name, and alloweth him to crave our ſuccour for his ſake. (When the poor man asketh us in God's name, or for God's ſake, he doth not uſurp or forge, he hath good authority, and a true ground for doing ſo: God gives him credit from himſelf unto us for what he wants, and bids us charge what he receiveth on his own account; permitting us to reckon him obliged thereby, and to write him our debtor; engaging his own word and reputation duly to repay, fully to ſatisfy us. *He*

Prov. 19. 17. *that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord*; *and that which he hath*
Matt. 25. 40, 45. *given, will he pay him again*, ſaith the Wiſe-man: and, *Inaſmuch as ye have done it to the leaſt of my brethren, ye have done it unto me*, ſaith our
Heb. 6. 10. Saviour: and, *God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have ſhewed toward his name, in that ye have miniſtred to the ſaints, and do miniſter*, ſaith the Apoſtle. What therefore we give to the poor, God accepteth as an expreſſion of kindneſs to himſelf, being given to one of his friends and clients, in reſpect to him; he regards it

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s a teſtimony of friendly confidence in him, ſignifying that we have good opinion of him, that we take him for able and willing to requite good turn, that we dare take his word, and think our goods ſafe enough n his cuſtody. But if we ſtop our ears, or ſhut our hands from the oor, God interprets it as a harſh repulſe, and an hainous affront put pon himſelf: we doing it to one who bears his name, and wears his very, (for the poor man's rags are badges of his relation unto God,) e thereby judges, that we have little good-will, little reſpect, little com- aſſion toward himſelf: ſince we vouchſafe not to grant him ſo mean a avour, ſince we refuſe at his requeſt, and (as it were) in his need, to ccommodate him with a ſmall ſum, he juſtly reputes it as an argument f unkindly diffidence in him, that we have ſorry thoughts of him dee- ning him no good correſpondent, little valuing his word, ſuſpecting his oodneſs, his truth, or his ſufficiency.

2. We by practiſing thoſe duties are juſt, by omitting them are very injuſt toward God. For our goods, our wealth, and our eſtate, are in- deed none of them ſimply or properly our own, ſo that we have an ab- olute property in them, or an entire diſpoſal of them: no, we are ut- erly incapable of ſuch a right unto them, or power over them: God neceſſarily is the true and abſolute proprietary of them. They are called Eccles. 5. 19. 6. 2. he gifts of God; but we muſt not underſtand that God, by giving them o us, hath parted with his own right to them: they are depoſited with s in truſt, not alienated from him; they are commited to us as ſtew- rds, not transferred upon us as maſters: they are ſo ours, that we have o authority to uſe them according to our will or fancy, but are obli- ed to manage them according to God's direction and order. He by ight immutable is Lord paramount of all his Creation; every thing un- lienably belongs to him upon many accounts. He out of nothing made ll things at firſt, and to every Creature through each moment a new eing is conferr'd by his preſervative influence: originally therefore he s Lord of all things, and continually a new title of dominion over eve- y thing ſpringeth up unto him: it is his always, becauſe he always ma- eth it. We our ſelves are naturally mere ſlaves and vaſſals to him: as ve can never be our own, (maſters of our ſelves, of our lives, of our iberties,) ſo cannot we ever properly be owners of any thing; there are o poſſible means by which we can acquire any abſolute title to the leaſt nite; the principal right to what we ſeem to get, according to all law nd reaſon, accrueth to our Maſter. All things about us, by which we ive, with which we work and trade, the earth which ſupports and feeds Pſal. 24. 1. s, and furniſheth us with all commodities, the Air we breath, the Sun 50. 12. 89. nd Stars which cheriſh our life, are all of them his, his productions and 11. 95. 5. is poſſeſſions, ſubſiſting by his pleaſure, ſubject to his diſpoſal. How hen can any thing be ours? How can we ſay with the fooliſh Churl *Nabal, Shall I take my bread, and my water, and my fleſh, and give it?* 1 Sam. 25. 11. Thine? O inconſiderate man! How cam'ſt thou by it? how doſt thou hold it? Didſt thou make it? or doſt thou preſerve it? Canſt thou claim any thing by nature? No, thou broughteſt nothing with thee into the world, thou didſt not bring thy elf hither. Canſt thou challenge any thing to thy elf from chance? No, for there is no ſuch thing as chance, all things being guided and governed by God's providence. Doſt thou conceive thy nduſtry can entitle thee to any thing? Thou art miſtaken, for all the wit and ſtrength thou applieſt, the head thou contriveſt with, and the

Sed ais, Quid injuſtum eſt, ſi cum alienа non invadam, propria diligentius ſervem? O impudens dictum! propria dicis? quæ? ex quibus reconditis in hunc mundum detuliſti? Ambroſ.

hands thou workeſt with, are God's; all the ſucceſs thou findeſt did wholly depend on him, was altogether derived from him; all thy projects were vain, all thy labours would be fruitleſs, did not he aſſiſt and bleſs thee. Thou doſt vainly and falſly *lift up thine heart, and forget the Lord thy God, when as thy herds and flocks multiply, and thy ſilver and gold is multiplied, and all that thou haſt is multiplied; if thou ſayeſt in thy heart, My power and the might of my hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou muſt remember the Lord thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth.* [——*Who am I* (ſaith *David*) *and what is my people, that we ſhould be able to offer ſo willingly after this ſort? for all things come of thee; and of thine own have we given thee,* 1 Chron. 29. 14.] Since then upon all ſcores every thing we have doth appertain to God, he may without any injury recal or reſume whatever he pleaſeth; and while he letteth any thing abide with us, we cannot juſtly uſe it otherwiſe than he hath appointed, we cannot duly apply it otherwiſe than to his intereſt and ſervice. God then having enjoyned, that after we have ſatisfied our neceſſities, and ſupplied our reaſonable occaſions, we ſhould employ the reſt to the relief of our poor neighbours; that * *if we have two coats,* (one more than we need) *we ſhould impart one to him that hath none; if we have meat* abundant, that we *likewiſe* communicate to him that wants it: God by the poor man's voice (or by his need and miſery) demanding his own from us, we are very unjuſt if we preſume to withhold it; doubly unjuſt we are, both toward God and toward our neighbour: we are unfaithful ſtewards, miſapplying the goods of our maſter, and croſſing his order: we are wrongful uſurpers, detaining from our neighbour that which God hath allotted him: we are in the court of Conſcience, we ſhall appear at the bar of God's Judgment no better than robbers, (under vizards of legal right and poſſeſſion) ſpoiling our poor brother of his goods; his, I ſay, by the very ſame title as any thing can be ours, by the free donation of God, fully and frequently expreſſed, as we have ſeen in his holy Word. (He cannot take it away by violence or ſurreption againſt our will, but we are bound willingly to yield it up to him; to do that, were diſorder in him; to refuſe this, is wrong in us.) * 'Tis the hungry man's bread which we hoard up in our barns, 'tis his meat on which we glut, and his drink which we guzzle. 'Tis the naked man's apparel which we ſhut up in our preſſes, or which we exorbitantly ruffle and flaunt in: 'tis the needy perſon's gold and ſilver which we cloſely hide in our cheſts, or ſpend idly, or put out to uſeleſs uſe. We are in thus holding, or thus ſpending, truly πλεονέκται, not only covetous, but wrongful, or havers of more than our own, againſt the will of the right owners; plainly violating that precept of *Solomon, Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thy hand to do it.* If we are ambitious of having a property in ſomewhat, or affect to call any thing our own, 'tis only by nobly giving that we can accompliſh our deſire; that will certainly appropriate our goods to our uſe and benefit: but from baſely keeping, or vainly embezelling them, they become

Deut. 8. 13, 14, 17, 18.

Aliena rapere convincitur, qui ultra neceſſaria ſibi retinere probatur. Hieron.

Quicquid Deus pluſquam opus eſt dederit, non nobis ſpecialiter dedit, ſed per nos aliis erogandum tranſmiſit; quod ſi non dederimus, res alienas invaſimus. Aug. *Serm.* 219. *de Temp.*

* Luke 3. 11.

Proprium nemo dicat quod commune; plus quàm ſufficeret ſumptui violenter obtentum eſt. Ambroſ.

Σὺ ὁ ἐκ ἀποστερητὴς, ἃ πρὸς οἰκονομίαν ἐδέξω, ταῦτα ἴδια σαυτῷ πιέμενος; Baſ. M.

* *Noſtrum eſt (pauperes clamant) quod effunditis; nobis crudeliter ſubtrahitur, quod inaniter expenditur.* Bern. *Epiſt.* 42.

Prov. 3. 27.

Omne quod malè poſſidetur alienum eſt; malè autem poſſidet, qui malè utitur. Auguſt. *Eph.* 54.

come not our possession and enjoyment, but our theft and our bane. (These things, spoken after the holy Fathers, wise instructors in matters of piety, are to be understood with reasonable temperament, and practised with honest prudence. I cannot stand to discuss cases, and remove scruples; a pious charity will easily discern its due limits and measures, both declining perplexity, and not evading duty. The sum is, that justice towards God and man obligeth us, not to suffer our poor brother to perish, or pine away for want, when we surfeit and swim in plenty, or not to see him lack necessaries, when we are well able to relieve him.)

3. Shewing bounty and mercy are the most proper and the principal expressions of our gratitude unto God; so that in omitting them, we are not only very unjust, but highly ingrateful. Innumerable are the benefits, favours and mercies, (both common and private,) which God hath bestowed on us, and doth continually bestow: he incessantly showrs down blessings on our heads; he *daily loadeth us with his benefits*; Psal. 68. 19.
he perpetually *crowneth us with loving-kindness and tender mercies:* all Psal. 103. 4.
that we are, all that we have, all that we can hope for of good, is alone from his free bounty: our beings and lives, with all the conveniences and comforts of them, we entirely owe to him as to our Maker, our Preserver, our constant Benefactor: all the excellent privileges we enjoy, and all the glorious hopes we have as Christians, we also stand indebted for purely to his undeserved mercy and grace. And, *What shall* Psal. 116. 12.
we render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards us? Shall we render him nothing? shall we refuse him any thing? shall we boggle at making returns so inconsiderable, in regard to what he hath done for us? What is a little gold, or silver, or brass perhaps, which our poor neighbour craveth of us, in comparison to our life, our health, our reason; to all accommodations of our body, and all endowments of our mind? What are all the goods in the world to the love and favour of God, to the pardon of our sins, to the gifts of God's Spirit, to the dignity of being the children of God, and heirs of salvation; to the being freed from extreme miseries, and made capable of eternal felicity? And doth not this unexpressible goodness, do not all these inestimable benefits require some correspondent thankfulness? Are we not obliged, shall we not be willing to exhibit some real testimony thereof? And what other can we exhibit beside this? We cannot directly or immediately requite God, for he cannot so receive any thing from us; he is not capable of being himself enriched or exalted, of being any-wise pleasured or bettered by us, who is in himself infinitely sufficient, glorious, joyful and happy: *Our goodness extends not to him; A man cannot be profitable to his maker.* All Psal. 16. 2.
that we can do in this kind, is thus indirectly, in the persons of his Job 22. 2.
poor relations, to gratify him, imparting at his desire, and for his sake, somewhat of what he hath bestowed on us, upon them. Such a thankful return we owe unto God, not only for what he hath given us, but even for the capacity of giving to others; for that we are in the number of those who can afford relief, and who need not to demand it. Our very wealth and prosperous state should not seem to us so contemptible things, that we should be unwilling to render somewhat back in grateful resentment for them: the very act of giving is it self no mean benefit; (having so much of honour in it, so much of pleasure

Δός τι θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι τῶν εὖ ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἐγένου, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν εὖ παθεῖν δεομένων. Naz.

—τὸν φιλάνθρωπον ὑμνῆσαι δεσπότην, ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἡμᾶς σωφρονίζει παθήμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑτέρων παρέπεμψεν οἰκίας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἄλλους ἤγαγε θύρας. Theod. *Ep.* 30.

Εἰ δὲ μὴ νομίζεις λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον, ἢ διδόναι, μὴ παράσχῃς. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 54.

Nec enim homo Deo præstat beneficium in his quæ dederit, sed Deus his homini quæ acceperit. Salvian.

going

going with it, so much of reward following it;) we receive far more than we return in giving; for which therefore it is fit that we should return our gratitude, and consequently that we should perform these duties. For indeed without this practice, no other expression of gratitude can be true in it self, or can be acceptable to God. We may seem abundantly to thank him in words; but a sparing hand gives the lie to the fullest mouth: we may spare our breath, if we keep back our substance: for all our praising God for his goodness, and blessing him with our lips, if we will do nothing for him, if we will not part with any thing for his sake, appears meer complement, is in truth plain mockery, and vile hypocrisie.

4. Yea, which we may farther consider, all our devotion severed from a disposition of practising these duties, is no less such; cannot have any true worth in it, shall not yield any good effect from it. Our prayers, if we are uncharitably disposed, what are they other than demonstrations of egregious impudence and folly? For how can we with any face presume to ask any thing from God, when we deny him requesting a small matter from us? How can we with any reason expect any mercy from him, when we vouchfase not to shew any mercy for his sake? Can we imagine that God will hearken unto, or mind our petitions, when we are deaf to his entreaties, and regardless of his desires? No,

Prov. 21. 13. *Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard.* 'Tis his declaration to such bold and unreasonable petitioners, *When you spread forth your hands, I will not hear you; when you make many prayers, I will not hear.* No importunity, no frequency of prayers will move God in such a case; the needy man's cries and complaints will drown their noise; his sighs and groans will obstruct their passage, and stop the ears of God against them. Likewise all our semblances of repentance, all our corporal abstinences and austerities, if kind and merciful disposition are wanting, what are they truly but presumptuous dallyings, or impertinent triflings with God? For do we not grosly collude with sin, when we restrain the sensual appetites of the body, but foment the soul's more unreasonable desires? when we cure our wanton flesh, and give licence to a base spirit? Do we not palpably baffle, when in respect to God we pretend to deny our selves, yet upon urgent occasion allow him nothing? Do we not strangely prevaricate when we would seem to appease God's anger, and purchase his favour by our submissions, yet refuse to do that which he declares most pleasing to him, and most necessary to those purposes? It is an ordinary thing for men thus to serve God, and thus to delude themselves: *I have known many* (saith Saint *Basil*) *who have fasted, and prayed, and groaned, and expressed all kind of costless piety, who yet would not part with one doit to the afflicted.* Such a cheap and easie piety, which *costs us little or nothing, can surely not be worth much; and we must not conceit that the Almwise God (*the God of knowledge, by whom actions are weighed*, as *Anna* sang, and, who *weighed the spirits* also, (as the Wise-man saith) will be cheated therewith, or take it for more than its just value. No, he hath expresly signified, that he hath *not chosen* such services, nor doth take any pleasure in them: he hath called them *vain and impertinent oblations*; not *sweet* or *acceptable*, but *abominable* and *troublesome* to him, such as he *cannot away with*, and *is weary to bear*, 'Tis *religious liberality* that doth prove us to be serious and earnest in other *religious performance*;

Isa. 1. 15.

Jam. 5. 4.

Ecclus. 4. 4, 5, 6.

τί δὲ κέρδος, σωφροσύνη μετὰ ἀπανθρωπίας; &c. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 55.

Οἶδα πολλοὺς νηστεύοντας, προσευχομένους, στενάζοντας, πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδάπανον εὐλάβειαν ἐνδεικνυμένους, ὀβολὸν δὲ ἕνα μὴ προϊεμένους τοῖς θλιβομένοις. Bas. M. *in Luc.* 12. 8.

* 2 Sam. 24. 24.

1 Sam. 2. 3.

Prov. 16. 2.

Isa. 58. 5.

& 1. 13, 14.

Mic. 6. 6, 7.

Jer. 6. 20.

mances; which assures that we value matters of piety at a considerable rate; which gives a substance and solidity to our Devotions; which sanctifies our Fasts, and verifies our Penances; which renders our praises real; and our prayers effectual: so that these being combined, we may reasonably expect acceptance and recompence; and in effect to hear that from God, which by him was returned to good *Cornelius*, *Thy prayers and thine alms are come up for a memorial before God.* Acts 10. 4.

5. The conscionable practice of these duties doth plainly spring from those good dispositions of mind regarding God, which are the original grounds and fountains of all true piety; and the neglect of them issueth from those vicious dispositions which have a peculiar inconsistency with piety, being destructive thereof in the very foundation and root. Faith in God is the fundamental grace upon which piety is grounded; love and fear of God are the radical principles from which it grows: all which as the charitable man discovers in his practice, so they are apparently banished from the heart of the illiberal and unmerciful person.

As for faith, the good man, in shewing bounty, exerciseth the chief acts thereof; he freely parteth with his goods, because he trusteth on God's providence more than them; and believeth God more ready to help him, than any Creature can do, in his need: because he is persuaded that God is most good and benign, so as never to suffer him to be oppressed with want; because he taketh God to be just and faithful, who having charged him *to care for nothing*, but *to cast his care and burthen upon the Lord*, having promised to *care for him*, to *sustain him*, *never* to *leave or forsake him*, having also engaged himself to repay and recompence him for what he giveth to his poor neighbour, will not fail to make good his word: because he thinks God abundantly solvent and himself never the poorer for laying out in his behalf; because, in short, he is content to live in a dependance upon God, and at his disposal. It is mentioned by the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, as a special instance of a resolute and constant faith in the first Christians, that *they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing in themselves, that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance.* He that not forcibly by the violent rapacity of others, but voluntarily by his own free resignation for the service of God, delivereth them up with the same alacrity, opinion and hope, thereby demonstrates the same faith. But the *gripple Wretch*, who will bestow nothing on his poor brother for God's sake, is evidently an infidel, having none at all, or very heathenish conceits of God. He must be either a mere Atheist, disbelieving the existence of God; or an Epicurean, in his heart denying God's providence over humane affairs; (for did he conceive God to have any regard unto, or any influence over what passes here, how could he be afraid of wanting upon this score? how could he repose any confidence in these possessions? how could he think himself secure in such a neglect or defiance of God?) or he must be exceedingly prophane, entertaining most dishonourable and injurious apprehensions of God. He cannot but imagine God very unkind, not only in neglecting men that want his help, but in making them to suffer for spending upon his account; very unjust, in not repaying what he borrows; very unfaithful, in breaking his word; very deceitful, in gulling us of our things by fair promises of restitution and requital: Or he must apprehend God forgetful of what we do, and himself says; or that he is needy and impotent, not having wherewith to make satisfaction, not being able to make good what he pretends. He

Matth. 6. 25: Phil. 4. 6. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Psal. 55. 22. Heb. 13. 5.

Heb. 10. 34.

ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος οὐ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύει, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ χρυσίῳ, θεὸν τοῦτο ἡγούμενος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθώς. *Const. Apost.* 4. 4.

† must

must in his conceit debase God even beneath the vilest Creatures, thinking a senseless lump of clay more apt in his need to help him, than God can be with all his power and care; supposing his money safer in his own coffers than in God's hands, and that iron bars will guard it more surely than divine protection; esteeming his neighbour's bond for much better security than God's word, and that a mortal Man is far more able or more true than the eternal God. He certainly cannot think one word true that God says, being loth to trust him for a penny, for a piece of bread, or for an old garment. All God's promises of recompence, and threatnings of punishment, he takes for idle fictions: Heaven and Hell are but *Utopia*'s in his conceit; the joys of one, offered to the charitable person, are but pleasant fancies; the torments of the other, denounced to the uncharitable, but fearful dreams. All other things are but names; money and lands are the only real things unto him: all the
Habac. 2. 9. happiness he can conceive or wish is contained in bags and barns; these are the sole points of his faith, and objects of his confidence. *He makes*
Job 31. 24, *gold his hope, and saith to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence. He re-*
joyces because his wealth is great, and because his hand hath gotten much, as *Job* speaketh, disclaiming that practice in himself, and tacitly charging it on the persons we speak of. He doth in fine affect a total independency upon God, and cares to have no dealing with him; he would trust to himself, and live on in his own estate: so gross infidelity, and horrible prophaneness of mind, lie couched under this sort of vices.

As for the love of God, the liberal man declares it, in that for God's sake he is willing to part with any thing, that he values God's love and favour above all other goods; that he deems himself rich and happy
1 John. 3. 17. enough in the enjoyment of God. But, *Who hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* saith Saint *John*: that is, it is impossible he should love God; 'tis a vain conceit to think he does; 'tis a frivolous thing for him to pretend it. For how possibly can he bear in his heart any affection to God, who will not for his sake, and at his instance, part with a little worthless trash, and dirty pelf? who prizes so inconsiderable matters beyond God's favour and friendship? who prefers the keeping of his wealth, before the enjoyment of God; and chuses rather certainly to quit his whole interest in God, than to adventure a small parcel of his estate with God? His practice indeed sufficiently discovers, that his hard and stupid heart is uncapable of any love, except of a corrupt, inordinate and fond love, or dotage toward himself, since so present and
1 John 4. 20. sensible objects cannot affect him. *He that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen.*

And as to the fear and reverence of God, the liberal man expresses it in submission to God's commands, although with his own present seeming diminution and loss; in preferring the discharging of his Conscience before the retaining his Money; in casting over-board his temporal goods, that he may secure his spiritual and eternal concernments.
Psalm. 119. 127. He can say (his practice attesting to his profession) with *David*, *I love thy commandments above gold*; and, *The Law of thy mouth is dearer to*
Exod. 18. 21. *me than thousands of gold and silver*: he shews that he is *a man of truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness*; which dispositions, as having much affinity and connexion, are well joined together by *Jethro*. But the uncharitable man can have little fear of God before his eyes; since the commands of God have no efficacy on his conscience; since he dreads not the effects of divine power and justice, provoked by his disobedi-

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ence; since he deems an imaginary danger of want from giving, worse than a certain commission of sin in withholding; and is more afraid of penury here, than of damnation hereafter.

The truth is, the covetous or illiberal man is therefore uncapable of being truly pious, because his heart is possessed with vain devotion toward somewhat beside God, which in effect is his sole divinity: he is justly stiled an Idolater, for that he directs and employs the chief affections of his mind upon an Idol of clay, which he loves with all his heart, and all his soul, which he entirely confides in, which he esteems and worships above all things. It is Mammon, which of all the Competitours and Antagonists of God, invading God's right, and usurping his place, is (as our Lord intimates) the most dangerous, and desperately repugnant: where he becomes predominant, true Religion is quite excluded; *Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.* Other vitious inclinations combat Reason, and often baffle it, but seldom so vanquish it, as that a man doth approve or applaud himself in his miscarriages: but the covetous humour seizeth on our Reason it self, and seateth it self therein; inducing it to favour and countenance what is done amiss. The voluptuous man is swayed by the violence of his appetite; but the covetous is seduced by the dictate of his judgment: he therefore scraps and hoards, and lets go nothing, because he esteems wealth the best thing in the world, and then judges himself most wise, when he is most base. *Labour not to be rich, cease from thine own wisdom,* saith *Solomon*; intimating the judgment such persons are wont to make of their riches: whence of all dispositions opposite to piety, this is the most pernicious. But farther.

Coloss. 3. 5. Ephes. 5. 5.

Matt. 6. 24.

Prov. 23. 4.

6. Let us consider, that nothing is more conformable to God's nature, or renders us more like to him, than beneficence and mercy; and that consequently nothing can be more grateful to him: that nothing is more disagreeable and contrary to the essential disposition of God, than liberality and unmercifulness; and therefore that nothing can be more distasteful to him. What is any being in the world, but an efflux of his bounty, and an argument of his liberality? Look every-where about Nature, consider the whole tenour of Providence, survey all the works and scan all the actions of God, you will find them all conspiring in attestation to those sweet characters and elogies which the holy Scripture ascribeth to God, representing him to be *merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness*; to be *sorry for evil*, (incident to or inflicted upon any creature,) to *delight in mercy*, to *wait that he may be gracious*; styling him the *God of love, of peace, of hope, of patience, of all grace, and of all consolation, the father of pities, rich in mercy, and full of bowels*; affirming of him, and by manifold evidences demonstrating, that he is *benign even unto the ingrateful and evil*; that *he is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.* Nature, (I say) Providence and Revelation, do all concur in testifying this, that there is nothing in God so peculiarly admirable, nothing (as it were) so Godlike, that is, so highly venerable and amiable, as to do good and shew mercy. We therefore by liberal communication to the needy do most approach to the nature of God, and most exactly imitate his practice; acquiring to our selves thereby somewhat of divinity, and becoming little gods to our neighbour. *Nothing* (saith saint *Chrysostome*) *maketh us so near equal to God, as beneficence*: and, *Be* (saith S. *Gregory Nazianzen*)

Exod. 34. 6. Joel 2. 13. Mic. 7. 18. Isa. 30. 18. Rom. 15. 33, 15, 5. Ephes. 2. 4. 2 Cor. 13. 11. 1. 3. Jam. 5. 11. 1 Pet. 5. 10.

Luke 6. 35. Psalm 145. 9.

Θεὸς πολλῶν ὄντων ἐφ' οἷς θαυμάζεται, οὐδὲν ὅπως ὡς τὸ πάντας εὐεργετεῖν ἰδιώτατον. Naz. *Orat.* 26.

Deus est mortali, juvare mortalem. Plin. *Nat. H. lib.* 2.

Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἴσους θεῷ ποιεῖ, ὡς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν. Chrys. *in Mat. Orat.* 35.

Γένε τῷ ἀτυχοῦντι θεὸς, ἢ ἔλεον τῷ θεῷ μιμησάμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅτως ὡς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀνθρωπῳ ἔοικε θεῷ. Naz. *Orat.* 16.

Hic est vetustissimus referendi benè merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adscribantur. Plin. 2. 7.

Suscepit vita hominum, consuetudoque communis, ut beneficiis excellentes viros in cœlum famâ ac voluntate tollerent. Cic. *de N. D.* 2.

Luke 6. 35. 36.

a God to the unfortunate, imitating the mercy of God for a man hath nothing of God so much as to do good That such hath always been the common apprehension of men, the practice of all times sheweth, it that men have been ever apt to place their Benefactors among their Gods, deferring that love and veneration unto them in degree, which in perfection do appertain to the supreme Benefactor *Be merciful, as your heavenly father is merciful* so our Saviour proposeth God's mercy to us, both as a pattern directing, and as an argument inducing us to mercifulness implying it also to be a good sign declaring us the children of God, the genuine off-spring of the all-good and all-merciful Father; yea, that i even renders and constitutes us such, (we thereby coming most truly t

Matth. 5. 44, 45. represent, and most nearly to resemble him.) Our Lord farther teache us, saying, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to thos that hate you——that you may be the sons of your father which is in hea ven.* And they who thus are God's children must consequently be ver dear to him, and most gracious in his sight; he cannot but greatly lik and love himself (the best of himself) in them; he cannot but cheris and treat them well, who are the fairest and truest images of himself no spectacle can be so pleasant to him, as to see us in our practice to a

Colos. 3. 12, 13. himself, doing good to one another; *as the elect of God, holy and bel ved, putting on bowels of mercies and kindness, humbleness of mind, mee ness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one anothe*

Eph. 5. 1, 2. *even as Christ forgave us*; being *followers of God as dear children, a walking in love, even as Christ also loved us.* But on the other side, the is not in nature any thing so remotely distant from God, or so extrem ly opposite to him, as a greedy and griping niggard; Hell is scarce contrary to Heaven, as such a man's disposition to the nature of Goo for 'tis *goodness* which sits gloriously triumphant at the top of Heaver and *uncharitableness* lieth miserably groveling under the bottom of Hel Heaven descends from the one, as its principal cause; Hell is built o the other, as its main foundation: as the one approximates the bless Angels to God, and beatifies them; so the other removeth the curse Fiends to such a distance from God and happiness: not to wish, not t do any good, is that which renders them both so bad, and so wretched and whoever in his conditions is so like to them, and in his practice l agrees with them, cannot but also be very odious to God, and extremel unhappy. God cannot but abhor so base a degeneration from his like ness in those who by nature are his children, and should be farther suc according to his gracious design; neither can any thing more offend hi eyes, than seeing them to use one another unkindly. So that if obtain ing the certain favour of the great God, with all the benefits attendin it, seem considerable to us; or if we think it advisable to shun his dis pleasure, with its sad effects; it concerns us to practice these duties. S I conclude that sort of considerations, enforcing these duties, which mor immediately regard God.

III. Head of discourse. Farther, before we deny our relief to our poor neighbour, let us wit the eyes of our mind look on him, and attentively consider who he i what he is in himself, and what he is in relation unto us. [*The right ous considereth the cause of the poor; but the wicked regardeth not to kno it,* Prov. 29. 7. *Blessed is he that considereth the poor,* Psal. 41. 1.]

1. He whose need craves our bounty, whose misery demands our mercy, what is he? He is not truly so mean and sorry a thing, as the disguise of misfortune, under which he appears, doth represent him. He who looks so deformedly and dismally, who to outward sight is so ill bestead, and so pitifully accoutred, hath latent in him much of admirable beauty and glory. He within himself containeth a nature very excellent; an immortal soul, and an intelligent mind, by which he nearly resembleth God himself, and is comparable to Angels: he invisibly is owner of endowments rendring him capable of the greatest and best things. What are money and lands? what are silk and fine linen? what are horses and hounds in comparison to reason, to wisdom, to vertue, to religion, which he hath, or (in despight of all misfortune) he may have if he please? He whom you behold so dejectedly sneaking, in so despicable a garb, so destitute of all convenience and comfort, (lying in the dust, naked or clad with rags, meager with hunger or pain,) he comes of a most high and heavenly extraction: he was born a prince, the son of the greatest King eternal; he can truly call the Sovereign Lord of all the world his father, having derived his soul from the mouth, having had his body formed by the hands of God himself. (In this, *The rich* Prov. 22. 2. *and poor*, as the Wise-man saith, *do meet together*; *the Lord is the maker of them all.*) That same forlorn wretch, whom we are so apt to despise and trample upon, was framed and constituted Lord of the visible world; Gen. 1. 28. had all the goodly brightnesses of Heaven, and all the costly furnitures of earth created to serve him. (*Thou madest him* (saith the *Psalmist* of Psal. 8. 6. man) *to have dominion over the works of thine hands*; *thou hast put all things under his feet.*) Yea, he was made an inhabitant of Paradise, and possessor of felicities superlative; had immortal life and endless joy in his hand, did enjoy the entire favour and friendship of the most High. Such in worth of nature and nobleness of birth he is, as a Man: and highly more considerable he is, as a Christian. For, as vile and contemptible as he looks, God hath so regarded and prized him, as for his sake to descend from Heaven, to cloath himself with flesh, to assume the form of a servant; for his good to undertake and undergo the greatest inconveniencies, infirmities, wants and disgraces, the most grievous troubles and most sharp pains incident to mortal nature. God hath adopted him to be his child; the Son of God hath deigned to call him brother: he is a member of *Christ*, a temple of the holy Ghost, a free denizon of the heavenly City, an heir of Salvation, and candidate of eternal Glory. The greatest and richest Personage is not capable of better privileges than God hath granted him, or of higher preferments than God hath designed him to. He equally with the mightiest Prince is the object of God's especial providence and grace, of his continual regard and care, of his fatherly love and affection; *who*, as good *Elihu* saith, *accepteth not the persons of princes, nor regardeth the rich more than the* Job 34. 19. *poor*; *for they are all the work of his hands.* In fine, this poor creature whom thou seest is a Man, and a Christian, thine equal, whoever thou art, in nature, and thy peer in condition: I say not, in the uncertain and unstable gifts of fortune, not in this worldly state, which is very inconsiderable; but in gifts vastly more precious, in title to an estate infinitely more rich and excellent. Yea, if thou art thin and proud, be sober and humble; he is thy better, in true dignity much to be preferred before

---ἐννόησον, ὅτι ὁμοίως σοι ἐλεύθερός ἐστι, καὶ ἡ αὐτῆς σοι κοινωνεῖ εὐγενείας, καὶ πάντα σοι κοινὰ κέκτηται. Chrys. *in Heb. Orat.* 2.

Οἱ πόθεν οὖν ἐν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς τοσαύτην ἔχοντες ἰσοτιμίαν, πόθεν μέγα φρονεῖτε; ὅτι ὁ δεῖνα πλούσιος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα ἰσχυρός; Chrys. *in Eph.* 4. 4. *in Joh. Orat* 15.

Ἡ τῷ πνεύματι χάρις ὁμοτίμους ποιεῖ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους. Naz. *Orat.* 23.

Eccles. 10. 24. Prov. 28. 6. thee, far, in real wealth surpassing thee: *Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that is perverse in his ways, though he be rich.*

2. That distinction which thou standest upon, and which seemeth so vast between thy poor neighbour and thee, what is it? whence did it come? whither tends it? it is not any-wise natural, or according to primitive design: for as all men are in faculties and endowments of nature equal, so were they all originally equal in condition, all wealthy and happy, all constituted in a most prosperous and plentiful estate; all things at first were promiscuously exposed to the use and enjoyment of all, every one from the common stock assuming as his own what he needed. Inequality and private interest in things (together with sicknesses and pains, together with all other infelicities and inconveniences) were the by-blows of our fall: Sin introduced these degrees and distances; it devised the names of rich and poor; it begot these ingrossings and inclosures of things; it forged those two small pestilent words, *meum* and *tuum*, which have engendred so much strife among men, and created so much mischief in the world: these preternatural distinctions were (I say) brooded by our fault, and are in great part fostered and maintained thereby; for were we generally so good, so just, so charitable as we should be they could hardly subsist, especially in that measure they do. God indeed (for promoting some good ends, and for prevention of some mischiefs, apt to spring from our ill nature in this our lapsed state particularly to prevent the strife and disorder which scrambling would cause among men, presuming on equal right, and parity of force) doth suffer them in some manner to continue, and enjoyns us a contented submission to them: but we mistake, if we think that natural equality and community are in effect quite taken away; or that all the world is so cantonized among some few, that the rest have no share therein. No, every man hath still a competent patrimony due to him, and a sufficient provision made for his tolerable subsistence. God hath brought no man hither to be necessarily starved, or pinched with extreme want; but hath assigned to every one a child's portion, in some fair way to be obtained by him, either by legal right, or by humble request, which according to conscience ought to have effect. No man therefore is allowed to detain, or to destroy superfluously what another man apparently wants, but is obliged to impart it to him: so that rich men are indeed but the treasurers, the stewards, the caterers of God for the rest of men, having a strict charge to *dispence unto every one his meat in due season*, and no just privilege to withhold it from any: the honour of distribution is conferred on them, as a reward of their fidelity and care; the right of enjoyment is reserved to the poor, as a provision for their necessity. Thus hath God wisely projected, that all his children should both effectually and quietly be provided for; and that none of them should be oppressed with penury; so that (as Saint *Paul* hath it 2 Cor. 8. 14. *One man's abundance shall supply another man's want, that there may be an equality*: for since no man can enjoy more than he needs, and every man should have so much as he needs, there can be really no great inequality

Πενία καὶ πλοῦτος, ἐλευθερία τε, καὶ φαμλὴ, καὶ δουλεία, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀπὸ ὀνομάτων, ὕστερον ἐπισυνῆλθεν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥσπερ ἀῤῥωστήματα τῇ κακίᾳ συνεισπεσόντα, κακεύνης ὄντα ὑπηνοήματα. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 6.

Τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ σὸν, τοῦτο τὸ, ψυχρὸν ῥῆμα, καὶ μυρίους πολέμους εἰς τὸν οἰκουμένην εἰσαγαγὸν, &c. Chryl. *Tom.* 5. λογ. νδ'. & *in Act.* 2. 47.

Natura omnia omnibus in commune profudit; sic enim Deus generari jussit omnia, ut pastus omnibus communis esset, & terra foret omnium quædam communis possessio. Natura igitur jus commune generavit, usurpatio jus fecit privatum. Amb. *Offic.* 1. 28.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν μὴ ἀκριβείας τοῦτο ἐφυλάττετο, ἢ δουλοῦ, ἢν ἐλευθερῶ ἑαυτὸν, ἢν ἄρχων, ἢν ἀρχόμενος, ἢ πλούσιος, ἢ πένης, ἢ μικρὸς, ἢ μέγας, ἢ διάβολος ἂν ἐγνώσθη ποτέ. Chrysost. *in* 1 *Cor. Orat.* 32.

Ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἐν θεάτρῳ θεὰν καταλαβὼν εἶτα εἰσίοι τὰς ἐπισιόνλας ἴδιον ἑαυτῷ κεῖνον τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι κτῆσιν χρῆσιν προχείμενον· τοιοῦτοί εἰσι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι· τὰ κοινὰ προκαταλαβόντες ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι διὰ τῶν πρόληψιν. Basil. M.

Incassum se innocentes putant, qui commune Dei munus sibi privatum vindicant. Greg. M.

Matt. 24. 45. Luke 12. 42.

quality among men; the distinction will scarce remain other-where than in fancy. What the Philosopher said of himself, *What I have is so mine, that it is every man's*, is according to the practice of each man, who is truly and in due measure charitable; whereby that seemingly enormous * discrimination among men is well moderated, and the equity of divine Providence is vindicated. But he that ravenously graspes for more than he can well use, and gripes it fast into his clutches, so that the needy in their distress cannot come by it, doth pervert that equity which God hath established in things, defeats his good intention, (so far as he can) and brings a scandal on his Providence; and so doing is highly both injurious and impious.

Ego mea sic habeo, ut omnium sint. Demetrius *apud* Sen. *de Benef.* VII. 10.

* Ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὸ πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν, ἀδύνατον πλουσιώτερον κέκτηται τὸ πλησίον. Basil. *M.*

3. It was also (which we should consider) even one main end of this difference among us, permitted and ordered by God's Providence, that as some mens industry and patience might be exercised by their poverty, so other men by their wealth should have ability of practising justice and charity; that so both rich and poor might thence become capable of recompences, suitable to the worth of such virtuous performances. *Why art thou rich* (saith Saint Basil) *and he poor? Surely for this; That thou mayst attain the reward of benignity, and faithful dispensation; and that he may be honoured with the great prize of patience.* God in making thee rich, would have thee to be a double benefactour, not only to thy poor neighbour, but also to thy self, whilst thou bestowest relief on him, purchasing a reward to thy self. God also by this order of things designs, that a charitable entercourse should be maintained among men, mutually pleasant and beneficial; the rich kindly obliging the poor, and the poor gratefully serving the rich. Wherefore by neglecting these duties, we unadvisedly cross the good purpose of God toward us, depriving our selves of the chief advantages our wealth may afford.

Διὰ τί σὺ μὲν πλεῖς, ἐκεῖνος δὲ πένεται; ἢ πάντως ἵνα σὺ χρηστότητος καὶ πίστεως οἰκονομίας μισθὸν ὑποδέξῃ, κἀκεῖνος τοῖς μεγάλοις ἄθλοις τῆς ὑπομονῆς τιμηθῇ. Basil. M.

Πλεῖστον καὶ πενίαν, τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διένειμεν ὁ θεὸς ὅλων δημιουργός τε καὶ πρύτανις ἐκ ἀδίκῳ ψήφῳ χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀφορμὰς ὠφελείας τοῖς πλουσίοις παρέχων τῆς πενήτων τιμῆς ἕνδειαν. Theod. *Epist.* 23.

4. We should also do well to consider, that a poor man, even as such, is not to be disregarded, and that poverty it self is no such contemptible thing as we may be prone to imagine: there are considerations, which may qualify poverty even to dispute the place with wealth, and to claim precedence to it: If the world vulgarly doth account, and call the rich man happy, a better Authour hath pronounced the poor man such: *Blessed are the poor*, doth march in the van of the beatitudes, and a reason goeth along therewith, which asserteth its right to the place, *for theirs is the kingdom of heaven*; for that they are not only in an equal capacity as men, but in a nearer disposition as poor, to the acquisition of that blissful state; for that poverty (the mistress of sobriety and honest industry, the mother of humility and patience, the nurse of all vertue) renders men more willing to go, and more expedite in the way toward Heaven; by it also we conform to the Son of God himself, the Heir of eternal Majesty, the Saviour of the World, *who for our sake became poor*, (δι' ἡμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε, for our sake became a beggar) *that we through his poverty* (or beggary) *might become rich*: he willingly chose, he especially dignified and sanctified that depth of poverty, which we so proudly slight and loath. The greatest princes and potentates in the world, the most wealthy and haughty of us all, but for one poor beggar had been irrecoverably miserable: to poverty it is, that every one of us doth owe all the possibility there is, all the hopes we can have of our salvation; and shall we then ingratefully requite it with scorn, or with pitiless neglect?

Luke 6. 20.

2 Cor. 8. 9.

Dedignatur aliquis paupertatem, cujus tam claræ imagines sunt? Sen. *Consol. ad Helv.* 12.

lect? shall we presume in the person of any poor man, to abhor or contemn the very poor, but most holy and most happy *JESUS*, our Lord and redeemer? No; if we will do poverty right, we must rather for his dear sake and memory defer an especial respect and veneration thereto.

Nemo est in genere humano, cui non dilectio, etsi non pro mutua charitate, pro ipsa tamen communis naturæ societate debetur. Aug. *Epist.* 121. Act. 17. 26. Οἰκεῖον πᾶς ἄνθωπος ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ φίλον: Arist. Ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις πάθεσι θεραπευτέον τὸ συγγενὲς, καὶ ὁμόδουλον. Greg. Naz.

5. Thus a due reflexion on the poor man himself, his nature and state, will induce us to succour: but let us also consider him as related unto our selves: Every such person is our near kinsman, is our brother, is by indissoluble bands of cognation in blood, and agreement in nature knit and united to us. We are all but several streams issuing from one source, several twigs sprouting from one stock; *One blood*, derived through several chanels; one substance, by miraculous efficacy of the Divine benediction, multiplied or dilated unto several times and places. We are all fashioned according to the same original Idea, resembling God our common Father; we are all indowed with the same faculties, inclinations and affections; we all conspire in the same essential ingredients of our constitution, and in the more notable adjuncts thereof; it is only some inconsiderable accidents, (such as age, place, figure, stature, colour, garb) which diversify and distinguish us; in which, according to successions of time and chance, we commonly no less differ from our selves, than we do at present from them: so that in effect and reasonable esteem, every man is not only our brother, but (as *Aristotle* saith of a friend) ἄλλος αὐτὸς, *another ones self*; is not only our most lively image, but in a manner our very substance; another our self under a small variation of present circumstances: the most of distinction between us and our poor neighbour, consists in exteriour shew, in moveable attire, in casual appendages to the nature of man; so that really when we use him well, we are kind to our selves; when we yield him courteous regard, we bear respect to our own nature; when we feed and comfort him, we do sustain and cherish a member of our own body: but when we are cruel or harsh to him, we abuse our selves; when we scorn him, we lay disparagement and disgrace on mankind it self; when we withhold succour or sustenance from him, we do (as the Prophet speaketh) *hide our selves from our own flesh*; we starve a part of our own body, and wither a branch of our stock: immoderate selfishness so blindeth us, that we oversee and forget our selves: it is in this, as it is in other good senses, true what the Wise-man saith, *The merciful man doeth good to his own soul; but he that is cruel, troubleth his own flesh.*

Nihil est unum uni tam simile, tam par, quàm omnes inter nosmetipsos sumus. Cic. *de Leg.* 1.

Isa. 58. 7.

Prov. 11. 17.

6. Farther, as the poor man is so nearly allied to us by society of common nature, so is he more strictly joined to us by the bands of spiritual consanguinity. All Christians (high and low, rich and poor) are children of the same heavenly Father, spring from the same incorruptible seed, are regenerated to the same lively hope, are co-heirs of the same heavenly inheritance; are all members of one body, *(members,* saith Saint *Paul, one of another)* and animated by one holy spirit: which relation, as it is the most noble, and most close that can be, so it should breed the greatest endearments, and should express it self in correspondent effects; it should render us full of affection and sympathy one toward another; it should make us to tender the needs, and feel the sufferings of any Christian as our own; it should dispose us freely to communicate whatever we have, how precious soever, to any of our brethren; this holy friendship should establish a charitable equality and community among us, both in point of honour and of estate: for since all

Rom. 12. 5. *Are all one;* Gal. 3. 28. πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστι ἐν χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. Chrys. *in Joh. Orat.* 15. Φίλων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ὁιτινες φίλοι ὀρθῶς πεφύκασ' ἀλλὰ κοινὰ χρήματα. Eurip. Androm.

all things considerable are common unto us, since we are all purchased and purified by the same precious blood, since we all partake of the same precious faith, of the same high calling, of the same honourable privileges, of the same glorious promises and hopes; since we all have the same Lord and Saviour; why should these secular trifles be so private and particular among us? Why should not so huge a parity in those only valuable things not wholly (I say not in worldly state, or outward appearance, such as the preservation of order in secular affairs requireth, but) in our opinion and affection extinguish that slight distinction of *rich* and *poor*, in concernments temporal? How can we slight so noble, so great a personage as a Christian, for wanting a little dross? How can we deem our selves much his superiour, upon so petty an advantage, for having that, which is not worth speaking or thinking of, in comparison to what he enjoyeth? Our Lord himself is not ashamed to call the least among us his brother, and his friend; and shall we then disdain to yield to such an one the regard, and treatment sutable to such a quality? Shall we not honour any brother of our Lord? shall we not be civil and kind to any friend of his? If we do not, how can we pretend to bear any true respect or affection unto himself? It is his express precept, that the greatest among us should, in imitation of his most humble and charitable self, be ready to serve the meanest; and, that we should *in honour prefer one another*, and *in lowliness of mind esteem others better than our selves*, are Apostolical Rules, extending indifferently to rich and poor, which are plainly violated by disregarding the poor. Yea, this relation should, according to Saint *John*'s doctrine, dispose us not only freely to impart these temporal goods, but even, if occasion be, willingly to expose our very lives for our brethren: *Hereby*, saith he, *we perceive the love of God, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought to lay down our lives for our brethren.* How greatly then are they deficient from their duty, how little in truth are they Christians, who are unwilling to part with the very superfluities and excrements of their fortune for the relief of a poor Christian? Thus considering our brother, may breed in us charitable dispositions toward him, and induce us to the practice of these duties.

Coloss. 3. 11. Heb. 2. 11. Matt. 25. 40. Joh. 15. 14. Matt. 20. 26. Rom. 12. 10. Phil. 2. 3. 1 Joh. 3. 16.

Moreover, if we reflect upon our selves, and consider either our nature, or our state here, we cannot but observe many strong engagements to the same practice. IV. Head of discourse.

1. The very constitution, frame and temper of our nature, directeth and inclineth us thereto; whence by observing those duties, we observe our own nature, we improve it, we advance it to the best perfection it is capable of; by neglecting them, we thwart, we impair, we debase the same —*hæc nostri pars optima sensus*; The best of our natural inclinations (those sacred reliques of God's Image originally stamped on our minds) do sensibly prompt, and vehemently urge us to mercy and pity: the very same bowels, which in our own want do by a lively sense of pain inform us thereof, and instigate us to provide for its relief, do also grievously resent the distresses of another, admonishing us thereby, and provoking us to yield him succour. Such is the natural sympathy between men, (discernible in all, but appearing most vigorous in the best natures) that we cannot see, cannot hear of, yea can hardly imagine the calamities of other men, without being somewhat disturbed, and afflicted our selves. As also nature, to the acts requisite toward preservation of our life, hath annexed a sensible pleasure, forcibly enticing us to the performance of them: so hath she made the communication

Juven. Sat. 15. —*Mutuus ut nos Affectus petere auxilium & prastare juberet.* Juven. 16. Φιλόστοργον καὶ συμπαθὲς τὸ περὶ ἀνθρώπων γένος. Arch. ad Mon. 852.

of

of benefits to others, to be accompanied with a very delicious relish upon the mind of him that practises it; nothing indeed carrying with it a more pure and savory delight than beneficence. A man may be vertuously voluptuous, and a laudable Epicure by doing much good; for to receive good, even in the judgment of *Epicurus* himself, (the great patron of pleasure) is no-wise so pleasant as to do it: God and Nature therefore within us do solicite the poor man's case; even our own ease and satisfaction demand from us compassion and kindness towards him; by exercising them, we hearken to Nature's wise disciplines, and comply with her kindly instincts; we cherish good humour, and sweeten our complexion; so ennobling our minds, we become not only more like to God, but more perfectly men; by the contrary practice we rebel against the Laws, and pervert the due course of our Nature; we do weaken, corrupt and stifle that which is best in us; we harden and stupify our souls; so monstrously degenerating from the perfection of our kind, and becoming rather like savage beasts, than sociable men; yea, somewhat worse perhaps than many beasts; for commonly Brutes will combine to the succour of one another, they will defend and help those of the same kind.

Ἐπίκουρος τὸ εὖ πάσχειν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναι φησί Plut. *de Philos. conv. cum Princ.*

2. And if the sensitive part within us doth suggest so much, the rational dictates more unto us; that heavenly faculty, having capacities so wide, and so mighty energies, was surely not created to serve mean or narrow designs; it was not given us to scrape eternally in earth, or to amass heaps of clay for private enjoyment; for the service of one puisne creature, for the sustenance or satisfaction of a single carcase: 'tis much below an intelligent person to weary himself with servil toils, and distract his mind with ignoble cares for concernments so low and scanty; but to regard and pursue the common good of men; to dispense, advise and aid, where need requires, to diffuse its virtue all about in beneficial effects; these are operations worthy of reason, these are employments congruous to the native excellency of that Divine power implanted in us; such performances declare indeed what a man is, whence he sprang, and whither he tends.

3. Farther, examining our selves, we may also observe, that we are in reality, what our poor neighbour appears to be, in many respects no less indigent and impotent than he: we no less, yea far more, for our subsistence depend upon the arbitrary bounty of another, than he seemeth to relie upon ours. We as defectible creatures do continually want support; we as grevious sinners do always need mercy, every moment we are contracting huge debts, far beyond our ability to discharge; debts of gratitude for benefits received, debts of guilt for offences committed; we therefore perpetually stand obliged to be craving for mercy and relief at the gates of Heaven. We all, from Prince to Peasant, live merely upon alms, and are most really in condition beggars: *to pray always*, is a duty incumbent on us from the condition of our nature, as well as by the command of God. Such a likeness in state should therefore dispose us to succour our fellows, and δανείζειν θεῷ ἔλεον ἐλέου χρήζοντας, *to lend mercy to God, who need mercy from him*, as the good Father speaketh. We should (as the Apostle advises and argues) *Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being our selves also in the body*; as being companions in necessity, or subject to the like distress. If we daily receive mercy and relief, yet unmindful of our obligation to God, refuse them to others, shall we not deserve to hear that dreadful exprobration, *O thou wicked servant,*

Greg. Naz.

Heb. 13. 3.

Matt. 18. 32, 33.

ervant, I forgave thee all that debt because thou desiredst me; should-st not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had ity on thee?

4. The great incertainty, and instability of our condition, doth also equire our consideration. We that now flourish in a fair and full estate, nay soon be in the case of that poor creature, who now sues for our re-ief; we that this day enjoy the wealth of *Job*, may the morrow need is patience; there are *Sabeans*, which may come and drive away our attle; there are tempests, which may arise, and smite down our hou-es; there is a fire of God, which may fall from Heaven, and consume ur substance; a messenger of all these mischiefs may, for all we know, e presently at our doors; it happened so to a better man than we, as un-xpectedly and with as small ground to fear it, as it can arrive to us: all ur wealth is surrounded with dangers, and exposed to casualties innu-nerable; violence may snatch it from us, treachery may cheat us of it; nischance may seize thereon, a secret moth may devour it; the wisdom f Providence for our trial, or its justice for our punishment, may be-eave us thereof; its own light and fluid nature (if no other accounta-le causes were apparent) might easily serve to waft it from us; for, *Riches* (saith the Wise-man) *make themselves wings*, (they it seems do eed no help for that) *and fly away like as an eagle toward heaven*; that , of their own accord they do swiftly convey themselves away, out of ur sight, and beyond our reach: they are but wind, *What profit* (says e Preacher) *hath he that laboureth for the wind?* for wind, that is, for thing which can no-wise be fixed or setled in one corner; which therefore is a vanity to conceive, that we can surely appropriate, or long retain. low then can we think to stand firm, upon a place so slippery? How n we build any confidence on a bottom so loose and brittle? How can e suffer our minds to be swell'd up, like bubbles, with vain conceit, the breath of such things, more fleeting and vertiginous than any r? against the precepts of the wisest and best men: *If riches increase*, ith the Psalmist, *set not your heart* on them: *Wilt thou set thine eyes on that which is not?* saith the Wise-man: (that is, wilt thou regard at which is so transitory and evanid, that it hardly may be deemed re-; which we can scarce look on, before it is gone?) and, *Charge them* aith Saint *Paul*) *that are rich in this world, that they be not high-mind-, nor trust in uncertain riches:* (ἐπὶ πλούτου ἀδηλότητι, in the obscu-ty, or inevidence of riches; things which we can never plainly discern ow long we shall keep them, how much we can enjoy them) what ould make us unwilling with certain advantages to our selves, freely let that go, which presently without our leave may forsake us? How n we reasonably judge our case much different from that of the poor-t body, whenas in a trice we may perhaps change places and persons; hen the scene turning, he may be advanced unto our wealth, we may depressed into his want? since every age yieldeth instances of some *Crœsus*, some *Polycrates*, some *Pompey*, some *Job*, some *Nebuchodonosor*, ho within a small compass of time doth appear to all men the object th of admiration and pity, is to the less-wise the mark both of envy d scorn; seeing every day presenteth unexpected vicissitudes, the a of humane affairs continually ebbing and flowing, now rolling on is, now on the other shore its restless waves of profit and credit; since pecially there is a God, who arbitrarily disposeth things, and with a rn of his hand changeth the state of men; who, as the Scripture saith, *aketh rich and poor, bringeth low and lifteth up; poureth contempt upon princes;*

Ὅμως δ' ἔνεστι τοῖσιν εὖ Σκοπουμένοις ταρβεῖν τὴν εὖ πρᾶσσοντα μὴ Σφαλῆ ποτέ. Sophin. Trachi.

Prov. 23. 5.

Eccles. 5. 21.

Plal. 62. 10.

Prov. 23. 5.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐσχότης ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη ὧν καὶ ἄκοντες ἐξίστασθαι μέλλομεν ἑτέροις, τούτων μὴ μεταδοῦναι ἑκόντας τοῖς δεομένοις. Chrys. Tom. 5. Orat. 55.

Sejanus--*quo die illum Senatus deduxerat, populus in frusta divisit.* Sen. *de tranq.* 2.

1 Sam. 2. 7.

Job 12. 21.

Psal. 107. 41. 113. 7. *princes; raiseth the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the beggar from the dunghil, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory*: seeing, I say, apparently such is the condition of things here, that we may soon need his pity and help, who now requesteth ours, why should we not be very ready to afford them to him? why should we not gladly embrace our opportunity, and use our turn well; becoming aforehand with others, and preventing their reciprocal contempt or neglect of us hereafter; *Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days; give a portion to seven, and also unto eight, for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth*: that is, considering the inconstancy and uncertainty of affairs here, and what adversity may befall thee, be liberal upon all occasions, and thou shalt (even a good while after) find returns of thy liberality upon thee: so the Wise-man advises, and so wisdom certainly dictates that we should do.

Eccles. 11. 1.

5. And equity doth exact no less: for were any of us in the needy man's plight, (as easily we may be reduced thereto) we should believe our case deserved commiseration; we should importunately demand relief, we should be grievously displeased at a repulse; we should apprehend our selves very hardly dealt with, and sadly we should complain of inhumanity and cruelty, if succour were refused to us. In all equity therefore we should be apt to minister the same to others; for nothing can be more unreasonable or unjust, than to require or expect that from another, which in a like case we are unwilling to render unto him; it is a plain deviation from that fundamental rule, which is the base of all justice; and virtually the sum (as our Saviour telleth us) of whatever is prescribed us: *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.* I add that, upon these considerations, by unmerciful dealing, we put ourselves into a very bad and tickliſh condition; wholly depending upon the constancy of that which is most inconstant; so that if our fortune do fail, we can neither reasonably hope for, nor justly pretend to any relief or comfort from others. *He that doeth good turns is mindful of that which may come hereafter, and when he falleth he shall find stay.*

Beneficium qui dare nescit, injustè petit. Laber. Mim.

Matt. 7. 12.

Eccles. 3. 31.

6. We should also remember concerning our selves, that we are mortal and frail. Were we immortal, or could we probably retain our possessions for ever in our hands; yea, could we foresee some definite space of time, considerably long, in which we might assuredly enjoy our stores, it might seem somewhat excusable to scrape hard, and to hold fast; to do so might look like rational providence: but since *Riches are not for ever, nor doth the crown endure to all generations,* (as the Wise-man speaketh) since they must infallibly be soon left, and there is no certainty of keeping them for any time; 'tis very unaccountable why we should so greedily seek them, and hug them so fondly. *The rich man* (saith Saint *James*) *as the flower of the grass, shall pass away*: it is his special doom *to fade away* suddenly; it is obvious why in many respects he is somewhat more than others obnoxious to the fatal stroke and upon special accounts of justice he may be farther more exposed thereto; considering the case of the rich fool in the Gospel, we may easily discern them; we should reckon, that it may happen to us, as it did there to him; that after we have reared great barns, and *stored up much goods for many years*, our *soul this very night* may be *required of us*: however, if it be uncertain when, it is most certain, that after a very short time our thred will be spun out; then shall we be rifled, and quite strip

Prov. 27. 24.

Jam. 1. 10, 11.

Luke 12. 20.

1 Tim. 6. 7. Eccles. 5. 15. Job 1. 21.

ſtript of all; becoming ſtark naked, as when we came into the world: we ſhall not carry with us one grain of our gliſtering metals, or one rag of our gaudy ſtuff; our ſtately houſes, our fine gardens, and our ſpacious walks, muſt all be exchanged for a cloſe hole under-ground; we muſt for ever bid farewel to our pomps and magnificences, to our feaſts Iſa. 14. 11. and jollities, to our ſports and paſtimes; not one of all our numerous and ſplendid retinue; no companion of our pleaſure, no admirer of our fortune, no flatterer of our vices can wait upon us; deſolate and unattended we muſt go down to the chambers of darkneſs; then ſhall we find, that to die rich (as men are wont improperly to ſpeak) is really to die moſt poor; that to have carefully kept our money, is to have loſt it utterly; that by leaving much, we do indeed leave worſe than nothing: To have been wealthy, if we have been illiberal and unmerciful, will be no advantage or ſatisfaction to us after we are gone hence; yea, it will be the cauſe of huge damage, and bitter regret unto us. All our treaſures will not procure us any favour, or purchaſe one advocate for us in that impartial world; yea, it ſhall be they which will there proſecute us with clamorous accuſations, will bear ſore teſtimony againſt us, Jam. 5. 3. Luk. 16. 25. (*The ruſt of them*, ſaith Saint *James*, *ſhall be a witneſs againſt us*, ſignifying our unjuſt or uncharitable detention of them) will obtain a moſt heavy ſentence upon us; they will render our audit more difficult, and enflame our reckoning; they will aggravate the guilt of our ſins with imputations of unfaithfulneſs and ingratitude; ſo with their load they will preſs us deeper into perdition: to omit, that having ſo ill managed them, we ſhall leave them behind us as marks of obloquy, and monuments of infamy upon our memories; for ordinarily of ſuch a rich perſon it is true, that *Job* ſays of him, *Men ſhall clap their hands at him, and ſhall hiſs him out of his place*; like one, who departs from off this ſtage, after having very ill acted his part. Is it not therefore infinitely better to prevent this being neceſſarily and unprofitably deprived of our goods, by ſeaſonably diſpoſing them ſo, as may conduce to our benefit, and our comfort, and our honour; being very indifferent and unconcerned in our affection toward them; modeſt and humble in our conceits about them; moderate and ſober in our enjoyments of them; contented upon any reaſonable occaſion to loſe or leave them; and eſpecially moſt ready to diſpenſe them in that beſt way, which God hath preſcribed, according to the exigencies of humanity and charity? By thus ordering our riches, we ſhall render them benefits and bleſſings to us; we ſhall by them procure ſure friendſhip and favour, great worſhip and reſpect in the other world; having ſo lived (in the exerciſe of bounty and mercy) we ſhall truly die rich, and in effect carry all our goods along with us, or rather we have thereby ſent them before us; having, like wiſe Merchants, tranſmitted and drawn them by a moſt ſafe conveyance into our Country and Home; where infallibly we ſhall find them, and with everlaſting content enjoy them. So conſidering our ſelves, and our ſtate, will diſpoſe us to the practice of theſe duties.

Jam. 5. 3. Luk. 16. 25. 6. 24. 12. 21. Matt. 25. 30. Jam. 5. 5. 1 Tim. 6. 9. Job. 27. 19, 23.

Τῆς γὰρ ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας ἐστὶν ἀφεῖναί τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀναπομεῖναι ἐνταῦθα, ἡμῶν μικρὸν ὕστερον μελλόντων ἐντεῦθεν ἀποδημεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ὅπερ ἀπολειφθῇ ζημία γίνεται πάντα τοίνυν ἐκεῖ προπεμπέσθω, ἔνθα καὶ ἡμεῖς διατρίβειν μέλλομεν λοιπόν. Chryſ. *Tom.* 5. *Cr.* 54.

Luke 16. 9.

Furthermore, if we contemplate our wealth it ſelf, we may therein deſcry great motives to bounty. V. Head of diſcourſe.

1. Thus to employ our riches, is really the beſt uſe they are capable of; not only the moſt innocent, moſt worthy, moſt plauſible; but the moſt ſafe, moſt pleaſant, moſt advantageous, and conſequently in all reſpects moſt prudent way of diſpoſing them. To keep them cloſe

without using or enjoying them at all, is a most sottish extravagance, or a strange kind of madness; a man thence affecting to be rich, quite impoverisheth himself, dispossesseth himself of all, and alienateth from himself his estate: his gold is no more his, than when it was in the *Indies*, or lay hid in the Mines; his corn is no more his, than if it stood growing in *Arabia* or *China*; he is no more owner of his lands, than he is master of *Jerusalem*, or *Grand-Cairo*: for what difference is there, whether distance of place or baseness of mind sever things from him? whether his own heart, or another man's hand detain them from his use? whether he hath them not at all, or hath them to no purpose? whether one is a beggar out of necessity, or by choice? is pressed to want, or a volunteer thereto? Such a one may fancy himself rich, and others, as wise as himself, may repute him so; but so distracted persons to themselves and to one another do seem great princes, and stile themselves such; with as much reason almost he might pretend to be wise, or to be good. Riches are χρήματα, things whose nature consists in usefulness; abstract that, they become nothing, things of no consideration or value; he that hath them, is no more concerned in them than he that hath them not: it is the heart and skill to use affluence of things wisely and nobly, which makes it wealth, and constitutes him rich that hath it; otherwise the chests may be cramm'd, and the barns stuffed full, while the man is miserably poor and beggarly; 'tis in this sense true, which the Wise-man says, *There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing.* But the very having riches (will such a man say) is matter of reputation; men do esteem and honour him that hath them: true, if he knows how, and hath the mind to use them well, otherwise all the credit they yield consists in making their master ridiculous to wise men, and infamous among all men: but, putting case that any should be so foolish as to respect us merely for seeming rich, why should we accommodate our practice to their vain opinion or be base our selves because others are not wise? But however, (may he say again) it is a pleasant thing to see them; a heap of gold is the most lovely spectacle that one can behold; it does a man's heart good to view an abundance of good things about him. For this plea indeed he hath a good Author; this it should seem was all the benefit the Wise man observed in them, accruing to such persons: *What good, saith he is there to the owners thereof, saving the beholding of them with their eyes?* But if this be all they are good for, it is, one would think, a very slim benefit they afford, little able to ballance the pain and care requisite to the acquist and custody of them; a benefit indeed not proper to the possessor, for any one may look on them as well as he, or on the like; any one at pleasure may enjoy better sights; all the riches and ornaments of Nature, the glorious splendours of Heaven, and the sweet beauties of the Field, are exposed to common view; the choicest magnificences and gallantries of the world, do studiously present themselves to every man's eye; these in part every man truly may appropriate to himself; and by imagination any man can as well take all that he see for his own, as the tenacious miser doth fancy his dear pelf to be his.

But mine heir (perhaps he will farther say) will thank me, will praise me, will bless me for my great care and providence: If he doth what is that to thee? Nothing of that will concern thee, or can reach thee; thou shalt not hear what he says, or feel any good from what he does: And most probably thou art mistaken in thy opinion concerning him

Σχοπιζόμενος ὁ πλοῦτος πέφυκε παραμυθεῖν, συνεχόμενος ἀλλοτειοῦται. Basil. M.

Tam deest avaro quod habet, quam quod non habet.

Καὶ γὰρ χρήματα διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται, ἐχ ἵνα κατορύξωμεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰς δέον αὐτοῖς χρησώμεθα. Chrysost. *in Mat. Orat.* 49.

Desunt inopi multa, avaro omnia. Sen. *Epist.* 108.

Prov. 13. 7.

Eccles. 5. 11.

him; as thou *knoweſt not who* he ſhall be, *that ſhall gather all thou heapeſt up*, or *ſhall rule over all thy labour*, (*whether he ſhall be a wiſe man or a fool*, a kinſman or a ſtranger, a friend or a foe) ſo thou canſt as little gueſs what he will think or ſay: If he hath wit, he may ſweetly laugh at thee for thy fond wiſdom; if he hath none, his commendations will little adorn thy memory; he will to thy diſgrace ſpend what thou leaveſt, as vainly as thou didſt get or keep it. But (this to be ſure he will in the end ſay for himſelf) money is a good reſerve againſt neceſſary occaſions, or bad times that may come; againſt the time of old age, of ſickneſs, of adverſity; 'tis the ſureſt friend a man can have in ſuch caſes, which, when all fails, will be ready to help him: *The rich man's wealth is his ſtrong city*; the Wiſe-man he thinks never ſpake more wiſely; he therefore will not diſmantle this fortreſs, but will keep it well ſtored, letting therefore his wealth lie dead and uſeleſs by him; but, (to let paſs now the prophane infidelity of this plea, excluding all hope in God, and ſubſtituting our providence in the room of his) what a folly is it, thus to anticipate evil, and to create to our ſelves a preſent adverſity from a ſuſpicion of one future; to pinch our ſelves now, leſt we ſhould ſuffer hereafter; to pine to day, becauſe we can imagine it poſſible that we may ſtarve to morrow; to forego certain occaſions of enjoying our goods, for that perchance the like occaſions may happen one day, we know not when; not to uſe things now, when reaſon bids us, becauſe they may be uſeful at another time? Not conſidering alſo, that many intervenient accidents, more probably than a moderate and handſome uſe of our wealth, may crop the excreſcencies thereof.

Pſal. 39. 6. Eccleſ. 2. 19. Prov. 10. 15.

2. But ſetting aſide theſe abſurd excuſes of penuriouſneſs, we may conſider, that ſecluding the good uſe of them in beneficence, riches are very impertinent, very cumberſome, very dangerous, very miſchievous things; either ſuperfluous toys, or troubleſome clogs, or treacherous ſnares, or rather all theſe in combination, productive of trouble, ſorrow and ſin. A ſmall pittance will, and muſt ſuffice to all reaſonable purpoſes, to ſatisfy our neceſſities, to procure conveniences, to yield innocent delight and eaſe: our nature doth not require, nor cannot bear much: (*Take heed and beware of covetouſneſs*, ſaith our Lord, *for a man's life conſiſteth not in the abundance of the things which he poſſeſſeth*; that is, a man may live well without it:) all the reſt, ſetting beneficence apart, can only ſerve vanity or vice, will make us really fools or ſlaves. (*They that will be rich*, (ſaith the Apoſtle) *fall into temptations and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men into deſtruction and perdition.*) They puff up our minds with vain and falſe conceits; making us, as if we were in a dream or frenzy, to take our ſelves for other perſons, more great, more wiſe, more good, more happy than we are; for conſtantly, as the Wiſe-man obſerved, *The rich man is wiſe in his own conceit*; *Great men are not always wiſe*. And *Agur* thus intimates in his prayer, *Remove far from me vanity and lies, give me neither poverty nor riches*. They render us inſenſible and forgetful of God, of our ſelves, of piety and vertue, of all that is good and worthy of us: (*Leſt I be full*, ſaid that good man again, aſſigning a reaſon why he deprecated being rich, *and deny thee, and ſay, who is the Lord?*) they ſwallow up our thoughts, our affections, our endeavours, our time and leiſure, poſſeſſing our hearts with a doting love unto them, (excluding other good affections) diſtracting our minds with anxious cares about them, (choaking other good

Luke 12. 15. 1 Tim. 6. 8. *Corporis exigua deſideria ſunt; frigus ſubmovere vult, alimentis famem ac ſitim extinguere; quicquid extra concupiſcitur, vitiis, non uſibus laboratur.* Sen. *Conſ. ad Helv.* 9.

1 Tim. 6. 9. Prov. 28. 11. Job 32. 9. Prov. 30. 8. Prov. 30. 9. Matt. 6. 24. Eccleſ. 31. 1. Matt. 13. 22. Luke 10 41. 2 Tim. 2. 4.

good thoughts) encumbring all our life with business about them, (inconsistent with due attention to our other more weighty and necessary concernments) filling our heads with suspicions, and fears, piercing our hearts with troubles and sorrows; they immerse our souls in all the follies of pride, in all the filths of luxury, in all the mischiefs emergent from sloath and stupidity; they are *the root of all evils* unto us, and the greatest obstructions of our true happiness, rendring Salvation almost impossible, and Heaven in a manner inaccessible to us: so that to be rich, (if severed from a sober mind, and a free heart) is a great disease, and the source of many grievous distempers both of body and mind; from which we cannot well otherwise secure or rescue our selves, than by liberally spending them in works of bounty and mercy: so shall we ease our selves of the burthens, so shall we elude the temptations, so shall we abandon the vices, and so shall we escape all the sad mischiefs incident to them: Thus to use wealth, shall turn it into a convenience, and an ornament of our lives, into a considerable blessing, and a ground of much comfort to us. Excluding this use of wealth, or abstracting a capacity of doing good therewith, nothing is more pitiful and despicable than it; it is but like the load, or the trappings of an Ass; a wise man on that condition would not chuse it, or endure to be pestered with it; but would serve it, as those Philosophers did, who flung it away, that it might not disturb their contemplations: 'tis the power it affords of benefiting men, which only can season, and ingratiate it to the relish of such a person; otherwise it is evidently true, which the Wise-man affirms, *Prov.* 15. 16. *Better is a little with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure, and trouble therewith.*

1 Tim. 6. 10. Jam. 5. 5. Luke 16. 19. 1 Tim. 6. 10. Matt. 19. 23, 24.

Ἀποφόρτισαί τι τῆς ὑψὸς, ἵνα πέλῃς κουφότερος. Naz. Or 27.

3. Again, we may consider, that to dispense our wealth liberally, is the best way to preserve it, and to continue masters thereof; what we give, is not thrown away, but saved from danger; † while we detain it at home, (as it seems to us) it really is abroad, and at adventures; it is out at Sea, sailing perilously in storms, near rocks and shelves; amongst Pirates; nor can it ever be safe, till it is brought into this port, or ensured this way; * when we have bestowed it on the poor, then we have lodged it in unquestionable safety; in a place where no rapine, no deceipt, no mishap, no corruption can ever by any means come at it. All our doors and bars, all our Forces and guards, all the circumspection and vigilancy we can use, are no defence or security at all in comparison to this disposal thereof: The poor man's stomach is a granary for our corn, which never can be exhausted; the poor man's back is a wardrobe for our cloaths, which never can be pillaged, the poor man's pocket is a bank for our money, which never can disappoint or deceive us; all the rich traders in the world may decay and break, but the poor man can never fail, except God himself turn Bankrupt; for what we give to the poor, we deliver and entrust in his hands, out of which no force can wring it, no craft can filch it; it is laid up in Heaven, whither no thief can climb, where no moth or rust do abide. In despight of all the fortune, of all the might, of all the malice in the world, the liberal man will ever be rich; for God's providence is his estate; God's wisdom and power are his defence; God's love and favour are his reward; God's word is his assurance; who hath said

† Μηδὲ νόμιζε τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ἀνάλυμα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πρόσοδον, μηδὲ δαπάνην, ἀλλὰ πραγματείαν, μείζω γὰρ λαμβάνεις. ἢ δίδως, &c. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 208.

* Μὴ τοίνυν φειδώμεθα χρημάτων, μᾶλλον δὲ φειδώμεθα τῶν χρημάτων· ὁ γὰρ φειδόμενος τῶν ὄντων εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων χεῖρας, αὐτὰ ἐναποτίθεται, εἰς τὴν ἄσυλον θεσαυρὸν καὶ λῃστᾶις καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ συκοφάνταις κακούργοις, καὶ πάσαις ἐφόδοις ἀνάλωτον. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 55.

Multi Sancti, & Sanctæ omnimodo caventes ipsas velut matres deliciarum divitias dispergendo pauperibus abjecerunt, & tali modo in cœlestibus thesauros tutius condiderunt. Aug. *Ep.* 121.

ſaid it, that *He which giveth to the poor, ſhall not lack*; no viciſſitude therefore of things can ſurprize him, or find him unfurniſhed; no diſaſter can impoveriſh him, no adverſity can overwhelm him; he hath a certain reſerve againſt all times and occaſions: He that *deviſeth liberal things, by liberal things ſhall he ſtand,* (ſaith the Prophet.) But on the other hand, being niggardly is the likelieſt courſe we can take to loſe our wealth and eſtate; we thereby expoſe them to danger, and leave them defenceleſs; we ſubject them to the envious eye, to the ſlanderous tongue, to the ravenous and inſidious hand; we deprive them of Divine protection, which if it be away, *The watch-man waketh but in vain*: We provoke God irrecoverably to take it from us, as he did the Talent from that unprofitable ſervant, who did not uſe it well. We do indeed thereby yield God juſt cauſe of war, and enmity againſt us; which being, *Omnia dat qui juſta negat*; we do forfeit all to Divine juſtice, by denying that portion which belongs to him, and which he claims. Can we hope to live in quiet poſſeſſion of any thing, if we refuſe to pay our due tributes and taxes impoſed upon us by our Almighty Sovereign; if we live in ſuch rebellion againſt his authority, ſuch violation of his right, ſuch diffidence to his word? No: *He that truſteth in his riches, ſhall fall, but the righteous ſhall flouriſh as a branch*: ſuch is the difference between the covetous and the liberal in point of ſecurity and ſucceſs concerning their eſtate.

Prov. 28. 27. Iſa. 32. 8. Pſal. 127. 1. Prov. 11. 28.

Even according to the humane and ordinary way of eſteeming things, (abſtracting from the ſpecial providence of God) the liberal perſon hath in conſequence of his bounty, more real ſecurity for his wealth, than this world hath any other: He thereby gets an intereſt in the gratitude and affection of thoſe whom he obligeth, together with the good-will and reſpect of all men, who are ſpectatours of his vertuous and generous dealing: the hearts and memories of men are repoſitories to him of a treaſure, which nothing can extort from him, or defraud him of. If any miſchance ſhould arrive, or any want come near him, all men would be ready to commiſerate him, every man would haſten to his ſuccour. As when a haughty, a greedy, or a gripple man do fall into calamity or diſgrace, ſcarce any one regardeth or pitieth him: Fortune deſerting ſuch a perſon, carries all with it, few or none ſtick to him, his moſt zealous flatterers are commonly the firſt that forſake him, contempt and neglect are the only adherents to his condition; that of the Wiſeman appears verified, *He that hideth his eyes from the poor, ſhall have many a curſe*: ſo the courteous and bountiful perſon, when fortune ſeems to frown on him, hath a ſure refuge in the good-will and eſteem of men; all men, upon the accounts of honour and honeſty, take themſelves to be concerned in his caſe, and engaged to favour him; even thoſe, who before were ſtrangers, become then his friends, and in effect diſcover their affection to him; it, in the common judgment of people, appears an indignity and a diſgrace to mankind, that ſuch a man ſhould want or ſuffer.

Mirariſ cuni tu argento poſt omnia ponas, Si nemo præſtet quem non merearis amorem. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 1. Prov. 28. 27.

4. Nay farther we may conſider, that exerciſing bounty is the moſt advantageous method of improving and increaſing an eſtate; but that being tenacious and illiberal, doth tend to the diminution and decay thereof. The way to obtain a great encreaſe, is to ſow much: he that ſows little, how can he expect a good crop? It is as true in ſpiritual husbandry, as in the others; that *what a man ſoweth that he ſhall reap*, both in kind, and according to proportion: So that great Husband-man Saint *Paul* aſſureth us, *He that ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly*; Gal. 6. 7, 8. 2 Cor. 9. 6, 10.

† *but*

but he that soweth bountifully, shall also reap bountifully: and *Solomon*
Prov. 11. 18. means the same, when he saith, *To him that soweth righteousness, shall be a sure reward.* The way to gain abundantly is, you know well, to trade boldly; he that will not adventure any thing considerable, how can he think of a large return? *Honour the Lord with thy substance, so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine*, Prov. 3. 9, 10. 'Tis so likewise in the evangelical negotiations; if we put out much upon score of conscience or charity, we shall be sure to profit much. Liberality is the most beneficial traffick that can be; it is bringing our wares to the best market; it is letting out our money into the best hands; we thereby lend our money to God, who repays with vast usury; an hundred to one is the rate he allows at present, and above a hundred millions to one he will render hereafter; so that if you will be Merchants this way, you shall be sure to thrive, you cannot fail to grow
Prov. 11. 25. rich most easily and speedily: *The liberal soul shall be made fat, and he that watereth shall be watered himself:* This is that which Saint *Paul*
Phil. 4. 17. again argues upon, when commending the *Philippians* free kindness toward him, he says, *Not because I desire a gift, but I desire fruit that may abound to your account.* Bounty yields καρπὸν πλεονάζοντα, a fruit that multiplies and abundantly turns to good account; it indeed procuring God's benediction, the fountain of all desirable plenty and prosperity:
Prov. 10. 22. for, *The blessing of the Lord it maketh rich, and he addeth no sorrow with it.* It is therefore the greatest want of policy, the worst ill-husbandry and unthriftiness that can be, to be sparing this way; he that useth it, cannot be thriving; he must spend upon the main stock, and may be sure to get nothing considerable. God ordinarily so proceeds, as to recompence and retaliate men in the same kind, wherein they endeavour to please him, or presume to offend him; so that for them who freely offer him their goods, he in regard thereto will prosper their dealings,
Deut. 15. 10. and bless their estates: (*For this very thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto*, says *Moses*) but they who will not lay out any thing for him, he will not con-
Psal. 73. 17. cern himself in their success otherwise than to cross it, or (which is worse) to curse it: for if he seem to favour them for a time with some prosperity in their affairs, their condition is much worse thereby, their account will be more grievous, and their fate more disastrous in the end.

5. Farther, the contributing part of our goods to the poor, will qualify us to enjoy the rest with satisfaction and comfort. The oblation of these first-fruits, as it will sanctify the whole lump of our estate, so it will sweeten it; having offered this well-pleasing sacrifice of piety, having discharged this debt of justice, having paid this tribute of gratitude, our hearts being at rest, and our conscience well satisfied, we shall,
Acts 2. 46. like those good people in the Acts, *eat our meat with gladness, and singleness of heart*; to see the poor man by our means accommodated, eased and refreshed, will give a delicious relish to all our enjoyments. But withholding his portion from the poor, as it will pollute and profane all our estate, so it will render the fruition thereof sowre or unsavory to us: for can we with any content taste our dainties, or view our plenties, while the poor man stands in sight pining with hunger? Can we without regret see our walls cloathed with tapestry, our horses deckt with golden trappings, our attendants strutting in wanton gaiety, while our honest poor brother appears half naked, and trembling with cold? Can we carry on

Ἐγγὺς ὁ πένης, εἰς τοῦτον ἀπέρευξαί τι τῶν περιττῶν, τὶ καί σου κάμνεις ἀπεπτῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' πεινῶν, καὶ σὺ κραιπαλῶν καὶ τοῦτ' ὑδεριῶν, καὶ σὺ κάρῳ βαρύνων, καὶ τοῦτ' περιτρεπόμενος νόσῳ; Nazian. *Orat.* 27.

† one

one finger enough to furnish ten poor people with necessaries, and have the heart within us, without shame and displeasure, to see them want? No; the sense of our impiety and ingratitude toward God, of our inhumanity and unworthiness toward our neighbour, will not fail (if ever we considerately reflect on our behaviour) to sting us with cruel remorse and self-condemnation; the clamours of want and misery surrounding us, will pierce our ears, and wound our hearts; the frequent objects of pity and mercy, do what we can to banish them from our prospect or regard, will so assail, and so pursue us, as to disturb the freedom of our enjoyments, to quash the briskness of our mirth, to allay the sweetness of our pleasure; yea rather, if stupidity and obduration have not seized on us, to imbitter all unto us; we shall feel that true, which *Zophar* speaks of the cruel and covetous oppressor, *Surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly,——he shall not rejoyce in his substance,——in the fullness of his sufficiency he shall be in straights.* Job. 20. 18, 20, 22.

6. I shall touch but one consideration more, persuasive of this practice; it is this: The peculiar nature of our Religion specially requires it, and the honour thereof exacts it from us; nothing better suits Christianity, nothing more graces it, than liberality; nothing is more inconsistent therewith, or more disparageth it, than being miserable and sordid. A Christian niggard is the veriest nonsense that can be; for, What is a Christian? What but a Man, who adores God alone, who loves God above all things, who repose all his trust and confidence in God? What is he, but one who undertaketh to imitate the most good and bountiful God, to follow, as the best pattern of his practice, the most benign and charitable *JESUS*, the Son of God; to obey the Laws of God, and his *Christ*, the sum and substance of which is charity; half whose Religion doth consist in loving his neighbour as himself? What is he farther, but one who hath renounced this world, with all the vain pomps and pleasures of it; who professes himself in disposition and affection of mind to forsake all things for *Christ*'s sake; who pretends little to value, affect, or care for any thing under Heaven; having all his main concernments and treasures, his heart, his hopes, and his happiness in another world? Such is a Christian; and what is a Niggard? All things quite contrary: One whose practice manifestly shews him to worship another thing beside, and before God; to love Mammon above God, and more to confide in it, than in him; One who bears small good-will, kindness or pity toward his brother; who is little affected or concerned with things future or celestial; whose mind and heart are rivetted to this world; whose hopes and happinesses are settled here below; whose soul is deeply immersed and buried in earth; One who, according to constant habit, notoriously breaketh the two great heads of Christian duty, *Loving God with all his heart, and his neighbour as himself*: It is therefore, by comparing those things, very plain, that we pretend to reconcile gross contradictions and inconsistences, if we profess our selves to be Christians, and are illiberal. It is indeed the special grace and glory of our Religion, that it consisteth not in barren speculations, or empty formalities, or forward professions; not in fancying curiously, or speaking zealously, or looking demurely; but in really producing sensible fruits of goodness; in doing (as Saint Paul signifies) *things good and profitable unto men*, such as those chiefly Tit. 3. 8. are of which we speak. The most gracious wisdom of God hath so modelled our Religion, that according to it piety and charity are the same thing; that we can never express ovr selves more dutiful toward him,

or better pleaſe him, or more truly glorify him, than when we are kind and good to our poor brother. We groſly miſtake, if we take giving of alms to be a Jewiſh or Popiſh practice, ſuitable to children and dullards in Religion, beneath ſo refined, ſo improved, ſo loftily ſpiritual gallants as we: No, 'tis a duty moſt properly, and moſt highly Chriſtian, as none more, a moſt goodly fruit of grace, and a moſt faithful mark
2 Cor. 9. 13. thereof: *By the experiment of this miniſtration, we* (as Saint *Paul* ſaith) *glorify God for our profeſſed ſubjection unto the goſpel of Chriſt, and for our liberal diſtribution unto our brethren and unto all men:* without it our faith is dead and ſenſeleſs; our high-attainments are fond preſumptions; our fine notions and delicate ſpiritualities are in truth but ſilly dreams, the iſſues of a proud and ignorant fancy: he that appears hard-hearted and cloſe-fiſted towards his needy brother, let him think or call himſelf what he pleaſeth, he plainly is no Chriſtian, but a blemiſh, a reproach, and a ſcandal to that honourable name.

7. To all theſe conſiderations and reaſons inducing to the practice of this kind of charity, I might ſubjoin examples, and ſet before you the faireſt copies that can be imagined thereof. We have for it the pattern
Jam. 1. 5,17. of God himſelf, who is infinitely munificent and merciful; *from whom*
Acts 17. 25. *every good and perfect gift deſcendeth; who giveth life, and breath, and*
2 Cor. 8. 9. *all things unto all*; who *giveth liberally and upbraideth not.* We have the example of the Son of God, who out of pure charity did freely part with the riches and glories of eternity, voluntarily embracing extreme poverty and want for our ſake, that we who were poor, might be en-
Acts 10. 38. riched; we that were miſerable might become happy; who *went about doing good*; ſpent all his life in painful diſpenſation of beneficence, and relieving the needs of men in every kind. We have the bleſſed Patriarchs to follow, who at God's pleaſure and call did readily leave their country, their friends, their goods, and all they had. We have the
Matt. 19. 27. practice of the holy Apoſtles, who freely *let go all to follow their Lord*; who chearfully ſuſtained all ſorts of loſſes, diſgraces and pains, for promoting the honour of God, and procuring good unto men: we have to move and encourage us hereto the firſt and beſt Chriſtians, moſt full of grace and holy zeal, who
Act. 4. 34,35. *ſo many as were poſſeſſors of lands and houſes did ſell them*, and did impart the price of them to the community, *ſo that there was none poor among them*, and that *diſtribution was made to every one as he had need.* We have all the Saints and eminent ſervants of God in all times, who have been high and wonderful in the performance of theſe duties. I could tell you of the bleſſed Martyr Saint *Cyprian*, who was liberal by whole-ſale, beſtowing all at once, a fair eſtate
Pontius *in vit.* Cypr. on God and the poor; of the renowned Biſhop Saint *Baſil*, who conſtantly waited on the ſick, and kiſſed their ſores; of the moſt pious Con-
Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 40. feſſor Saint *Martin*, who having but one coat left, and ſeeing a poor
Sulp. Sever. man that wanted cloaths, tore it in two pieces, and gave one to the *poor man*; and many like inſtances out of authentick hiſtory might be produced, apt to provoke our imitation: I might alſo, to beget emulation and ſhame in us, repreſent exemplary practices of humanity and charity even in Jews, Mahometans and Pagans, (ſuch as in theſe cold days might paſs for more than ordinary among us) but I ſhall only propound one preſent and ſenſible example, that of this noble City, who publick bounty and charity in all kinds, (in education of orphans, in curing the diſeaſed both in body and mind, in proviſion for the poor, in relieving all ſorts of neceſſities and miſeries) let me earneſtly intreat and exhort us all for God's ſake, as we are able, by our private charity

imitat.

imitate, to encourage, and to assist; let us do this so much the more willingly and freely, as the sad circumstances of things, by God's judgments brought upon us, do plainly require, that the publick charity it self (lying under so great impediments, discouragements and distresses) should be supported, supplied, and relieved by particular liberality. No words that I can devise will be so apt to affect and move you, as the case it self, if you please to consider it: hear it therefore speaking, and, I pray, with a pious and charitable disposition of mind attend thereto:

A true Report, &c.

For this excellent pattern of pious bounty and mercy, let us heartily thank Almighty God: let us humbly implore God's blessing on the future management of it; let us pay due respects to the worthy promoters thereof, and pray for rewards upon them answerable to their charitable care and industry employed therein; let us also according to our ability perform our duty in following and furthering it: for encouragement to which practice, give me leave briefly to reflect upon the latter part of my Text; which represents some instances of the felicity proper to a bountiful person, or some rewards peculiar to the exercising the duties of bounty and mercy.

The first is, *His righteousness endureth for ever.* These words are capable of various senses, or of divers respects; they may import that the fame and remembrance of his bounty is very durable, or that the effects thereof do lastingly continue, or that eternal rewards are designed thereto, they may respect the bountiful man himself, or his posterity here; they may simply relate to an endurance in God's regard and care; or they may with that also comprehend a continuance in the good memory, and honourable mention of men. Now in truth according to all these interpretations, the bountiful man's righteousness doth endure for ever, that is, very lastingly, (or so long as the special nature of the case doth bear) in any sense; or for an absolute perpetuity in some sense: the words in their plenitude do naturally and without straining involve so many truths; none of which therefore we think fit to exclude, but shall briefly touch them all.

1. As for future reputation and fame, (which that it in part is intended here, that which precedes, *The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance*, doth argue) it is evident, that it peculiarly attends upon this practice: the bountiful person is especially that *just* man, whose *memory is blessed*, (is μετ' ἐγκωμίων, as the Greek renders it; that is, is prosecuted with commendations and praises.) No voices can so embalm a man, no monument can so preserve his name and memory, as works of beneficence; no other fame is comparably so precious, or truly glorious, as that which grows from thence: The renown of power and prowess, of wit or learning, of any wisdom or skill, may dwell in the fancies of men with some admiration: but the remembrance of bounty reigns in their hearts with cordial esteem and affection; there erecting immoveable trophies over death and oblivion, and thence spreading it self through the tongues of men with sincere and sprightly commendations. The bountiful man's very dust is fragrant, and his grave venerable; his name is never men- Prov. 10. 7.

tioned without reſpect; his actions have always theſe beſt Echoes, with innumerable iterations reſounding after them: *His goods ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and the congregation ſhall declare his alms*, Eccleſ. 31. 11. This was a true friend to mankind; This was a real benefactor to the world; This was a man good in earneſt, and pious to good purpoſe.

2. The effects of his righteouſneſs are likewiſe very durable: When he is departed hence, and in perſon is no more ſeen, he remains viſible and ſenſible in the footſteps and fruits of his goodneſs; the poor ſtill beholds him preſent in the ſubſiſtence of himſelf, and his Family; the ſick-man feels him in the refreſhment, which he yet enjoys by his proviſion; he ſupervives in the heart of the afflicted, which ſtill reſents the comfort, and rejoyces in the eaſe which he procured him; all the world derives benefit from him by the edification it receiveth from his example; Religion obtaineth profit and ornament, God himſelf enjoyeth glory and praiſe from his righteouſneſs.

3. His righteouſneſs alſo endureth in reſpect to his poſterity. It is an uſual plea for tenacity and parſimony, that care muſt be had of poſterity, that enough muſt be provided and laid up for the family: But in truth this is a very abſurd excuſe, and doing according thereto, is a very prepoſterous method of proceeding toward that end; it is really the greateſt improvidence in that reſpect, and the trueſt neglect that can be of our children: for ſo doing, together with a ſeeming eſtate we entail a real curſe upon them; we diveſt them of God's protection and benediction, (the only ſure preſervatives of an eſtate) we leave them heirs of nothing ſo much as of puniſhments due to our ingratitude, our infidelity, our impiety and injuſtice both toward God and man: whereas by liberally beſtowing on the poor, we demiſe unto them God's bleſſing, which is the beſt inheritance; we recommend them to God's ſpecial care, which is the beſt tuition; we leave them God's protection and providence, which are a wealth indefectible and inexhauſtible; we conſtitute God their guardian, who will moſt faithfully manage, and moſt wiſely improve their ſubſtance, both that which we leave to them, and that which we gave for them to the poor; we thereby in good part entitle them to the rewards appropriate to our pious charity, our faith, our gratitude, our ſelf-denial, our juſtice, to whatever of good is vertually contained in our acts of bounty; to omit the honour and good-will of men, which conſtantly adhere to the bountiful man's houſe and family. *Prov.* 13. 22. *A good man leaveth an Inheritance to his childrens children.* It is therefore expreſly mentioned in Scripture as a recompence peculiar to this vertue that ſecurity from want, and all happineſs do attend the poſterity of the bountiful perſon: *He is ever merciful and lendeth, and his ſeed is bleſſed*, ſaith *David* of him generally; and *David* alſo particularly obſerved, that in all the courſe of his long life, he could find no exception to the rule: *I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not ſeen the righteous forſaken, nor his ſeed begging their bread.*

Pſal. 37. 25, 26.

Pſal. 112. 2, 3.

4. His righteouſneſs alſo endureth for ever in the perpetual favour of God, and in the eternal rewards which God will confer upon him who out of conſcience and reverence toward God, out of good-will and kindneſs toward his brother hath diſperſed, and given to the poor. *God will not* (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *be unjuſt to forget his labour of love*

Heb. 6. 10.

rity in miniſtring to his poor brother: from the ſeed which he *hath ſown to the ſpirit*, he ſhall aſſuredly reap a moſt plentiful crop of bleſſings ſpiritual; he ſhall effectually enjoy *the good foundation* that he hath *ſtored up*: for the goods he hath ſold and delivered, he ſhall *bonâ fide* receive his bargain, *the hidden treaſure*, and *precious pearl* of eternal life; for this beſt improvement of his talent of worldly riches, he ſhall hear the *Euge bone ſerve, Well done good and faithful ſervant, enter into thy maſter's joy*: he ſhall at laſt find God infinitely more bountiful to him, than he hath been unto the poor.

Gal. 6. 8.
1 Tim. 6. 19.
Matt. 13. 46.
Matt. 25, 21, 26.

Thus when all the flaſhes of ſenſual pleaſure are quite extinct; when all the flowers of ſecular glory are withered away; when all earthly treaſures are buried in darkneſs; when this world, and all the faſhion of it, are utterly vaniſhed and gone, the bountiful man's ſtate will be ſtill firm and flouriſhing, and *His righteouſneſs ſhall endure for ever.*

It follows, *His horn ſhall be exalted with honour*: A horn is an emblem of power; for in it the beaſts ſtrength, offenſive and defenſive, doth conſiſt; and of plenty, for it hath within it a capacity apt to contain what is put into it; and of ſanctity, for that in it was put the holy oyl, with which Kings were conſecrated; and of dignity, both in conſequence upon the reaſons mentioned, (as denoting might, and influence, and ſacredneſs accompanying ſovereign dignity) and becauſe alſo it is an eſpecial beauty and ornament to the Creature which hath it; ſo that this expreſſion (*His horn ſhall be exalted with honour*) may be ſuppoſed to import, that an abundance of high, and holy, of firm and ſolid honour ſhall attend upon the bountiful perſon. And that ſo it truly ſhall, may from many conſiderations appear.

1 Sam. 16. 13.
1 King. 1. 39.

1. Honour is inſeparably annexed thereto as its natural companion and ſhadow. God hath impreſſed upon all vertue a majeſty and a beauty, which do command reſpect, and with a kindly violence extort veneration from men; ſuch is the natural conſtitution of our ſouls, that as our ſenſe neceſſarily liketh what is fair and ſweet, ſo our mind unavoidably will eſteem what is vertuous and worthy; all good actions as ſuch, are honourable, but of all vertues beneficence doth with moſt unqueſtionable right claim honour, and with irreſiſtible force procures it; as it is indeed the moſt divine of vertues, ſo men are moſt apt to venerate them, whom they obſerve eminently to practiſe it. Other vertues men ſee, and approve as goodly to the ſight, but this they taſte and feel; this by moſt ſenſible experience they find to be pleaſant and profitable, and cannot therefore but highly prize it. They, who *do their alms before men*, although out of an unworthy vain glorious deſign, *have* yet, as our Saviour intimates, *their reward*; they fail not to get honour thereby; and even ſo have no bad penny-worth: for, in the Wiſe-man's judgment, *A good name is rather to be choſen than great riches*, they receive at leaſt fine air for groſs earth; and things very ſpiritual, for things moſt material; they obtain that which every man doth naturally deſire and prize, for that which only faſhion in ſome places endeareth, and commandeth: they get the end for the means, for ſcarce any man ſeeketh wealth for it ſelf, but either for honour, or for vertues ſake, that he may live creditably, or may do good therewith: neceſſity is ſerved with a little, pleaſure may be ſatisfied with a competence; abundance is required only to ſupport honour or promote good; and honour by a natural connexion adhereth to bounty. *He that followeth after righteouſneſs and mercy, findeth life, righteouſneſs and honour*, Prov. 21. 21.

Φιλοῦνται σχεδὸν μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέστεροι τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῆς, ὠφέλιμοι γὰρ. Ariſt.
Matt. 6. 1.
Prov. 21. 21.
Αἱ γὰρ δυναστείαι καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος διὰ τὴν τιμὴν ἐστὶν αἱρετά Ariſt.

2. But

2. But farther, an acceſſion of honour according to gracious promiſe, (grounded upon ſomewhat of ſpecial reaſon, of equity and decency in the thing it ſelf) is due from God unto the bountiful perſon, and is by ſpecial providence ſurely conferred on him. There is no kind of piety, or inſtance of obedience, whereby God himſelf is more ſignally honoured, than by this. Theſe are chiefly thoſe *good works*, the which Matt. 5. 16. *men ſeeing*, are apt to *glorify our father which is in heaven*; Phil. 1. 11. *Being filled with the fruits of righteouſneſs, which are by Chriſt Jeſus, to the glory, and praiſe of God.* To theſe fruits that is moſt applicable, which our Lord ſaith, *Hereby is my father glorified, if you bear much* Joh. 15. 8. *fruit*: for, as, *He that oppreſſeth the poor, reproacheth his maker*; ſo *he* Prov. 14. 31. *honoureth him, that hath mercy on the poor.* The comfortable experience of good in this ſort of actions, will moſt readily diſpoſe men to admire and commend the excellecy, the wiſdom, the goodneſs of the Divine Laws, will therefore procure God hearty praiſe, and thanks for them: For, as Saint *Paul* teacheth us, *The adminiſtration of this ſervice not on-* 2 Cor. 9. 11, 12, 13. *ly ſupplyeth the want of the ſaints, but is abundant alſo by many thankſgivings unto God; whilſt by experiment of this miniſtration, they glorify God for your profeſſed ſubjection unto the Goſpel of Chriſt, and for your liberal diſtribution unto them, and unto all men.* Since then God is ſo peculiarly honoured by this practice, it is but equal and fit, that God ſhould remunerate it with honour; God's noble goodneſs will not let him ſeem defective in any ſort of beneficial correſpondence toward us, we ſhall never be able to yield him any kind of good thing in duty, which he will not be more apt to render us in grace; they who (as *Solomon* ſpeaketh, Prov. 3. 9. *honour God with their ſubſtance*, ſhall by God certainly be honoured with his bleſſing: reaſon intimates ſo much, and we beſide have God's expreſs word for it; *Them* (ſaith he) *who honour me, I will honour.* He 1 Sam. 2. 30. that abſolutely and independently is the fountain of all honour, *from* 1 Chron. 29. 12. *whom* (as good King *David* ſaith) *riches and honour cometh*, for that *he reigneth over all*, he will aſſuredly prefer and dignify thoſe, who have been at ſpecial care and coſt to advance his honour. He that hath the Prov. 21. 1. *hearts of all men in his hands*, and *faſhioneth them* as he pleaſeth, will Pſal. 33. 15. raiſe the bountiful man in the judgments and affections of men. He that ordereth all the events of things, and diſpoſeth ſucceſs as he thinks fit, will cauſe the bountiful perſon's enterprizes to proſper, and come off with credit. He will not ſuffer the reputation of ſo real an honourer of himſelf to be extremely ſlurr'd by diſaſter, to be blaſted by ſlander, to be ſupplanted by envy or malice; but will *bring forth his righte-* Pſal. 37. 6. *ouſneſs as the light, and his judgment as the noon-day.*

3. God will thus exalt the bountiful man's horn even here in this world, and to an infinitely higher pitch he will advance it in the future ſtate: He ſhall there be ſet at the right hand, in a moſt honourable place and rank; among the chief friends and favourites of the heavenly King: in happy conſortſhip with the holy Angels, and bleſſed Saints where, in recompence of his pious bounty, he ſhall from the bountiful hands of his moſt gracious Lord receive *an incorruptible crown of righte-* *ouſneſs*, and *an unfading crown of glory*: The which God of his infinite mercy grant unto us all, through *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord; to whom for ever be all praiſe. *Amen.*

Heb. 13. 20. *Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jeſus that great Shepherd of the ſheep, through the blood of the everlaſting Covenant make us perfect in every good work to do his will, working in us that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight, through Jeſus Chriſt: To whom be glory for ever and ever.* Amen.

SER

SERMON XXXII.

A Sermon upon the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour.

PHIL. 2. 8.

And being found in faſhion as a man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Croſs.

WHen, in conſequence of the original apoſtacy from God, which did baniſh us from Paradiſe, and by continued rebellions againſt him, inevitable to our corrupt and impotent nature, mankind had forfeited the amity of God, (the chief of all goods, the fountain of all happineſs,) and had incurred his diſpleaſure, (the greateſt of all evils, the foundation of all miſery:)

When poor man, having deſerted his natural Lord and Protector, *other Lords had got dominion over him*, ſo that he was captivated by the foul, malicious, cruel Spirits, and enſlaved to his own vain mind, to vile luſts, to wild paſſions:

When, according to an eternal rule of juſtice, that ſin deſerveth puniſhment, and by an expreſs Law, wherein death was enacted to the tranſgreſſours of God's command, the root of our ſtock, and conſequently all its branches ſtood adjudged to utter deſtruction:

When, according to St. *Paul*'s expreſſions, *all the World was become guilty before God*, (or * ſubjected to God's Judgment;) † *all men* (*Jews* and *Gentiles*) *were under ſin*, ‖ *under condemnation*, * *under the curſe*; † *all men were concluded into diſobedience*, and ‖ *ſhut up together* (as cloſe Priſoners) *under ſin*; * *all men had ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God*: † *Death had paſſed over all, becauſe all had ſinned*:

When, for us, being plunged into ſo wretched a condition, no viſible remedy did appear, no poſſible redreſs could be obtained here below: (For, what means could we have of recovering God's favour, who were apt perpetually to contract new debts and guilts, but not able to diſcharge any old ſcores? What capacity of mind or will had we to entertain mercy, who were no leſs ſtubbornly perverſe and obdurate in our crimes, than ignorant or infirm? How could we be reconciled unto Heaven, who had an innate antipathy to God and goodneſs? [‖ *Sin* according to our natural ſtate, and ſecluding Evangelical grace) *reigning in our mortal bodies*, * *no good thing dwelling in us*; there being a predominant *law in our members*, *warring againſt the law of our mind*, *and bringing us into captivity to the law of ſin*; a main ingredient of our † *old man* being a ‖ *carnal mind*, which is *enmity to God*, and *cannot ſubmit to his Law*; we being * *alienated from the life of God by the blindneſs of our hearts*, and *enemies in our minds by wicked works*?] How could we revive

Cyril. c. Jul. 8. p. 278. 9. p. 303.
Joh. 3. 36.
Col. 3. 6.
Iren. 3. 33, 34.
Iſa. 26. 13.
Iren. 3. 8.
Gen. 4. 7.
Gen. 2. 17.
Iren. 5. 16.
* Rom. 3. 19. ὑπόδικος τῷ Θεῷ.
† Rom. 3. 9.
‖ Rom. 5. 16, 18.
* Gal. 3. 10.
† Rom. 11. 32. εἰς ἀπείθειαν.
‖ Gal. 3. 22.
* Rom. 3. 23.
† Rom. 5. 12.
‖ Rom. 6. 12, 14, 20, 22.
* Rom. 7. 18, 5.
Rom. 7. 23.
† Rom. 6. 6.
Coloſſ. 3. 9.
Epheſ. 4. 22.
‖ Rom. 8. 7. οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται.
* Epheſ. 4. 18.
Coloſſ. 1. 21.
Rom. 5. 10.

Epheſ. 2. 5. (Rom. 6. 13. 11.) Pſal. 143. 2. Exod. 34. 7. revive to any good hope, who were *dead in treſpaſſes and ſins*, God having withdrawn his quickning Spirit? How at leaſt could we for one moment ſtand upright in God's ſight, upon the natural terms, excluding all ſin, and exacting perfect Obedience?)

When this, I ſay, was our forlorn and deſperate caſe, then Almighty God, out of his infinite goodneſs, was pleaſed to look upon us (as he Ezek. 16. 6. ſometime did upon *Jeruſalem*, *lying polluted in her blood*) with an eye of pity and mercy, ſo as graciouſly to deſign a redemption for us out of all that woful diſtreſs: And no ſooner by his incomprehenſible wiſdom did he foreſee we ſhould loſe our ſelves, than by his immenſe grace he did conclude to reſtore us.

Eph. 1. 4, 9, 11. & 3. 11. 2 Tim. 1. 9. 1 Pet 1. 20. Rev. 13. 8. Rom. 16. 25. Tit. 1. 2. But how could this happy deſign well be compaſſed? how in conſiſtence with the glory, with the juſtice, with the truth of God, could ſuch enemies be reconciled, ſuch offenders be pardoned, ſuch wretches be ſaved? Would the Omnipotent Majeſty, ſo affronted, deſign to treat with his rebels immediately, without an interceſſour or advocate? Would the Sovereign Governour of the world ſuffer thus notorionſly his right to be violated, his authority to be ſlighted, his honour to be trampled on, without ſome notable vindication or ſatisfaction? Would the great Patron of Juſtice relax the terms of it, or ever permit a groſs breach thereof to paſs with impunity? Would the immutable God of truth expoſe his veracity or his conſtancy to ſuſpicion, by ſo reverſing that peremptory ſentence of death upon ſinners, that it ſhould not in ſort eminently be accompliſhed? Would the moſt righteous and moſt holy God let ſlip an opportunity ſo advantageous for demonſtrating his perfect love of innocence, and abhorrence of iniquity? Could we there fore well be cleared from our guilt without an expiation, or re-inſtate in freedom without a ranſom, or exempted from condemnation without ſome puniſhment?

Athan. *de Incarn.* Geneſ. 2. 17.

No: God was ſo pleaſed to proſecute his deſigns of goodneſs and mercy, as thereby no-wiſe to impair or obſcure, but rather to advance and illuſtrate the glories of his ſovereign dignity, of his ſevere juſtice, of his immaculate holineſs, of his unchangeable ſteddineſs in word and purpoſe. He accordingly would be ſued to for peace and mercy: nor would he grant them abſolutely, without due compenſations for the wrongs he had ſuſtained; yet ſo, that his goodneſs did find us a Mediatour, and furniſh us with means to ſatisfy him. He would not condeſcend to ſimple remiſſion of our debts; yet ſo, that, ſaving his right and honour he did ſtoop lower for an effectual abolition of them. He would make good his word, not to let our treſpaſſes go unpuniſhed; yet ſo, that by our puniſhment we might receive advantage. He would manifeſt his deteſtation of wickedneſs in a way more illuſtrious; than if he had proſecuted it down to Hell, and irreverſibly doomed it to endleſs torment.

But how might theſe things be effected? Where was there Mediatour proper and worthy to intercede for us? Who could preſume to ſolicit and plead in our behalf? Who ſhould dare to put himſelf between God and us, or offer to skreen Mankind from the divine wrath and vengeance? Who had ſo great an intereſt in the Court of Heaven, as to ingratiate ſuch a brood of apoſtate enemies thereto? Who could aſſume the confidence to propoſe terms of reconciliation, or to agitate a new Covenent, wherewith God might be ſatisfied, and whereby we might be ſaved? Where, in Heaven or Earth, could there be found a Prieſt fit to atone for ſins ſo vaſtly numerous, ſo extremely hainous? And whence ſhould a ſacrifice be taken, of value ſufficient to

expiat

expiate for ſo manifold enormities, committed againſt the infinite Majeſty of Heaven? Who could *find out the everlaſting redemption* of innumerable ſouls, or lay down a competent ranſom for them all? not to ſay, could alſo purchaſe for them eternal life and bliſs? αἰωνίαν λύτρωσιν εὑράμενος, Heb. 9. 12.

Theſe are Queſtions which would puzzle all the wit of man, yea, would gravel all the wiſdom of Angels to reſolve: for plain it is, that no creature on earth, none in Heaven, could well undertake or perform this work.

Where on earth, among the degenerate ſons of *Adam*, could be found *ſuch an High Prieſt as became us, holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeparate from ſinners?* And how could a Man, however innocent and pure as a Seraphim, ſo perform his duty, as to do more than merit or ſatisfie for himſelf? How many lives could the life of one man ſerve to ranſom; ſeeing that it is aſſerted of the greateſt and richeſt among men, that *None of them can by any means redeem his brother, or give to God a ranſom for him.* Heb. 7. 26. Pſal. 49. 7.

And how could available help in this caſe be expected from any of the Angelical hoaſt; ſeeing (beſide their being in nature different from us, and thence improper to merit or ſatisfie for us; beſide their comparative meanneſs, and infinite diſtance from the Majeſty of God) they are but our fellow-ſervants, and have obligations to diſcharge for themſelves, and cannot be ſolvent for more than for their own debts of gratitude and ſervice to their infinitely-bountiful Creator; they alſo themſelves needing a Saviour, to preſerve them by his grace in their happy ſtate?

Indeed, no creature might aſpire to ſo auguſt an honour, none could atchieve ſo marvellous a work, as to redeem from infinite guilt and miſery the nobleſt part of all the viſible creation: none could preſume to invade that high prerogative of God, or attempt to infringe the truth of that reiterated Proclamation, *I, even I am the Lord, and beſide me there is no Saviour.* Iſa. 43. 11. 45. 21. Hoſ. 13. 4.

Wherefore, ſeeing that a ſupereminent dignity of Perſon was required in our Mediatour, and that an immenſe value was to be preſented for our ranſom; ſeeing that *God ſaw there was no man, and wondred* (or took ſpecial notice) *that there was no interceſſor*; it muſt be *his arm* alone that could *bring ſalvation*; none beſide God himſelf could interneddle therein. Iſa. 59. 16. ἐθαύμασε, LXX.

But how could God undertake the buſineſs? Could he become a ſuitor or interceſſor to his offended ſelf? could he preſent a ſacrifice, or diſburſe a ſatisfaction to his own juſtice? could God alone contract and ſtipulate with God in our behalf? No; ſurely Man alſo muſt concur in the tranſaction: ſome amends muſt iſſue from him, ſomewhat muſt be paid out of our ſtock: humane will and conſent muſt be interpoſed, to ratify a firm covenant with us, inducing obligation on our part. It was decent and expedient, that as Man, by wilful tranſgreſſion and preſumptuous ſelf-pleaſing, had ſo highly offended, injured and diſhonoured his Maker; ſo Man alſo, by willing obedience, and patient ſubmiſſion to God's pleaſure, ſhould greatly content, right and glorify him.

Here then did lie the ſtreſs; this was the knot which only divine wiſdom could looſe. And ſo indeed it did in a moſt effectual and admirable way; for in correſpondence to all the exigencies of the caſe, that God and Man both might act their parts in ſaving us,) the bleſſed eternal word, the only Son of God, by the good will of his Father, did vouchſafe to intercede for us, and to undertake our redemption; in order thereto voluntarily being ſent down from Heaven, aſſuming humane fleſh, ſubjecting himſelf to all the infirmities of our frail nature, and to the worſt inconveniences of our low condition; therein meriting God's favour Epheſ. 1. 8. Luke. 1. 78. Epheſ. 1. 5. Tit. 3. 4. Rom. 5. 8. Gal. 4. 4. Joh. 6. 38. Heb. 10. 7. Joh. 1. 14. Heb. 5. 2. 4. 15. Epheſ. 1. 6. *Conſtit. Apoſt.* 8. 12.

favour to us, by a perfect obedience to the Law, and satisfying God's justice by a most patient endurance of pains in our behalf; in completion of all, willingly laying down his life for the ransom of our souls, and pouring forth his blood in sacrifice for our sins.

1 Tim. 2. 6. Tit. 2. 14. Heb. 9. 15. 2. 9. Col. 1. 22.

This is that great and wonderful *mystery of godliness*, (or of our holy Religion,) the which St. *Paul* here doth express, in these words concerning our blessed Saviour; *Who being in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross.*

1 Tim. 3. 16.

In which words are contained divers points very observable. But seeing the time will not allow me to treat on them in any measure as they deserve; I shall (waving all the rest) insist but upon one particular, couched in the last words, *Even the death of the Cross*; which by a special emphasis do excite us to consider the manner of that holy Passion, which we now commemorate: the contemplation whereof, as it is most seasonable, so it is ever very profitable.

θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.

Now then in this kind of Passion we may consider divers notable adjuncts; namely these. 1. Its being in appearance criminal. 2. Its being most bitter and painful. 3. Its being most ignominious and shameful. 4. Its peculiar advantageousness to the designs of our Lord in suffering. 5. Its practical efficacy.

I. We may consider our Lord's Suffering as Criminal: or as in semblance being an execution of justice upon him. *He* (as the Prophet foretold of him) *was numbred among the transgressours*; and God (saith S. *Paul*) *made him sin for us who knew no sin:* that is, God ordered him to be treated as a most sinful or criminous person, who in himself was perfectly innocent, and void of the least inclination to offend.

Isa. 53. 12. 2 Cor. 4. 21.

So in effect it was, that he was impeached of the highest crimes; as a violator of the Divine Laws in divers instances; as a designer to subvert their Religion and Temple; as an Impostor, deluding and seducing the people; as a Blasphemer, assuming to himself the properties and prerogatives of God; as a seditious and rebellious person, *perverting the nation*, inhibiting payments of tribute to *Cæsar*, usurping Royal Authority, and styling himself *Christ a King*: in a word, as a Malefactor, or one guilty of enormous offences; so his persecutors avowed to *Pilate*, *If*, said they, *he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee.* As such he was represented and arraigned as such, although by a sentence wrested by malicious importunity, against the will and conscience of the Judge, he was condemned, and accordingly suffered death.

Joh. 5. 18. 10. 30. &c. 7. 12. Matth. 26. 61. 27. 40. Luke. 23. 2. Matth. 27. 63. *Const. Apost.* 5. 14. κακοποιός. Joh. 18. 30.

Now whereas any death or passion of our Lord, as being in it self immensely valuable, and most precious in the sight of God, might have been sufficient toward the accomplishment of his general designs, (the appeasing God's wrath, the satisfaction of Divine Justice, the expiation of our guilt;) it may be inquired, why God should thus expose him, or why he should chuse to suffer under this odious and ugly character? Which inquiry is the more considerable, because it is especially this circumstance which crosseth the fleshly sense, and worldly prejudices of men, so as to have rendred the Gospel offensive to the superstitious *Jews* and despicable to conceited Gentiles. For so *Tryphon* in *Justin Martyr* although, from conviction by testimonies of Scripture, he did admit the *Messias* was to suffer *hardly*, yet that it should be in this *accursed* manner he could not digest. So the great adversaries of Christianity (*Celsus*, *Porphyrie*, *Julian*,) did with most contempt urge this exception against it

Cur si Deus fuit, & mori voluit, non saltem honesto aliquo mortis genere affectus est? &c. Lact. 4. 26. Just. M. *Hab.* p. 317. Orig. c. Cels. 2. p. 83. 7. p. 368. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 10. 28. Cyril. c. Jul. 6. p. 194.

ct. So S. *Paul* did observe, that *Christ crucified was unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness.* Wherefore to avoid those scandals, and that we may better admire the Wisdom of God in this dispensation, it may be fit to assign some Reasons intimated in Holy Scripture, or bearing conformity to its Doctrine, why it was thus ordered. Such are these. 1 Cor. 1. 23.

1. As our Saviour freely did undertake a life of greatest meanness and hardship, so upon the like accounts he might be pleased to undergo a death most lothsome and uncomfortable. There is nothing to man's nature (especially to the best natures, in which modesty and ingenuity do survive) more abominable than such a death. God for good purposes hath planted in our constitution a quick sense of disgrace; and of all disgraces that which proceedeth from an imputation of crimes is most pungent; and being conscious of our innocence doth heighten the smart; and to reflect upon our selves dying under it, leaving the World with an indeleble stain upon our name and memory, is yet more grievous. Even to languish by degrees, enduring the torments of a long, however sharp disease, would to an honest mind seem more eligible, than in this manner, being reputed and handled as a villain, to find a quick and easie dispatch.

Of which humane resentment may we not observe a touch in that expostulation, *Be ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves?* If Luk. 22. 52. Matt. 26. 55. as a man he did not like to be prosecuted as a thief; yet willingly did he chuse it, as he did other most distastful things, pertaining to our nature, *the likeness of man,*) and incident to that low condition, (*the form of a servant,*) into which he did put himself: such as were, to endure penury, and to fare hardly, to be slighted, envied, hated, reproached through all his course of life.

It is well said by a Pagan Philosopher, that *No man doth express such a respect and devotion to Vertue, as doth he who forfeiteth the repute of being a good man, that he may not lose the conscience of being such.* This our Lord willingly made his case, being content not only to expose his Life, but to prostitute his Fame, for the interests of goodness. *Nemo mihi videtur pluris æstimare virtutem, nemo illi magis esse devotus, quàm qui boni viri famam perdidit, nè conscientiam perderet.* Sen. *Ep.* 81.

Had he died otherwise, he might have seemed to purchase our welfare at a somewhat easier rate; he had not been so complete a sufferer; he had not tasted the worst that man is liable to endure: there had been comfort in seeming innocent, detracting from the perfection of his sufferance.

Whereas therefore he often was in hazzard of death, both from the clandestine machinations, and the outrageous violences of those who maligned him, he did industriously shun a death so plausible, and honourable, if I may so speak; it being not so disgraceful to fall by private malice, or by sudden rage, as by the solemn deliberate proceeding of men in publick authority and principal credit. Joh. 5. 18. 8. 37, 40, 59, 7, 1, 19, 25. 10. 32, 39.

Accordingly this kind of death did not fall upon him by surprize, or by chance; but he did *from the beginning* foresee it; he plainly with satisfaction did aim at it: He (as it is related in the Gospels) did *shew* his Disciples, that it was incumbent on him by God's appointment and his own choice; that *he ought* ('tis said) *to suffer many things, to be rejected by the chief Priests, Elders and Scribes, to be vilified by them, to be delivered up to the Gentiles, to be mocked and scourged, and crucified,* as a Joh. 6. 64. Matt. 16. 21. Luk. 9. 22. 18. 32. Mark 9. 31. vigitious slave. Thus would our blessed Saviour, in conformity to the rest of his voluntary afflictions, and for a consummation of them, not only suffer in his Body by sore wounds and bruises, and in his Soul by doleful agonies, but in his Name also and Reputation by the foulest

ſcandals; undergoing as well all the infamy as the infirmity which did belong to us, or might befal us: thus meaning by all means throughly to expreſs his charity, and exerciſe his compaſſion towards us; thus advancing his merit, and diſcharging the utmoſt ſatisfaction in our behalf.

2. Death paſſing on him as a Malefactour by publick ſentence, did beſt ſute to the nature of his undertaking, was moſt congruous to his intent, did moſt aptly repreſent what he was doing, and imply the reaſon of his performance. For we all are guilty in a moſt high degree, and in a manner very notorious; the fouleſt ſhame together with the ſharpeſt pain is due to us for affronting our glorious Maker, we deſerve an open condemnation and exemplary puniſhment: wherefore he, undertaking in our ſtead to bear all, and fully to ſatisfie for us, was pleaſed to undergo the like judgment and uſage; being termed, being treated as we ſhould have been, in quality of an hainous Malefactour, as we in truth are. What we had really acted in diſhonouring and uſurping upon God, in diſordering the world, in perverting others, that was imputed to him; and the puniſhment due to that guilt was inflicted on him.

Iſa. 53. 6. *All we like ſheep have gone aſtray, we have turned every one to his own way and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquities of us all.* He therefore did not only ſuſtain an equivalent pain for us, but in a ſort did bear a equal blame with us, before God and Man.

3. Seeing *by the determinate counſel of God* it was appointed that our Lord ſhould die for us, and that not in a natural, but violent way, ſo as perfectly to ſatisfie God's juſtice, to vindicate his honour, to evidence both his indignation againſt ſin, and willingneſs to be appeaſed; it was moſt fit that affair ſhould be tranſacted in a way, wherein God's right was moſt nearly concerned, and his providence moſt plainly diſcernible, wherein it ſhould be moſt apparent that God did exact and inflict the puniſhment, that our Lord did freely yield to it, and ſubmiſſively undergo it, upon thoſe very accounts. All *judgment* (as *Moſes* of old did ſay) *is God's*, or is adminiſtred by authority derived from him, in his name, for his intereſt; all Magiſtrates being his officers, and inſtruments, whereby he governeth and ordereth the world, his natural Kingdom: whence that which is acted in way of formal judgment by perſons in authority, God himſelf may be deemed in a more ſpecial and immediate manner to execute it, as being done by his commiſſion, in his ſtead, on his behalf, with his peculiar ſuperintendence. It was therefore in our Lord a ſignal act of deference to God's Authority and Juſtice, becoming the perſon ſuſtained by him of our Mediatour and Proxy, to undergo ſuch a judgment, and ſuch a puniſhment; whereby he received doom as it were from God's own mouth, uttered by his Miniſters, and bare the ſtroke of juſtice from God's hand, repreſented by his inſtruments. Whence very ſeaſonably and patiently did he reply to *Pilat*.

Acts 2. 23.

Deut. 1. 17.

Joh. 19. 11. *Thou hadſt no power over me,* (or *againſt me,*) *except it were given thee from above*: implying, that it was in regard to the originally Supreme Authority of God his Father, and to his particular appointment upon this occaſion, that our Saviour did then frankly ſubject himſelf to thoſe inferiour powers, as to the proper Miniſters of Divine Juſtice. Had he ſuffered in any other way, by the private malice or paſſion of men, God's ſpecial providence in that caſe had been leſs viſible, and our Lord's obedience not ſo remarkable. And if he muſt die by publick hands, muſt be as a criminal, under a pretence of guilt and demerit; there muſt be a formal proceſs, how full ſoever of mockery and outrage; there muſt be teſtimonies produced, how void ſoever of truth or probability; there muſt be a ſentence pronounced, although moſt corrupt and injurious

injurious: for no man is in this way perſecuted, without colour of deſert; otherwiſe it would ceaſe to be publick authority, and become lawleſs violence; the Perſecutor then would put off the face of a Magiſtrate, and appear as a Cut-throat, or a Robber.

4. In fine, our Saviour hardly with ſuch advantage, in any other way, could have diſplayed all kinds of Vertue and goodneſs, to the honour of God, to the edification of men, to the furtherance of our Salvation.

The Judgment-hall, with all the paſſages leading him thither, and thence to execution, attended with guards of ſouldiers, amidſt the crouds and clamours of people, were as ſo many theatres, on which he had opportune convenience, in the full eye of the world, to act divers parts of ſublimeſt Vertue: to expreſs his inſuperable Conſtancy, in atteſting truth, and maintaining a good conſcience; his Meekneſs, in calmly bearing the greateſt wrongs; his Patience, in contentedly enduring the ſaddeſt adverſities; his intire reſignation to the will and providence of God; his peaceable ſubmiſſion to the law and power of man; his admirable charity, in pitying, in excuſing, in obliging thoſe by his good wiſhes, and earneſt prayers for their pardon, who in a manner ſo injurious, ſo deſpiteful, ſo cruel, did perſecute him, yea, in gladly ſuffering all this from their hands for their ſalvation; his unſhakeable Faith in God, and unalterable Love toward him, under ſo fierce a trial, ſo dreadful a temptation. All theſe excellent Vertues and Graces, by the matter being thus ordered, in a degree moſt eminent, and in a manner very conſpicuous, were demonſtrated, to the praiſe of God's Name, and the commendation of his Truth; for the ſettlement of our Faith and Hope, for an inſtruction and an encouragement to us of good practice in thoſe higheſt inſtances of Vertue.

John 18. 37. 1 Tim. 6. 13.

It is a paſſable notion among the moſt eminent Pagan Sages, that no very exemplary Vertue can well appear otherwiſe than in notable misfortune. Whence 'tis ſaid in *Plato*, that to approve a man heartily *righteous, he muſt be ſcourged, tortured, bound, have his two eyes burnt out, and in the cloſe, having ſuffered all evils, muſt be impaled*, or crucified. And, * *It was* (ſaith *Seneca*) *the cup of poyſon which made* Socrates *a great man*, and *which out of priſon did transfer him to Heaven*, or did procure to him that lofty eſteem; affording him opportunity, to ſignalize his conſtancy, his equanimity, his unconcernedneſs for this world and life. And, *The vertue* (ſaith he again) *and the innocence of* Rutilius *would have lain hid, if it had not* (by condemnation and exile) *received injury; while it was violated, it brightly ſhone forth.* And he that ſaid this of others, was himſelf in nothing ſo illuſtrious, as in handſomely entertaining that death to which he was by the bloody Tyrant adjudged. And generally, the moſt honourable perſons in the judgment of poſterity for gallant worth, to this very end (as ſuch Philoſophers teach) were by divine providence delivered up to ſuffer opprobrious condemnations and puniſhments, by the ingrateful malignity of their times. So that the *Greeks*, in conſiſtence with their own wiſdom and experience, could not reaſonably ſcorn that Croſs which our good Lord (did not only, as did their beſt Worthies, by forcible accidental conſtraint undergo, but) adviſedly by free choice did undertake, to recommend the moſt excellent Vertues to imitation, and to promote the moſt noble deſigns that could be, by its influence.

Magnum exemplum niſi mala fortuna non invenit. Sen. *de Prov. c.* 3.

Ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεδήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τὼ ὀφθαλμώ, τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀνασκολοπισθήσεται. Plat. *de Rep.* 2.

* *Cicuta magnum Socratem fecit.* Sen. *Ep.* 13.

Calix venenatus, qui Socratem tranſtulit è carcere in cœlum. Sen. *Ep.* 67.

Æqualis fuit in tanta inæqualitate fortunæ, &c. Sen. *Ep.* 104.

Rutilii innocentia ac virtus lateret, niſi accepiſſet injuriam; dum violatur, effulſit. Sen. *Ep.* 79.

Sen. *de Prov.* 2, 3, *&c.* Plut. *de Stoic. Contr. ep.* 1931.

So great Reaſon there was, that our Lord ſhould thus ſuffer as a Criminal.

II. We

II. We may conſider, that in that kind his Suffering was moſt bitter and painful. Eaſily we may imagine what acerbity of pain muſt be endured by our Lord, in his tender Limbs being ſtretched forth, racked, and
Pſal. 22. 16. tentered, and continuing for a good time in ſuch a poſture; by the *piercing his hands and his feet*, parts very nervous and exquiſitely ſenſible,
Pſal. 105. 18. with ſharp nails, (ſo that, as it is ſaid of *Joſeph*, *the iron entered into his Soul*;) by abiding expoſed to the injuries of the Sun ſcorching, the wind beating, the weather ſearching his griveous wounds and ſores. Such a pain it was; and that no ſtupefying, no tranſient pain, but one both very acute and lingring: for we ſee, that he together with his fellow-ſufferers had both preſence of mind, and time to diſcourſe. Even ſix
Mar. 15. 25, long hours did he remain under ſuch torture, ſuſtaining in each moment
34. of them beyond the pangs of an ordinary death. But as the caſe was ſo hard and ſad, ſo the reaſon of it was great, and the fruit anſwerably good. Our Saviour did embrace ſuch a Paſſion, that in being thus content to endure the moſt intollerable ſmarts for us, he might demonſtrate the vehemence of his love; that he might ſignifie the hainouſneſs of our ſins, which deſerved that from ſuch a perſon ſo heavy puniſhment ſhould be exacted; that he might appear to yield a valuable compenſation for thoſe pains which we ſhould have ſuffered; that he throughly might exemplifie the hardeſt duties of obedience and patience.

III. This manner of Suffering was (as moſt ſharp and afflictive, ſo) moſt vile and ſhameful; being proper to the baſeſt condition of the worſt men, and unworthy of a free-man, however nocent and guilty. It was *ſervile ſupplicium*, a puniſhment never by the *Romans*, under whoſe Law our Lord ſuffered, legally inflicted upon free-men, but upon ſlaves only; that is, upon people ſcarcely regarded as men, having in a ſort forfeited or loſt themſelves. And among the *Jews* that execution which moſt approached thereto, and in part agreed with it, (for their Law did not allow any ſo inhumane puuiſhment,) hanging up the dead bodies of ſome that had been put to death, was held moſt infamous and
Deut. 21. 23. execrable: for, *Curſed*, ſaid the Law, *is every one that hangeth upon a*
Gal. 3. 13. *tree*; curſed, that is, devoted to reproach and malediction: *accurſed by*
Τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον τὸ τελευτῆς τὸ εἶδος ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἔκειτο Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Or.* 61. *God*, ſaith the Hebrew, that is, ſeeming to be rejected by God, and by his ſpecial order expoſed to affliction.

Indeed, according to the courſe of things, to be ſet on high, and for continuance of time to be objected to the view of all that paſs by, in that calamitous poſture, doth infuſe bad ſuſpicion, doth provoke cenſure, doth invite contempt and ſcorn, doth naturally draw forth language of deriſion, deſpight and deteſtation; eſpecially from the inconſiderate hard-hearted and rude vulgar, which commonly doth think, ſpeak and deal according to event and appearance: (——*Sequitur fortunam ſemper & odit damnatos*——) Whence
Heb. 10. 33. θεατρίζεσθαι, *to be made a gazing-ſtock*, or an object of reproach to the multitude, is by the Apoſtle mentioned as
ἐξεμυκτήριζον· ἐνέπαιζον. ἐβλασφήμουν. an aggravation of the hardſhips endured by the Primitive Chriſtians. And thus in extremity did it befal our Lord: for we read, that the
Luk. 23. 35, people did in that condition mock, jear and revile him, drawing up
36. their noſes, abuſing him by ſcurrilous geſtures, letting out their virulent
Matt. 27. 39. and wanton tongues againſt him; ſo as to verifie that prediction, *I am*
Pſal. 22. 6, 7, 8. *a reproach of men, and deſpiſed of the people: All they that ſee me laugh me to ſcorn; they ſhoot out the lip, they ſhake the head, ſaying, He truſted in the Lord, let him deliver him, ſeeing he delighted in him.*

Matth. 9. 33. The ſame perſons who formerly had admired his glorious works, who
21. 9, 12. 23. had been raviſhed with his excellent diſcourſes, who had followed and
Luk. 4. 15. favoured him ſo earneſtly, who had bleſſed and magnified him, (*for he*

ſaith

saith Saint *Luke*, *taught in the Synagogues, being glorified by all,)* even those very persons did then behold him with pitiless contempt and despight. In correspondence to that prophecie, *they look and stare upon me*, Psal. 22. 17. ἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν, *the people stood gazing* on him, in a most scornful Luk. 23. 35. manner, venting contemptuous and spiteful reproaches; as we see reported in the Evangelical Story.

Thus did our blessed Saviour *endure the cross, despising the shame.* Heb. 12. 2. *Despising the shame*, that is not simply disregarding it, or (with a Stoical haughtiness, with a Cynical immodesty, with a stupid carelessness) slighting it as no evil; but not eschewing it, or not rating it for so great an evil, that to decline it he would neglect the prosecution of his great and glorious designs.

There is innate to man an aversation and abhorrency from disgraceful abuse, no less strong than are the like antipathies to pain: whence *cruel* Heb. 11. 36. *mockings and scourgings* are coupled as ingredients of the sore persecutions sustained by God's faithful Martyrs. And generally men with more readiness will embrace, with more contentedness will endure the cruelty of the latter, than of the former; Pain not so smartly affecting the lower sense, as being insolently contemned doth grate upon the fancy, and wound even the mind it self. For, *the wounds* of infamy *do* (as the Prov. 18. 8. *Wise-man* telleth us) *go down into the innermost parts of the belly*, reaching 12. 18. the very heart, and touching the soul to the quick.

We therefore need not doubt, but that our Saviour as a man, endowed with humane passions, was sensible of this natural evil; and that such indignities did add somewhat of loathsomness to his cup of affliction; especially considering, that his great charity disposed him to grieve, observing men to act so indecently, so unworthily, so unjustly toward him: yet in consideration of the glory that would thence accrue to God, of the benefit that would redound to us, of the *joy that was set* Heb. 12. 2. *before him*, when *he should see of the travel of his soul, and be satisfied*, Isa. 53. 11. he most willingly did accept, and most gladly did comport with it. He *became a curse for us*, exposed to malediction and reviling; He *endured* Gal. 3. 13. *the contradiction* (or obloquy) *of sinful men*: He was *despised, rejected* Heb. 12. 3. *and disesteemed of men*: He in common apprehension was deserted by Isa. 53. 3. God, according to that of the Prophet, *We did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted*; himself even seeming to concur in that opinion. So was he *made a curse for us*, that *we*, as the Apostle teacheth, Isa. 53. 4. might *be redeemed from the curse of the Law*; that is, that we might be Gal. 3. 13. freed from the exemplary punishment due to our transgressions of the Law, with the displeasure of God appearing therein, and the disgrace before the world attending it. He chose thus to *make himself of no reputation*; Phil 2. 7. vouchsafing to be dealt with as a wretched slave, and a wicked miscreant, that we might be exempted, not only from the torment, but also from the ignominy which we had merited; that together with our life, our safety, our liberty, we might even recover that honour which we had forfeited and imbezzled.

But lest any should be temped not sufficiently to value these sufferances of our Lord, as not so rare, but that other men have tasted the like; lest any should presume to compare them with afflictions incident to other persons, as *Celsus* did compare them with those of *Anaxarchus* and Orig. c. Cels. 7. *Epictetus*; it is requisite to consider some remarkable particulars about p. 368. them.

We may then consider, that not only the infinite dignity of his Person, and the perfect Innocency of his life did inhance the price of his sufferings; but some Endowments peculiar to him, and some Circumstances adhering to his design, did much augment their force.

He

He was not only, according to the frame and temper of humane nature, ſenſibly touched with the pain, the ſhame, the whole combination of diſaſters apparently waiting on his Paſſion; as God (when he did inſert ſenſe and paſſion into our nature, ordering objects to affect them) did intend we ſhould be, and as other men in like circumſtances would have been; but in many reſpects beyond that ordinary rate: ſo that no man, we may ſuppoſe, could have felt ſuch grief from them as he did, no man ever hath been ſenſible of any thing comparable to what he did endure; that paſſage being truly applicable to him, *Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like to my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger*; as that unparallel'd *ſweating out great lumps of blood* may argue; and as the terms expreſſing his reſentments do intimate. For, in reſpect of preſent evils, he ſaid of himſelf, *My ſoul is exceeding ſorrowful to death*; he is ſaid ἀδημονεῖν, *to be in great anguiſh* and anxiety, to be in *an agony* or pang of ſorrow. In regard to miſchiefs which he ſaw coming on, he is ſaid to be *diſturb'd in ſpirit*, and to be *ſore amazed*, or diſmayed at them. To ſuch an exceeding height did the ſenſe of incumbent evils, and the proſpect of impendent calamities, the apprehenſion of his caſe, together with a reflexion on our condition, skrew up his affections.

Lam. 1. 12. Luk. 22. 44. Matt. 26. 37, 38. Luk. 22. 44. Joh. 13. 21. 12. 27. Mark 14. 33.

And no wonder that ſuch a burthen, even the weight of all the ſins (the numberleſs moſt heinous ſins and abominations) that ever were committed by mankind, by appropriation of them to himſelf, lying on his ſhoulders, he ſhould feel it heavy, or ſeem to crouch and groan under it; that in the myſtical Pſalm, applied by the Apoſtle to him, he ſhould cry out, *Innumerable evils have compaſſed me about, mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, ſo that I am not able to look up: they are more than the hairs of my head, and my heart faileth me.* The ſight of God's indignation ſo dreadfully flaming out againſt ſin, might well aſtoniſh and terrify him: To ſtand, as it were, before the mouth of Hell belching fire and brimſtone in his face; to lie down in the hotteſt furnace of Divine vengeance; to quench with his own heart blood the wrath of Heaven, and the infernal fire, (as he did in regard to thoſe who will not rekindle them to themſelves,) might well in the heart of a man beget unconceivable and unexpreſſible preſſures of affliction. When ſuch a Father (ſo infinitely good and kind to him, whom he ſo dearly and perfectly loved) did hide his face from him, did frown on him, how could he otherwiſe than be mightily troubled? Is it ſtrange that ſo hearty a love, ſo tender a pity, contemplating our ſinfulneſs, and experimenting our wretchedneſs, ſhould be deeply touched? To ſee, I ſay, ſo plainly to feel ſo throughly the horrible blindneſs, the folly, the infidelity, the imbecillity, the ingratitude, the incorrigibility, the ſtrange perverſeneſs perfidiouſneſs, malice and cruelty of mankind in ſo many inſtances (in the treaſon of *Judas*, in the denial of *Peter*, in the deſertion of all the Apoſtles, in the ſpite and rage of the Perſecutors, in the falſhood of the Witneſſes, in the abuſes of the People, in the compliance of *Pilate*, in a general conſpiracy of Friends and Foes to ſin,) all theſe ſurrounding him, all invading him, all diſcharging themſelves upon him would it not aſtone a mind ſo pure? would it not wound a heart ſo tender and full of charity?

Heb. 10. 5. Pſal. 40. 12.

Surely, any of thoſe perſons who fondly do pretend unto, or vainly do glory in a ſullen apathy; or a ſtubborn contempt of the evils incident to our nature and ſtate, would in ſuch a caſe have been utterly dejected. The moſt reſolved Philoſopher would have been daſhed into confuſion at the ſight, would have been cruſhed into deſperation under the ſenſe of thoſe evils which did aſſault him.

With

With the greatneſs of the cauſes, the goodneſs of his conſtitution did conſpire to encreaſe his Sufferings. For ſurely, as his complexion was moſt pure and delicate, his ſpirit moſt vivid and apprehenſive, his affections moſt pliant and tractable; ſo accordingly would the impreſſions upon him be moſt ſenſible, and conſequently the pains which he felt (in body or ſoul) moſt afflictive.

That we in like caſes are not alike moved; that we do not tremble at the apprehenſions of God's diſpleaſure, that we are not affrighted with the ſenſe of our ſins, that we do not with ſad horrour reſent our danger and our miſery, doth ariſe from that we have very glimmering and faint conceptions of thoſe matters; or that they do not in ſo clear and lively a manner ſtrike our fancy; (not appearing in their true nature and proper ſhape, ſo heinous and ſo hideous as they really are in themſelves and in their conſequences;) or becauſe we have but weak perſuaſions about them; or becauſe we do but ſlightly conſider them; or from that our hearts are very hard and callous, our affections very cold and dull, ſo that nothing of this nature (nothing beſide groſs material affairs) can mollifie or melt them; or for that we have in us ſmall love to God, and a ſlender regard to our own welfare; in fine, for that in ſpiritual matters we are neither ſo wiſe, ſo ſober, ſo ſerious, nor ſo good or ingenuous, in any reaſonable meaſure, as we ſhould be. But our Saviour in all thoſe reſpects was otherwiſe diſpoſed. He moſt evidently diſcerned the wrath of God, the grievouſneſs of ſin, the wretchedneſs of man, moſt truly, moſt fully, moſt ſtrongly repreſented to his mind: He moſt firmly believed, yea moſt certainly knew, whatever God's Law had declared about them: He did exactly conſider and weigh them: His heart was moſt ſoft and ſenſible, his affections were moſt quick and excitable by their due objects: He was full of dutiful love to God, and moſt ardently deſirous of our good, bearing a more than fraternal good-will towards us. Whence 'tis not ſo marvellous that as a man, as a tranſcendently-wiſe and good man, he was ſo vehemently affected by thoſe occurrences, that his imagination was ſo troubled, and his paſſions ſo ſtirred by them; ſo that he thence did ſuffer in a manner, and to a degree unconceivable; according to that ejaculation in the Greek Liturgies, Διὰ τῶν ἀγνώστων σου παθημάτων ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, Κύριε, *by thy unknown ſufferings, O Chriſt, have mercy on us.* But farther,

IV. We may conſider, that this way of Suffering had in it ſome particular Advantages, conducing to the accompliſhment of our Lord's principal deſigns.

Its being very notorious, and laſting a competent time, were good advantages. For if he had been privately made away, or ſuddenly diſpatched, no ſuch great notice would have been taken of it, nor would the matter of fact have been ſo fully proved, to the confirmation of our faith, and conviction of infidelity; nor had that his excellent deportment under ſuch bitter affliction (his moſt Divine Patience, Meekneſs and Charity) ſo illuſtriouſly ſhone forth. Wherefore to prevent all exceptions, and excuſes of unbelief, (together with other collateral good purpoſes,) Divine Providence did ſo manage the buſineſs, that as the courſe of his life, ſo alſo the manner of his death, ſhould be moſt conſpicuouſly remarkable. *I ſpake freely to the world, and in ſecret have I done nothing,* ſaid he of himſelf; and, *Theſe things* (ſaid S. *Paul* to King *Agrippa*) *were not done in a corner.* Such were the proceedings of his life, not cloſe or clancular, but frank and open; not preſently huſhed up, but leiſurely carried on in the face of the World, that men might have the advantage to obſerve and examine them. And as he lived, ſo he died moſt publickly and viſibly; the world being witneſs of his

Joh. 18. 20. Act. 26. 26.

Death, and ſo prepared to believe his Reſurrection, and thence diſpoſed to
Joh. 12. 32. embrace his Doctrine; according to what he did fortel, *I being lifted up from the Earth, ſhall draw all men to me:* for he drew all men by ſo
(Iren. 2. 26.) obvious a Death to take notice of it, he drew all well-diſpoſed perſons from the wondrous conſequences of it to believe on him. And, *As* (ſaid he
Joh. 3. 14. again) *Moſes did exalt the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, ſo muſt the Son of*
Iren. 4. 5. *man be exalted.* As the elevation of that myſterious Serpent did render it viſible, and did attract the eyes of people toward it; whereby, God's power inviſibly accompanying that Sacramental performance, they were cured of thoſe mortiferous ſtings which they had received: ſo our Lord, being mounted on the Croſs, allured the eyes of men to behold him, and their hearts to cloſe with him; whereby, the heavenly virtue of God's Spirit co-operating, they became ſaved from thoſe deſtructive ſins, which from the Devil's ſerpentine inſtigations they had incurred.

Another Advantage of this kind of Suffering was, that by it the nature of that Kingdom which he did intend to erect was evidently ſignified: that it was not ſuch as the carnal people did expect, an external, earthly, temporal Kingdom, conſiſting in domination over the bodies and eſtates of men, dignified by outward wealth and ſplendour, managed by worldly power and policy, promoted by forcible compulſion and terror of arms, affording the advantages of ſafety, quiet, and proſperity here; but a Kingdom purely ſpiritual, celeſtial, eternal; conſiſting in the governance of mens hearts and minds; adorned with endowments of wiſdom and virtue; adminiſtred by the conduct and grace of God's Holy Spirit; upheld and propagated by meek inſtruction by virtuous example, by hearty devotion, and humble patience; rewarding its loyal Subjects with ſpiritual joys and conſolations now, with heavenly reſt and bliſs hereafter. No other Kingdom could he preſume to deſign, who ſubmitted to this dolorous and diſgraceful way of ſuffering: No other exploits could he pretend to atchieve by expiring on Croſs: No other way could he rule, who gave himſelf to be managed by the will of his adverſaries: No other benefits would this forlorn ca
Joh. 18. 36. allow him to diſpenſe. So that well might he then aſſert, *My Kingdo is not of this World*; when he was going in this ſignal way to demonſtrate that important truth.

Luke 2. 35. It was alſo a moſt convenient touch-ſtone to prove the genuine diſpoſition and worth of men; ſo as to diſcriminate thoſe wiſe, ſober, ingenuous, ſincere, generous ſouls, who could diſcern true goodneſs through ſo dark a cloud, who could love it though ſo ill-favouredly diſfigured, who could embrace and avow it notwithſtanding ſo terrible diſadvantages; it ſerved, I ſay to diſtinguiſh thoſe *bleſſed* ones, who *would not*
Matt. 11. 6. Gal. 5. 11. *offended in him*, or by *the ſcandal of the croſs* be diſcouraged from adhering to him, from the crew of blind, vain, perverſe, haughty people, who, being ſcandalized at his adverſity, would contemn and reject him.
1 Pet. 2. 7, 8. 1 Cor. 1. 23.

Another conſiderable Advantage was this, that by it God's ſpecial
Chryſ. *Tom.* 6. *Orat.* 61. Providence was diſcovered, and his glory illuſtrated in the propagation of the Goſpel. For how could it be, that a perſon of ſo low parentage, of ſo mean garb, of ſo poor condition, who underwent ſo lamentable and deſpicable a kind of death, falling under the pride, and ſpite of his enemies, ſo eaſily ſhould gain ſo general an opinion in the world (even among the beſt, the wiſeſt, the greateſt perſons) of being *the Lord of*
1 Cor. 2. 8. Jam. 2. 1. *life and glory*? how, I ſay, could it happen, that ſuch a miracle could be effected without God's aid and ſpecial concurrence? That King *Herod*, who from a long reign in flouriſhing ſtate, with proſperous ſucceſs in his enterpriſes, did attain the name of Great; or that *Veſpaſian*, who triumphany

triumphantly did ascend the imperial Throne, should either of them, by few admirers of worldly vanity, seriously be held, or in flattery be all'd the *Messias*; is not so strange: but that one who was trampled on so miserably, and treated as a wretched caitiff, should instantly conquer innumerable hearts, and from such a depth of extreme adversity, should be advanced to the sublimest pitch of glory; that *the Stone which the builders* with so much scorn *did refuse*, should *become the head-stone of the corner*; *this* (with good assurance we may say) *was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.* Psal. 118. 22, 23.

Hereby indeed *the excellency of divine power* and wisdom was much glorified; by so impotent, so improbably, so implausible means accomplishing so great effects; subduing the world to obedience of God, not by the active valour of an illustrious Hero, but through the patient submission of a poor, abused and oppressed person; restoring mankind to life and happiness by the sorrowful death of a crucified Saviour. 2 Cor. 4. 7. 1 Cor. 1. 27.

V. Lastly, The consideration of our Lord's Suffering in this manner is very useful in application to our practice: No point is more fruitful of wholsome instruction, none is more forcible to kindle devout affections, none can afford more efficacious inducements and incentives to a pious life. For what vertue will not a serious meditation on the Cross be apt to breed and to cherish? to what duty will it not engage and excite us?

1. Are we not hence infinitely obliged, with most humble affection and hearty gratitude to adore each person of the blessed Trinity?

That God the Father should design such a Redemption for us; *not sparing his own Son, (the Son of his love*, dear to him as himself,) *but delivering him up for us*, to be thus dealt with for our sake: That God would endure to see his Son in so pitiful a condition, to hear him groaning under so grievous pressures, to let him be so horribly abused; and that for us, who deserved nothing from him, who had demerited so much against him; for us, who were no friends to him, (for *even when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son*;) who were not any ways commendable for goodness or righteousness: (for *Christ did suffer for sinners, the just for the unjust*; and * *God commended his love to us, that while we were sinful, Christ died for us*:) That God us should *love us, sending his Son to be a propitiation for our sins*, in so small a way of suffering, how stupendious is that goodness? how vast obligation doth it lay upon us to reciprocal affection? If we do owe to God, as our Maker, from whose undeserved bounty we did receive all that we have; how much farther do we stand indebted to him as the author of our Redemption, from whose ill-deserved mercy we receive a new being, and better state; and that in a way far more obliging? For God created us with a word, without more cost or trouble: but to redeem us, stood him in huge expences and pains; no less than the debasing his only Son to our frailty, the exposing him to more than our misery, the withdrawing his face, and restraining his bowels from his best beloved. If a *Jew* then were commanded by Law, if a *Gentile* were obliged by Nature, to *love God with all his heart and all his soul*; what affection doth a Christian, under the law and duty of Grace, owe unto him? by what computation can we reckon that debt? what faculties have we sufficient to discharge it? what finite heart can hold an affection commensurate to such an obligation? Rom. 5. 10. 1 Pet. 3. 18. Rom. 5. 6. 2 Cor. 5. 19. * Rom. 5. 8. 1 Joh. 4. 10.

And how can it otherwise than inflame our heart with love toward the blessed Son of God, our Saviour, to consider that meerly out of charitable pity toward us, he purposely came down from Heaven, and took our flesh upon him, that he might therein undergo those extreme arbities of pain, and those most ugly indignities of shame for us? Eph. 3. 19. 5. 2. 25. Gal. 2. 20. Apoc. 1. 5. Joh. 15. 13.

Greater love (ſaid he) *hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends:* But that God ſhould lay down his life, ſhould pour forth his blood, ſhould be aſperſed with the worſt crimes, and cloathed with fouleſt ſhame, ſhould be executed on a Croſs as a malefactor and a ſlave, for his enemies and rebellious traitours, what imagination can deviſe any expreſſion of charity or friendſhip comparable to this? Wherefore if love naturally be productive of love, if friendſhip juſtly meriteth a correſpondence in good-will, what effect ſhould the conſideration of ſo ineffable a love, of ſo unparallel'd friendſhip have upon us?

How can any ſerious reflexion on this event fail to work hearty gratitude in us toward our good Lord? For put caſe any perſon for our ſake (that he might reſcue us from the greateſt miſchiefs, and purchaſe for us the higheſt benefits,) willingly ſhould deprive himſelf of all his eſtate (and that a very large one,) of his honour, (and that a very high one) of his eaſe and pleaſure, (and thoſe the moſt perfect and aſſured that could be;) that he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the greateſt hazzard, ſhould endure the ſoreſt pains, and moſt diſgraceful ignominies; ſhould proſtitute his life, and in moſt hideous manner loſe it, merely for our ſake: Should we not then apprehend and confeſs our ſelves monſtrous ingrateful, if we did not moſt deeply reſent ſuch kindneſs; if upon all occaſions we did not expreſs our thankfulneſs for it; if we did not even readily yield all the acknowledgment and all the requital we were able? The caſe in regard to our bleſſed Saviour is like in kind; but in degree whatever we can ſuppoſe doth infinitely fall below the performances of him for us, who ſtooped from the top of Heaven, who laid aſide the Majeſty and the Felicity of God for the infamies and the dolours of a Croſs, that he might redeem us from the torments of Hell, and inſtate us in the joys of Paradiſe. So that our obligations of gratitude to him are unexpreſſibly great; and we cannot with any face deny our ſelves to be moſt baſely unworthy, if the effects in our heart and life be not anſwerable.

Nor ſhould we forget, that alſo upon this account we do owe great love and thanks to God the Holy Ghoſt, who, as he did originally conſpire in the wonderful project of our Redemption, as he did executively by miraculous operation conduct our Saviour into his fleſhly Tabernacle (Joh. 3. 34.) as he did by unmeaſurable communications of Divine virtue aſſiſt his Humanity through all the courſe of his life; ſo in this juncture he did inſpire him with Charity more than humane, and did ſupport him to undergo thoſe preſſures with invincible patience; and ſo did ſanctify all this Sacerdotal performance, that our Lord, as the Apoſtle (Heb. 9. 14.) doth affirm, *did through the eternal Spirit offer himſelf without ſpot to God.*

2. What ſurer ground can there be of Faith in God, what ſtronger encouragement of Hope, than is ſuggeſted by this conſideration? For (1 Pet. 1. 20. Epheſ. 1. 4.) God ſtedfaſtly did hold his purpoſe, and faithfully did accompliſh his (Luke 1. 70.) word in an inſtance ſo diſtaſtful to his own heart and bowels; how can we ever ſuſpect his conſtancy and fidelity in any caſe? how can we diſtruſt the completion of any Divine promiſe?

If God ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us, to the ſuffering of ſo contumelious affliction, (Rom. 8. 32.) how can we any ways be diffident of his bounty, or deſpair of his mercy; *how* (as the Apoſtle doth argue) *ſhall he not alſo with him freely give us all things?*

If ever we be tempted to doubt of God's goodneſs, will not this experiment thereof convince and ſatisfy us? For what higher kindneſs could God expreſs, what lower condeſcenſion could he vouchſafe, by what pledg

pledge could he more clearly or ſurely teſtify his willingneſs and his delight to do us good, than by thus ordering his deareſt Son to undergo ſuch miſeries for us?

If the greatneſs of our ſins diſcourageth us from entertaining comfortable hopes of mercy, will it not rear our hearts, to conſider that ſuch a puniſhment hath been inflicted to expiate them, which might content the moſt rigorous ſeverity; that ſuch a price is laid down to *redeem us from the curſe*, which richly may ſuffice to diſcharge it; that ſuch a ſacrifice hath been offered, which God hath avowed for moſt available, and acceptable to himſelf? So that now what can juſtice exact more from us? what have we farther to do, than with a penitent and thankful heart to embrace the mercy purchaſed for us? *Who is he that condemneth*, ſeeing *Chriſt hath died*, and *hath his own ſelf born our ſins in his own body on the tree*? Whatever the wounds of our Conſcience be, is not *the blood of the Croſs*, tempered with our hearty repentance, and applied by a lively faith, a ſovereign balſam, of virtue ſufficient to cure them? and may we not *by his ſtripes be healed*? Have we not abundant reaſon, with the Holy Apoſtle, to *joy in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; *by whom we have received the atonement*? Is it not to depreciate the worth, to diſparage the efficacy of our Lord's Paſſion, any ways to deſpair of mercy, or to be diſconſolate for guilt: as if the Croſs were not enough worthy to compenſate for our unworthineſs, or our Saviour's patience could not ballance our diſobedience?

Quis de ſe deſperet, pro quo tam humilis eſſe voluit Filius Dei? Aug. de Ag. Chr. c. 11. Gal. 3. 13. Epheſ. 5. 2. 1 Pet. 1. 19. Rom. 8. 34. 1 Pet. 2. 24. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Rom. 5. 11.

3. It indeed may yield great joy and ſprightly conſolation to us, to contemplate our Lord upon the Croſs; exerciſing his immenſe Charity toward us, tranſacting all the work of our Redemption, defeating all the enemies, and evacuating all the obſtacles of our Salvation.

May we not delectably conſider him as there ſtretching forth his Arms of kindneſs, with them to embrace the World, and to receive all mankind under the wings of his protection? as there ſpreading out his Hands, with them earneſtly inviting and intreating us to accept the overtures of grace, procured by him for us?

Extendit in paſſione manus ſuas, &c. Lact. 4. 26. Iſa. 65. 2.

Is it not ſweet and ſatisfactory, to view our great High Prieſt on that high Altar offering up his own pure Fleſh, and pouring out his precious blood, as an univerſal complete Sacrifice, propitiatory for the ſins of mankind?

Lev. 9. 22. Chryſ. *Tom.* 82. *Or.* P. Leo I.

Is it not a goodly object to behold humility and patience ſo glorioufly rearing themſelves above all worldly, all infernal pride and inſolence; by the Croſs aſcending unto the celeſtial Throne of Dignity and Majeſty ſuperlative?

Is it not pleaſant to contemplate our Lord there ſtanding erect, not only as a reſolute ſufferer, but as a noble Conquerour, where *having ſpoiled principalities and powers, he made a ſolemn ſhew triumphing over them*? Did ever any Conquerour, loftily ſeated in his triumphal Chariot, yield a ſpectacle ſo gallant and magnificent? was ever tree adorned with trophies ſo pompous and ſplendid?

Col. 2. 15.

To the exteriour view and carnal ſenſe of men, our Lord was then indeed expoſed to ſcorn and ſhame; but to ſpiritual and ſincere diſcerning, all his and our enemies did there hang up as objects of contempt, utterly overthrown and undone.

There the Devil, that *ſtrong* and ſturdy *one*, did hang up bound in chains, diſarmed and rifled, quite baffled and confounded, mankind being reſcued from his tyrannick power.

ὁ ἰσχυρός. Matt. 12. 29. Luk. 11. 21. 22. Heb. 2. 14.

There the World, with its vain pomps, its counterfeit beauties, its bewitching pleaſures, its fondly-admired excellencies did hang up all defaced and diſparaged; as it appeared to S. *Paul*: for, *God* (ſaith he) *forbid*

forbid that I ſhould glory ſave in the Croſs of Chriſt, by which the world is
Gal. 6. 14. *crucified to me, and I unto the world.*

Gal. 2. 20. 5. 24. Col. 3. 5. Rom. 8. 13. There, in a moſt lively repreſentation, and moſt admirable pattern, was exhibited *the mortification of our fleſh, with its affections and luſts*; and our *old man was crucified, that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed.*

1 Pet. 2. 24. There our ſins, being (as St. *Peter* telleth us) *carried up by him unto the gibbet*, did hang as marks of his victorious proweſs, as malefactors

Rom. 8. 3. by him *condemned in the fleſh*, as objects of our horrour and hatred.

1 Cor. 15. 54, 55. 2 Tim. 1. 10. Heb. 2. 14. There Death it ſelf hung gaſping, with its ſting pulled out, and all its terrours quelled; his Death having prevented ours, and induced Immortality.

Eph. 2. 15, 16. Col. 1. 10. There all wrath, *enmity*, ſtrife, (the banes of comfortable life,) did hang *aboliſhed in his fleſh*, and *ſlain upon the Croſs, by the blood whereof he made peace, and reconciled all things in heaven and earth.*

Col. 2. 14. There manifold yokes of bondage, inſtruments of vexation, and principles of variance, even all *the hand-writing of ordinances that was againſt us*, did hang up *cancelled* and *nailed to the Croſs.*

So much ſweet comfort by ſpecial conſideration may be extracted from this event, which in appearance was moſt doleful, but in effect the moſt happy that ever by Providence was diſpenſed to the world. Farther,

4. This conſideration is moſt uſeful to render us very humble and ſenſible of our weakneſs, our vileneſs, our wretchedneſs. For how low was that our fall, from which we could not be raiſed without ſuch a depreſſion of God's only Son? how great is that impotency, which did need ſuch a ſuccour to relieve it? how abominable muſt be that iniquity, which might not be expiated without ſo coſtly a ſacrifice? how deplorable is that miſery, which could not be removed without commutation of ſo ſtrange a ſuffering? Would the Son of God have ſo *emptied*, and abaſed himſelf for nothing? would he have endured ſuch pains and ignominies for a trifle? No ſurely; if our guilt had been ſlight, if our caſe had been tolerable, the Divine wiſdom would have choſen a more cheap and eaſie remedy for us.

ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε. Phil. 2. 7.

Is it not madneſs of us to be conceited for any worth in our ſelves, to confide in any merit of our works, to glory in any thing belonging to us, to fancy our ſelves brave, fine, happy perſons, worthy of great reſpect and eſteem; when as our unworthineſs, out demerit, our forlorn eſtate did extort from the moſt gracious God a diſpleaſure needing ſuch a reconciliation, did impoſe upon the moſt glorious Son of God a neceſſity to undergo ſuch a puniſhment in our behalf?

How can we reaſonably pretend to any honour, or juſtly aſſume any regard to our ſelves, whenas the Firſt-born of Heaven, *the Lord of*
1 Cor. 2. 8. Phil. 2. 7. *glory*, partaker of Divine Majeſty, was fain to *make himſelf of no reputation*, to put himſelf into *the garb of a ſervant*, and under the imputation of a malefactor, to bear ſuch diſgrace and infamy in our room, in lieu of the confuſion due to us?

What more palpable confutation can there be of humane vanity and
2 Cor. 10. 5. arrogance, of all lofty *imaginations*, all preſumptuous confidences, all turgid humours, all fond ſelf-pleaſings and ſelf-admirings, than is that tragical croſs, wherein, as in a glaſs, our foul deformity, our pitiful meanneſs, our helpleſs infirmity, our ſad wofulneſs are ſo plainly repreſented?

Well ſurely may we ſay with S. *Auſtin*, *Let man now at length bluſh to be proud, for whom God is made ſo humble.* [And ſince (as he doth add) *this great diſeaſe of Soul did bring down the Almighty Phyſici-*

Jam tandem erubeſcat homo eſſe ſuperbus, propter quem factus eſt humilis Deus. Aug. *in* Pſ. 18.

Iſte ingens morbus omnipotentem Medicum de cœlo deduxit, uſque ad formam ſervi humiliavit, contumeliis egit, ligno

an

an from Heaven, did humble him to the form of a ſervant, did ſubject him to contumelies, did ſuſpend him on a Croſs, that this tumour by virtue of ſo great a medicine might be cured;] may not he well be preſumed incurable, who is not cured of his pride by this medicine; in whom neither the reaſon of the caſe, nor the force of ſuch an example can work humility?

ſuſpendit, ut per ſalutem tantæ medicinæ curetur hic tumor. Ibid.

Quæ ſuperbia ſanari poteſt, ſi humilitate Filii Dei non ſanatur? Aug. *de Agone Chr. cap.* 11.

5. But farther, while this contemplation doth breed ſober humility, it alſo ſhould preſerve us from baſe abjectneſs of mind: for it doth evidently demonſtrate, that according to God's infallible judgment, we are very conſiderable; that our Souls are capable of high regard; that it is a great pity we ſhould be loſt and abandoned to ruine. For ſurely, had not God much eſteemed and reſpected us, he would not for our ſakes have ſo debaſed himſelf, or deigned to endure ſo much for our recovery; Divine juſtice would not have exacted or accepted ſuch a ranſom for our Souls, had they been of little worth. We ſhould not therefore ſlight our ſelves, nor demean our ſelves like ſorry contemptible wretches, as if we deſerved no conſideration, no pity from our ſelves; as if we thought our Souls not worth ſaving, which yet our Lord thought good to purchaſe at ſo dear a rate. By ſo deſpiſing or diſregarding our ſelves, do we not condemn the ſentiments, do we not vilifie the ſufferings of our Lord; ſo with a pitiful meanneſs of ſpirit joyning the moſt unworthy injuſtice and ingratitude? Again,

Aut vero pro minimo habet Deus hominem, propter quem mori voluit Filium ſuum? Aug. *in* Pſal. 148. *Si vobis ex terrena fragilitate viles eſtis, ex pretio veſtro vos æſtimate.* Aug. Acts 13. 46.

6. How can we reflect upon this event without extreme diſpleaſure againſt, and hearty deteſtation of our ſins? thoſe ſins which indeed did bring ſuch tortures and ſuch diſgraces upon our bleſſed Redeemer? *Judas*, the wretch who betrayed him, the *Jewiſh* Prieſts who did accuſe and proſecute him, the wicked rout which did abuſively inſult over him, thoſe cruel hands that ſmote him, thoſe pitileſs hearts that ſcorned him, thoſe poiſonous tongues that mocked him and reviled him, all thoſe who were the inſtruments and abettors of his affliction, how do we loath and abhor them? how do we deteſt their names, and execrate their memories? But how much greater reaſon have we to abominate our ſins, which were the true, the principal actors of all that woful tragedy? *He was delivered for our offences*: They were indeed the Traitors, which by the hands of *Judas* delivered him up. *He that knew no ſin, was made ſin for us*, that is, was accuſed, was condemned, was executed as a ſinner for us. It was therefore we, who by our ſins did impeach him; the ſpiteful Prieſts were but our Advocates: We by them did adjudge and ſentence him; *Pilate* was but drawn in againſt his will and conſcience, to be our ſpokeſman in that behalf: We by them did inflict that horrid puniſhment on him; the *Roman* Executioners were but our Repreſentatives therein. *He became a curſe for us*; that is, all the mockery, deriſion and contumely he endured, did proceed from us; the ſilly people were but properties acting our parts. Our ſins were they that cryed out, *Crucifige*, (*Crucify him, crucify him,*) with clamours more loud and more importunate than did all the *Jewiſh* rabble: It was they, which by the borrowed throats of that baſe people did ſo outrageouſly perſecute him. *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and bruiſed for our iniquities*: It was they which by the hands of the fierce ſouldiers, and of the rude populacy, as by ſenſeleſs engines, did buffet and ſcourge him; they by the nails and thorns did pierce his fleſh, and rend

Rom. 4. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Gal. 3. 13. Iſa. 53. 5.

rend his ſacred body. Upon them therefore it is moſt juſt and fit that we ſhould turn our hatred, that we ſhould diſcharge our indignation.

7. And what in reaſon can be more powerful toward working penitential ſorrow and remorſe, than reflexion upon ſuch horrible effects, proceeding from our ſins? How can we forbear earneſtly to grieve, conſidering our ſelves by them to have been the perfidious betrayers, the unjuſt ſlanderers, the cruel perſecutors, and barbarous murtherers of a Perſon ſo innocent and lovely, ſo good and benign, ſo great and glorious; of God's own dear Son, of our beſt Friend, of our moſt gracious Redeemer?

8. If ingenuity will not operate ſo far, and hereby melt us into contrition; yet ſurely this conſideration muſt needs affect us
Pſal. 119. 120. with a religious Fear. For can we otherwiſe than tremble to think upon the heinous guilt of our ſins, upon the dreadful fierceneſs of God's wrath againſt them, upon the impartial ſeverity of Divine judgment for them, all ſo manifeſtly diſcovered, all ſo livelily ſet forth in this diſmal ſpectacle? If the view of an ordinary execution is apt to beget in us ſome terrour, ſome dread of the Law, ſome reverence toward Authority; what awful impreſſions ſhould this ſingular example of Divine Juſtice work upon us?

How greatly we ſhould be moved thereby, what affections it ſhould raiſe in us, we may even learn from the moſt inanimate creatures: for the whole world did ſeem affected thereat with horrour and confuſion; the frame of things was diſcompoſed and diſturbed; all Nature did feel a kind of compaſſion and compunction for it. The Sun (as from averſion and ſhame) did hide his face, leaving the World covered for three hours with mournful blackneſs; the bowels of the Earth did yern and quake; the Rocks did ſplit; the Veil of the Temple was rent; the Graves did open themſelves, and the dead Bodies were rouzed up. And can we then (who are the moſt concerned in the event) be more ſtupid than the Earth, more obdurate than Rocks, more drowzy than interr'd Carcaſes, the moſt inſenſible and immovable things in nature? But farther,

9. How can the meditation on this event do otherwiſe than hugely deter us from all wilful diſobedience and commiſſion of ſin? For how thereby can we violate ſuch engagements, and thwart ſuch an example of obedience? how thereby can we abuſe ſo wonderful goodneſs, and diſoblige ſo tranſcendent charity? how thereby can we reject that gentle dominion over us, which our Redeemer did ſo dearly purchaſe, or renounce *the Lord that bought us* at ſo high a rate? with
Tit. 2. 14. 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. what heart can we bring up on the ſtage, and act over that direful tragedy, renewing all that pain and all that diſgrace to our Saviour; as the Apoſtle teacheth that we do by Apoſtacy, *crucifying to our ſelves the Son of God afreſh, and putting him to an open ſhame*
Rom. 14. 9. 2 Cor. 5. 15. 2 Pet. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 6. 20. Heb. 6. 6. ἀναςαυροῦντες. Can we without horrour *tread under foot the Son of God, and count the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing*; (as the ſame divine Apoſtle ſaith all wilful tranſgreſſors do;) vilifying that moſt ſacred and precious blood, ſo freely ſhed for the demonſtration of God's mercy, and ratification of his gracious intentions toward us, as a thing of no ſpecial worth or conſideration; deſpiſing all his ſo kind and painful endeavours for our Salvation; defeating his moſt charitable purpoſes, and earneſt deſires for our welfare; rendring all his ſo bitter and loathſome Sufferings in regard to us utterly vain and fruitleſs
Heb. 10. 29. ἔκκσίως ἁμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν, ver. 26. κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος.

fruitless, yea indeed very hurtful and pernicious? for if the Cross do not save us from our sins, it will much aggravate their guilt, and augment their punishment; bringing a severer condemnation, and a sadder ruine on us. Again,

10. This consideration affordeth very strong engagements to the practice of charity towards our Neighbour. For what heart can be so hard, that the blood of the Cross cannot mollifie into a charitable and compassionate sense? Can we forbear to love those, toward whom our Saviour did bear so tender affection, for whom he was pleased to sustain so woful tortures and indignities? Shall we not, in obedience to his most urgent commands, in conformity to his most notable example, in grateful return to him for his benefits, who thus did gladly suffer for us, discharge this most sweet and easie duty towards his beloved friends? Shall we not be willing, by parting with a little superfluous stuff for the relief of our poor brother, to requite and gratifie him, who, to succour us in our distress, most bountifully did part with his wealth, with his glory, with his pleasure, with his life it self? 2 Cor. 8. 9. Shall we not meekly comport with an infirmity, not bear a petty neglect, not forgive a small injury to our brother, whenas our Lord did for us, and from us bear a Cross, to procure remission for our innumerable most heinous affronts and offences against Almighty God? Can a heart void of mercy and pity, with any reason or modesty pretend to the mercies and compassions of the Cross? Can we hope, that God for *Christ*'s sake will pardon us, if we for *Christ*'s sake will not forgive our Neighbour? Eph. 4. 32. Coloss. 3. 13.

Can we hear our Lord saying to us, *This is my command, That ye love one another, as I have loved you*; and, *Hereby shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another?* Can we hear S. *Paul* exhorting, *Walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet smelling savour*; and, *We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak—For even Christ pleased not himself, but, as it is written, The reproaches of them that reproached thee, fell on me?* Can we attend to S. *John's* arguing, *Beloved, if God so loved us, then ought we also to love one another. Hereby we perceive the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: wherefore we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren?* Joh. 15. 12. Joh. 13. 35. Eph. 5. 2. Rom. 15. 1, 3. 1 Joh. 4. 11. 3. 16.

Can we, I say, consider such Precepts, and such Discourses, without effectually being disposed to comply with them for the sake of our crucified Saviour; all whose Life was nothing else but one continual recommendation and enforcement of this duty; but his Death especially was a pattern most obliging, most incentive thereto? This use of the Point is the more to be regarded, because the Apostle doth apply it hereto, our Text coming in upon that occasion; for having pathetically exhorted the *Philippians* to all kinds of charity and humble condescension, he subjoyneth, *Let this mind be in you, which was in Christ Jesus*; *Who being in the form of God*, &c. Phil. 2. 5.—

11. But furthermore, what can be more operative than this point toward breeding a disregard of this World with all its deceitful vanities, and mischievous delights; toward reconciling our minds to the worst condition into which it can bring us; toward supporting our hearts under the heaviest pressures of affliction which it can lay upon us? For can we reasonably expect, can we eagerly affect, can we ardently desire great prosperity, whenas the Son of God, our Lord and Master, did only taste such adversity? How can we refuse, in submission to God's pleasure, contentedly to bear a slight grievance, whenas our Saviour gladly did bear a Cross, infinitely more dis-

taſteful to carnal will and ſenſe than any that can befal us? Who now can admire thoſe ſplendid trifles, which our Lord never did regard in his life, and which at his death only did ſerve to mock and abuſe him? Who can reliſh thoſe ſordid pleaſures, of which he living did not vouchſafe to taſte, and the contraries whereof he dying choſe to feel in all extremity? Who can diſdain or deſpiſe a ſtate of ſorrow and diſgrace, which he, by voluntary ſuſception of it, hath ſo dignified and graced; by which we ſo near reſemble and become conformable to him; by which we concur and partake with him; yea, by which we in ſome caſes may promote, and after a ſort complete his deſigns *filling up*, (as S. *Paul* ſpeaketh) *that which is behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in our fleſh?*

Rom. 8. 17. Phil. 3. 10. Apoc. 1. 9. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Col. 1. 24.

Who now can hugely prefer being eſteemed, approved, favoured commended by men, before infamy, reproach, deriſion, and perſecution from them; eſpecially when theſe do follow conſcientious adherence to righteouſneſs? Who can be very ambitious of worldly honour and repute, covetous of wealth, or greedy of pleaſure, who doth obſerve the Son of God chuſing rather to hang upon a Croſs, than to ſit upon a Throne; inviting the clamours of ſcorn and ſpite, rather than acclamations of bleſſing and praiſe; diveſting himſelf of all ſecular power, pomp, plenty, conveniences and ſolaces: embracing the garb of a ſlave, and the repute of a malefactor, before the dignity and reſpect of a Prince, which were his due, which he moſt eaſily could have obtained?

Cogitemus crucem ejus, & divitias. Iutum eſſe putabimus. Hier. *ad Nepot. Epiſt.* 2.

Can we imagine it a very happy thing, to be high and proſperous in this World, to ſwim in affluence and pleaſure? Can we take it for a miſery, to be mean and low, to conflict with ſome wants and ſtraits here; ſeeing the Fountain of all happineſs, did himſelf purpoſely condeſcend to ſo forlorn a ſtate, and was pleaſed to become ſo dear a ſufferer? If with devout eyes of our mind we do behold our Lord hanging naked upon a gibbet, beſmeared all over with ſtreams of his own blood, groaning under ſmart anguiſh of pain, encompaſſed with all ſorts of diſgraceful abuſes, *yielding* (as it was foretold of him) *his back to the ſmiters, and his cheeks to them who plucked off the hair, hiding not his face from ſhame and ſpitting*; will not the imagination of ſuch ſpectacle dim the luſtre of all earthly grandeurs and beauties, damp the ſenſe of all carnal delights and ſatisfactions, quaſh all that extravagant glee which we can find in any wild frolicks, or riotous merriments will it not ſtain all our pride, and check our wantonneſs? will it not diſpoſe our minds to be ſober, placing our happineſs in things of another nature, ſeeking our content in matters of higher importance; preferring obedience to the will of God before compliance with the fancies and deſires of men; according to that precept of St. *Peter, Foraſmuch then as Chriſt hath ſuffered for us in the fleſh, arm your ſelves likewiſe with the ſame mind — ſo as no longer to live the remaining time in the fleſh to the luſts of men, but to the will of God?*

Quis beatam vitam eſſe arbitretur in iis, quæ contemnenda eſſe docuit Filius Dei? Aug. *de Ag. Chr. cap.* 11.

Iſa. 56.

1 Pet. 4. 1, 2. *Græc.*

12. This indeed will inſtruct and incline us chearfully to ſubmit unto God's will, and gladly to accept from his hand whatever he diſpoſeth, however grievous and afflictive to our natural will; this point ſuggeſting great commendation of Afflictions, and ſtrong conſolation under them. For if ſuch hardſhip was to our Lord himſelf a ſchool of duty, *he* (as the Apoſtle ſaith) *learning obedience from what he ſuffered*, if it was to him a fit mean of perfection, as the Apoſtle doth again imply when he ſaith, *that it became God to perfect the captain of our ſalvation by ſuffering*; if it was an attractive of the Divine favour even to him, as thoſe words import, *Therefore the Father loveth me, becauſe*

ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε. Heb. 5. 8. Heb. 2. 10. Joh. 10. 17.

I lay down my life; if it was to him a ſtep toward glory, according to that ſaying, *Was not Chriſt to ſuffer, and ſo to enter into his glory?* Luk. 24. 26. yea, if it was a ground of conferring on him a ſublime pitch of dignity above all Creatures, *God for this obedience having exalted him, and given him a name above all names*; *We ſeeing Jeſus——for the ſuffering of death, crowned with glory and honour*; the heavenly Society in the *Revelations* with one voice crying out, *Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain (who redeemed us to God by his blood) to receive power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing*: If Affliction did miniſter ſuch advantages to him; and if by our conformity to him in undergoing it, (with like equanimity, humility, and patience) it may afford the like to us; what reaſon is there that we ſhould any-wiſe be diſcompoſed at it, or diſconſolate under it? Much greater reaſon, ſurely, there is, that, with St. *Paul*, and all the Holy Apoſtles, we ſhould * rejoyce, boaſt, and exult in our tribulations: far more cauſe we have, with them, to eſteem it a favour, a privilege, an ornament, a felicity to us, than to be diſpleaſed and diſcontented therewith.

Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Rev. 5. 12. 9. * (Rom. 5. 3. Col. 1. 24. Matt. 5. 12. Luk. 6. 23. Phil. 1. 29. Act. 5. 41. Jam. 1. 2. Heb. 10. 34. 1 Pet. 1. 7. Heb. 12. 2.---- 1 Cor. 1. 4.---)

To do thus is a duty incumbent on us as Chriſtians. For, † *He*, ſaith our Maſter, *that doth not take up his croſs, and follow me, is not worthy of me*; *He that doth not carry his croſs, and go after me cannot be my diſciple*. He that doth not willingly take the croſs when it is preſented to him by God's hand, he that doth not contentedly bear it when it is by providence impoſed on him, is no-wiſe worthy of the honour to wait on *Chriſt*; he is not capable to be reckoned among the Diſciples of our heavenly Maſter. He is *not worthy of Chriſt*, as not having the courage, the conſtancy, the ſincerity of a Chriſtian; or of one pretending to ſuch great benefits, ſuch high privileges, ſuch excellent rewards, as *Chriſt* our Lord and Saviour doth propoſe. He *cannot be Chriſt's diſciple*, ſhewing ſuch an incapacity to learn thoſe needful leſſons of humility and patience dictated by him; declaring ſuch an indiſpoſition to tranſcribe thoſe Copies of ſubmiſſion to the divine will, ſelf-denial, and ſelf-reſignation, ſo fairly ſet him by the inſtruction and example of *Chriſt*: for *Chriſt* (ſaith S. *Peter*) *ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that we ſhould follow his ſteps*.

† Matt. 10. 38. 16. 24. Luk. 14. 27. 9. 23. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 38. *p.* 623. ὑπογεγραμμὸν ὑπολιμπάνων. 1 Pet. 2. 21.

13. The willing ſuſception and the cheerful ſuſtenance of the Croſs is indeed the expreſs condition, and the peculiar character of our Chriſtianity; in ſignification whereof, it hath been from moſt ancient times a conſtant uſage to mark thoſe who enter into it with the figure of it. The Croſs, as the inſtrument by which our peace with God was wrought, as the ſtage whereon our Lord did act the laſt part of his marvellous obedience, conſummating our redemption, as the field wherein the Captain of our ſalvation did atchieve his noble victories, and erect his glorious trophies over all the enemies thereof, was well aſſumed to be the badge of our profeſſion, the enſign of our ſpiritual warfare, the pledge of our conſtant adherence to our crucified Saviour; in relation to whom our chief hope is grounded, our great joy and ſole glory doth conſiſt: for *God forbid*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *that I ſhould glory ſave in the croſs of Chriſt*.

τὸ τρόπαιον τῆς σωτηρίας. *Conſt. Apoſt.* 8. 12. Gal. 6. 14.

14. Let it be *to the Jews a ſcandal*, (or offenſive to their fancy, preſſeſſed with expectations of a *Meſſias* flouriſhing in ſecular pomp and proſperity,) let it be *folly to the Greeks*, (or ſeem abſurd to men puff'd up and corrupted in mind with fleſhly notions and maxims of worldly craft, diſpoſing them to value nothing which is not grateful to preſent ſenſe or fancy,) that God ſhould put his own moſt beloved Son into ſo very ſad and deſpicable a condition; that ſalvation from death and miſery 1 Cor. 1. 23.

Orig. *in* Celſ. 2. *p.* 79.

ſery ſhould be procured by ſo miſerable a death; that eternal joy, glory and happineſs ſhould iſſue from theſe fountains of ſorrow and ſhame; that a Perſon in external ſemblance devoted to ſo opprobrious uſage, ſhould be the Lord and redeemer of mankind, the king and judge of all the world; Let, I ſay, this doctrine be ſcandalous and diſtaſteful to ſome perſons tainted with prejudice; let it be ſtrange and incredible to others blinded with ſelf-conceit; let all the inconſiderate, all the proud, all the profane part of mankind openly with their mouth, or cloſely in heart, ſlight and reject it: yet to us it muſt appear grateful

1 Tim. 1. 15. 2 Tim. 2. 11.

and joyous; to us it is πιστὸς λόγος, *a faithful* and moſt credible *propoſition worthy of all acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners*, in this way of ſuffering for them: To us, who diſcern by a clearer light, and are endowed with a purer ſenſe, kindled by the divine Spirit; from whence we may with comfortable ſatisfaction of mind apprehend and taſte, that God could not in a higher meaſure, or fitter manner illuſtrate his glorious attributes of goodneſs and juſtice, his infinite grace and mercy toward his poor creatures, his holy diſpleaſure againſt wickedneſs, his impartial ſeverity in puniſhing iniquity and impiety, or in vindicating his own ſacred honour and authority, than by thus ordering his only Son, cloathed with our nature, to ſuffer for us; that alſo true vertue and goodneſs could not otherwiſe be taught, be exemplified, be commended and impreſſed with greater advantage.

Since thereby indeed a charity and humanity ſo unparallel'd, (ſo tranſcending theirs who have been celebrated for devoting their lives out of love to their countrey, or kindneſs to their friends,) a meekneſs ſo incomparable, a reſolution ſo invincible, a patience ſo heroical, were manifeſted for the inſtruction and direction of men; ſince never were the vices and the vanities of the world (ſo prejudicial to the welfare of mankind) ſo remarkably diſcountenanced; ſince never any ſufferings could pretend to ſo worthy and beneficial effects, the expiation of the

1 Joh. 2, 2. 2 Cor. 5. 19.

whole world's ſins, and reconciliation of mankind to God, the which no other performance, no other ſacrifice did ever aim to procure; ſince in fine, no vertue had ever ſo glorious rewards, as ſovereign dignity to him that exerciſed it, and eternal happineſs to thoſe that imitate it; ſince, I ſay, there be ſuch excellent uſes and fruits of the croſs born by our Saviour; we can have no reaſon to be offended at it, or aſhamed of it; but with all reaſon heartily ſhould approve, and humbly adore the deep wiſdom of God, together with all other his glorious attributes diſplayed therein. To whom therefore, as is moſt due, let us devoutly render all glory and praiſe. And,

Apoc. 1. 5, 6.

Unto him that loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his blood, and hath made us Kings and Prieſts unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever.

Apoc. 5. 13.

Bleſſing, and honour, and glory, and power, be unto him that ſitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Amen.

A Brief

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EXPOSITION

OF THE

CREED,

THE

*LORD'S PRAYER

AND THE

DECALOGUE.

To which is added

The DOCTRINE of the

SACRAMENTS.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D.D.

And late Master of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*.

Orat. Domin.

* *Si per omnia precationum sanctarum verba discurras, quantum existimo nihil invenies, quod non ista Dominica contineat & concludat oratio: unde liberum est aliis atque aliis verbis, eadem tamen in orando dicere, sed non debet esse liberum alia dicere.* Aug. *ad* Probam *Epist.* CXXI.

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EXPOSITION
OF THE
CREED
OF THE
APOSTLES
AND THE
DECALOGUE

AN EXPOSITION ON THE CREED.

THE Order prescribed to this Exercise directs us to treat upon, 1st. *The Creed.* 2ly. *The Lord's-Prayer.* 3ly. *The Decalogue.* 4ly. *The Sacraments.* 5ly. *The Power of the Keys.*

The First comprehends the main Principles of our Religion, (I mean the Christian, as distinguished from all other Religions) with especial respect to which our Practice is also to be regulated. The Second directs us in the principal duty of our Religion, (and which procures grace and ability to perform the rest,) our devotion toward God, informing us concerning both the Matter and Manner thereof. The Third is a compendious Body (as it were) of Law, according to which we are bound to order our practice and conversation, both toward God and Man; containing the chief of those perpetual and immutable laws of God, to which our obedience is indispensibly due; and unto which all other rules of moral duty are well reducible. The next place is fitly allotted to those positive ordinances, or mystical rites, instituted by God for the ornament, and advantage of our Religion; the which we are obliged with devotion and edification of our selves to observe, and therefore should understand the signification and use of them. Lastly, Because God hath ordered Christians (for mutual assistance and edification) to live in society together, and accordingly hath appointed differences of office and degree among them, assigning to each suitable privileges and duties; 'tis requisite we consider this point also, that we may know how to behave our selves towards each other, as duty requires, respectively according to our stations in the Church, or as Members of that Christian society. Such, in brief, may be the reason of the method prescribed to these Discourses, the which, God willing, we purpose to follow.

1. *Concerning the Creed.*

That, in the primitive Churches, those who being of age (after previous instruction and some trial of their conversation) were received into entire Communion of the Church, and admitted to Baptism, were required to make open profession of their being persuaded of the truth of Christianity, and their being resolved to live according thereto; and that this profession was made by way of answer to certain interrogatories propounded to them, is evident by frequent and obvious testimonies of the most ancient Ecclesiastical Writers; and St. *Peter* himself seems to allude to this Custom, when he saith that baptism saves us (conduces to our salvation) as being ἐπερώτημα ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως, *the stipulation*, freely and sincerely, 1 Pet. 3. 21.

ſincerely, *bonâ fide*, or with a good conſcience, made by us, then when we ſolemnly did yield our conſent and promiſe to what the Church, in God's behalf, did demand of us to believe, and undertake. I conceive alſo, that the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* doth allude to the ſame practice when (*Ch.* 10. 22, 23.) he thus exhorts to perſeverance: *Having had our hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and our body waſhed with pure water* (that is, having received baptiſm) *let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith* (that which we at our baptiſm did make) *without wavering* (or declining from it) *for he that did promiſe is faithfull*; God will be true to his part, and perform what he then promiſed, of mercy and grace to us. (Some reſemblance of which practice we have in that paſſage, between *Philip* the Deacon, and the *Æthiopian* Eunuch: where, Act. 8. after *Philip* had inſtructed the Eunuch; the Eunuch firſt ſpeaks: *Behold water; what hinders me from being baptized?* *Philip* anſwers: *If thou believeſt with all thy heart, it is lawfull.* The Eunuch replies: *I believe Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God:* Upon which ſhort confeſſion of his faith, he is Baptized.) Now that this profeſſion (take it either for the action, or the entire *res geſta*; or for the form, or for the matter thereof; to all which indifferently, by metonymical ſchemes of ſpeech, the ſame words are uſually in ſuch caſes applied) that this profeſſion I ſay, was very anciently (in the *Roman* eſpecially, and ſome other Churches) called *Symbolum*, appears by thoſe remarkable words of *Cyprian* (the moſt ancient perhaps wherein this word is found applied to this matter) in his 76 Epiſtle *ad Magnum*; arguing againſt the validity of baptiſm adminiſtred by Hereticks and Schiſmaticks (ſuch as were the *Novatians:*) *Quòd ſi aliqui illud opponit, ut dicat, eandem Novatianum legem tenere, quàm Catholica Eccleſia teneat, eodem ſymbolo quo & nos baptizare, eundem nôſſe Deum patrem, eundem filium Chriſtum, eundem ſpiritum ſanctum, ac propter hoc uſurpare eam poteſtatem baptizandi poſſe, quòd videatur in interrogatione baptiſmi à nobis non diſcrepare, ſciat quiſquis hoc opponendum putat, primùm non eſſe unam nobis & ſchiſmaticis ſymboli legem, neque eandem interrogationem.* Where thoſe expreſſions, *Eodem ſymbolo baptizare*, and *in interrogatione baptiſmi non diſcrepare*; as alſo, *Una ſymboli lex*, and *Eadem interrogatio*, do ſeem to mean the ſame thing: and in other later Writers the ſame manner of ſpeaking doth ſometimes occurr; as when *Hilary* thus prays: 12. de Trin. *Conſerva hanc conſcientiæ meæ vocem, ut quod in regenerationis meæ ſymbolo baptizatus in Patre, & Filio, & Spiritu S. profeſſus ſum, ſemper obtineam.* where *regenerationis ſuæ ſymbolum* doth ſeem to import, that conteſtation of his faith, which he ſolemnly made at his baptiſm. Now the reaſon why this profeſſion was ſo called, may ſeem to be, for that it was a ſolemn ſignification of his embracing the doctrine and law of Chriſt; even as *Ariſtotle* calls words, σύμβολα τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ παθημάτων, the ſymbols or repreſentations of the conceptions that are in the mind; this ſeems to be the moſt ſimple reaſon of this term being ſo uſed: but if the ſimplicity of this notion doth not ſatisfie, there is another very agreeable to the nature of the thing, not wanting the countenance of ſome good authority. The word συμβαλλω doth in the beſt Greek * Writers not uncommonly ſignifie to tranſact commerce, to make contract, to agree about any bargain or buſineſs; and the word σύμβολαιον (thence derived) doth according to moſt common uſe denote any contract or covenant made between two parties: Now, that the ſtipulation made between a perſon by baptiſm initiated and received into Chriſtianity, and God Almighty (or the Church in his behalf) may moſt appoſitely be called a covenant or contract, none I ſuppoſe will doubt; wherein we confeſs faith and promiſe obedience; God vouchſafes preſent mercy, promiſes grace and future re-

* *Plato, Demoſthenes*, &c.

ward;

ward; and that the word σύμβολον ſhould hence import thus much, we cannot much wonder if we have obſerved how commonly words are wont to borrow ſignification from their kindred and neighbours: and thus *Chryſologus* plainly interprets the meaning of the word: *Placitum, vel pactum*, (ſaith he) *quod lucri ſpes venientis continet vel futuri, ſymbolum nuncupari etiam contractu docemur humano; quod tamen ſymbolum inter duos firmat ſemper geminata conſcriptio---inter Deum verò & homines ſymbolum fidei ſolâ fide firmatur*; and commonly (in his Sermons upon this Creed) he ſtyles it, *pactum fidei*. *Ruffinus* indeed tells us (and divers after him) that the reaſon why this Creed was called *ſymbolum* or *indicium*, is, becauſe it was deviſed as a mark to diſtinguiſh the genuine teachers of the Chriſtian doctrine from ſuch falſe teachers, as did adulterate or corrupt it; or becauſe it was a kind of military * token (a badge as it were, or a watch-word) by which the true friends of Chriſtianity might be diſcriminated and diſcerned from the enemies thereof: *Symbolum teſſera eſt & ſignaculum, quo inter fideles perfidóſque ſecernitur.* But if we conſider the brevity and ſimplicity of the ancient forms, unſuitable to ſuch a deſign, it may ſeem more probable, that it was intended not ſo much to ſeparate Chriſtians from each other, as to diſtinguiſh them from all of other Religions; or more ſimply as we ſaid, to be a mark, whereby the perſon converted to Chriſtianity did ſignifie, that he did ſincerely embrace it, conſenting to the capital doctrines thereof, and engaging obedience to its laws. Indeed afterward (when it was commonly obſerved, that almoſt any kind of Hereticks, without evident repugnance to their particular opinions, could conform to thoſe ſhort and general forms, to exclude, or prevent compliance with them) occaſion was taken to enlarge the ancient forms, or to frame new ones (more full and explicite,) to be uſed, as formerly, at baptiſm. But (to leave farther conſideration of the name, and to purſue what more concerns the thing) for the more ancient forms, wherein the fore-mentioned profeſſion was conceived, it ſeems that in ſeveral places, and times, they did ſomewhat vary, receiving alteration and encreaſe, according to the diſcretion of thoſe, who did preſide in each Church; the principal however and more ſubſtantial parts (which had eſpecial direction and authority from the words and practice of our Saviour and his Apoſtles) being every-where and at all times retained (thoſe namely, which concerned the Perſons of the Holy Trinity, and the great promiſes of the Goſpel, remiſſion of ſins, to be miniſtred here by the Church, and eternal life to be conferr'd hereafter by God upon thoſe who had conſtantly believ'd and obey'd the Goſpel.) That in the more ancient times, there was no one form, generally fixed and agreed upon (to omit other arguments that perſuade it) is hence probable, for that the moſt learned, and generally knowing perſons of thoſe times, when in their Apologies againſt disbelievers for Chriſtianity, or in their aſſertions of its genuine principles and doctrines againſt misbelievers, they by the nature and ſeuel of their diſcourſe are engag'd to ſumm up the principal doctrines of our Religion, they do not yet (as reaſon did require, and they could hardly have avoided doing, had there been any ſuch conſtantly and univerſally ſettled or avowed form) alledge any ſuch, but rather from their own obſervation of the common ſenſe agreed upon, and in their own expreſſion ſet down thoſe main doctrines, wherein the chief Churches did conſent, as may be ſeen by divers of them, eſpecially by *Tertullian* (the oldeſt of the Latines) if we compare ſeveral places, wherein he delivers the rule of

* Cognizance.

Maximus Taurinenſis.

Serm. 62. pag. 16. 2.

His additur *indiviſibilem* & *impaſſibilem*: Sciendum quòd duo illi ſermones in Eccleſiæ Romanæ ſymbolo non habentur, conſtat autem apud nos additos hæreſeos causâ Sabellii, &c. *Ruff. in Sym.*

De vel. Virg. Præſcript. adv. hæret. contra Praxeam.

of faith, (as he conſtantly calls it, that is, ſuch a ſummary of Chriſtian principles, by which the truth of doctrines concerning matters therein touched, might be examined,) wherein, I ſay, he delivers ſuch rules of faith, to the ſame purpoſe in ſenſe, but in language ſomewhat different, yet never referring us to any ſtanding and more authentick form. Among theſe forms, that which now paſſes under the title of the Apoſtles Creed (about which we diſcourſe) ſeems to have been peculiar to the *Roman* Church, and that very anciently (as to the chief Articles thereof, for it appears that in proceſs of time it hath been ſomewhat altered, eſpecially by addition,) and becauſe it had been uſed from ſuch antiquity, that its original compoſition and uſe were not known, was preſumed to have derived from the Apoſtles; the firſt planters of that Church (as it was then uſual, to repute all immemorial cuſtoms to be deduced from Apoſtolical tradition,) or poſſibly becauſe the *Roman* Church (as in common belief founded by the two great Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*) was by way of Excellency called *the Apoſtolical Church*; and the ſucceſſion of *Roman* Biſhops *ſedes Apoſtolica*; ſo whatever belonged to that Church, obtained the ſame denomination; and among the reſt, the *Roman* Symbol might for that reaſon be called *Symbolum Apoſtolicum*; that is, *Symbolum Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæ.* For that it was compiled by joint advice, or by particular contributions of all the Apoſtles, is a conceit, ſuſtained by very weak grounds, and aſſailed by very ſtrong objections: As, that a matter of ſo illuſtrious remarkableneſs, and of ſo great concernment, ſhould be no-where mentioned in the Apoſtolick acts, nor by any authentick record atteſted (and indeed had it been ſo teſtified, it muſt have attained canonical authority,) that it was not received by all Churches; and that thoſe which uſed the ſubſtance thereof, were ſo bold therewith, as to alter and enlarge it, are conſiderations ordinarily objected thereto; but that which moſt effectually, to my ſeeming, doth render ſuch original thereof altogether uncertain (and doth amount almoſt to a demonſtration againſt it I mean againſt the truth, or which is all one in matters of this nature its certainty of being compoſed by the Apoſtles) is that which I before intimated, *viz.* That the moſt ancient (and thoſe the moſt inquiſitive and beſt ſeen in ſuch matters) were either wholly ignorant that ſuch a form pretending the Apoſtles for its authors, was extant, or did not accord to its pretence, or did not at all rely upon the authenticalneſs thereof otherwiſe (as I before urged) it is hardly poſſible that they ſhould not have in moſt direct and expreſs manner alledged it, and uſed its authority againſt thoſe wild hereticks, who impugned ſome points thereof. Nothing can be more evident, than ſuch an argument (as it was more obvious than not to be taken notice of, ſo it) muſt needs carry a great ſtrength and efficacy with it; and would have much more ſerved their purpoſe for convincing their adverſaries, than a rule (of the ſame ſenſe and import) collected from their own obſervation, and compoſed in their own expreſſion; and that argument, which they ſo much inſiſt upon, drawn from the common conſent of the Apoſtolick Churches, could not have been more ſtrongly enforced, (nor the ground thereof more clearly evidenced,) than by propounding the atteſtation of this form, if ſuch a one there had been commonly received and acknowledged: And if they were ignorant, or uncertain thereof, after-times could not be more skilfull or ſure in the point. I ſpeak not this with intent to derogate from the reputation of this Creed, or to invalidate that authority, where it hath ſo long time ſtood poſſeſſed: For, as for the parts thereof, which were undoubtedly moſt ancient, the matter of them is ſo manifeſtly contained

tained in the Scripture, and ſuppoſing the truth of Chriſtianity it ſelf, they are ſo certain, that they need no other authority to ſupport them, than what Chriſtianity it ſelf ſubſiſts upon; and for other points afterwards added, they cannot by vertue of being inſerted there, pretend to Apoſtolick authority, but for their eſtabliſhment muſt inſiſt upon ſome other Baſe. It is, in general, ſufficient (that which we acknowledge) to beget a competent reverence thereto, that it was of ſo ancient uſe in the principal and for long time (till ambition and avarice, and the conſequences of general confuſion, ignorance, corruption, over-ſpreading the earth, did ſoil it) the faireſt perhaps and moſt ſober Church in the world; that it was, I ſay, in ſo illuſtrious a place, ſo near the Apoſtles time, made and uſed (and might thence ſeem probably to derive from ſome of them) may conciliate much reſpect thereto; but yet ſince it is not thoroughly certain that it was compoſed by any of them, nor hath obtained the ſame authority with their undoubted writings, what ever is therein contained muſt be explained according to, and be proved by them; and cannot otherwiſe conſtrain our faith; and indeed divers Authors of great credit acknowledge it to be collected out of the Scriptures: *Illa verba* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *quæ audiviſtis* (ſpeaking of this Creed) *per Scripturas ſparſa ſunt, & indè collecta, & ad unum redacta.* And another ancient Writer: *De ſacris omnino voluminibus quæ ſunt credenda ſumamus; de quorum fonte ſymboli ipſius ſeries derivata conſiſtit.* Its authority therefore, will at the ſecond hand prove Apoſtolical; its matter being drawn from the fountains of Apoſtolical Scripture. But ſo much ſhall ſuffice, for Preface, concerning the title and other extrinſecal adjuncts of the Creed. As for the ſubject it ſelf, 'tis a ſhort Syſtem of Chriſtian doctrine; comprizing the chief Principles of Chriſtianity, as diſtinct from all other Regions; in a form (or manner of ſpeech) ſuted for every ſingular perſon, hereby to declare his conſent to that Religion; which to do, as it is ſpecially befitting at Baptiſm (when the perſon is ſolemnly admitted to the participation of the benefits and privileges of that Religion; and would therefore reaſonably be required to profeſs that he believes the truth thereof, and willingly undertakes to perform the conditions and duties belonging thereto,) ſo it cannot but be very convenient and uſefull at other times, and deſerves to be a conſtant part of God's ſervice; as both much tending to the honour of God, and conducing to private and publick edification: We thereby glorifie God, frequently confeſſing his truth (the chief and higheſt points of his heavenly truth, by his goodneſs revealed unto us,) we re-mind our ſelves of our duties and engagements to God; we ſatisfie the Church of our perſeverance, and encourage our brethren to perſiſt in the faith of Chriſt.

Paſchaſius de Sp. S. cap. 1.

As for the interpretation thereof, I ſhall not otherwiſe determine or admit its ſenſe, than by endeavouring to declare what is true in it ſelf, and agreeable to the meaning of the words, wherein each article is expreſſed; proving ſuch truth by any kind of ſuitable arguments, that offer themſelves; ſuch as either the reaſon of the thing, or plain teſtimony of Holy Scripture, or general conſent and tradition of the ancient Churches, founded by the Apoſtles, do afford. Proving I ſay; for the Creed it ſelf (as we before diſcourſed) not being endewed with higheſt authority to enforce its doctrine, it muſt be confirmed by ſuch other grounds as may be proved more immediately valid, and efficacious to convince or produce faith in men's minds. For Faith it ſelf is not an arbitrary act, nor an effect of blind neceſſity; (we cannot believe what we please; or can be compelled to believe any thing,) 'tis a reſult of judgment and choice,

choice, grounded upon reaſon of ſome kind, after deliberation and debate concerning the matter. But more diſtinctly what the faith, we profeſs to have, is, I will immediately inquire; addreſſing my ſelf to the expoſition of the firſt word, *I believe*, or *I believe in.* Before we proceed, we muſt remove a rubb, which criticizing upon the phraſe, hath put in our way.

It comes from *Auguſtine*, the father of ſcholaſtick diſtinctions.

They give us a diſtinction between *to believe a thing*, *to believe a perſon*, and *to believe upon a thing or perſon*: For example, taking God for the object, there is, they ſay, a difference between *Credere Deum*, *credere Deo*, and *credere in Deum*: *Credere Deum* doth import ſimply to believe God to be: *Credere Deo* is to believe God's word or promiſe (to eſteem him veracious:) *Credere in Deum*, is to have a confidence in God, as able and willing to do us good, (to rely upon his mercy and favour; to hope for help, comfort, or reward from him; the which after St. *Auguſtine* the Schoolmen account an act of charity or love toward God, as may be ſeen in that late excellent Expoſition of the Creed;) and in this laſt ſenſe would ſome underſtand the faith here profeſſed, becauſe of the phraſe *I believe in*: But I briefly anſwer; That this phraſe being derived immediately from the Greek of the New Teſtament; and the Greek therein imitating the Old Teſtament Hebrew, we muſt interpret the meaning thereof according to its uſe there, as that may beſt agree with the reaſon of the thing, and the deſign of the Creed here. Now in the ſaid Greek and Hebrew πιστεύειν εἰς (or πιστεύειν ἐν, or πιστεύειν ὅτι, which import the ſame,) and אמין ב (*heemin be*) are uſed to ſignifie all kinds of faith, and are promiſcuouſly applied to all kind of objects: It is required, to believe not only in God and *Chriſt*, but in *Men* alſo *, in *Moſes* †, in the *Prophets*; as likewiſe in the works of God; in God's Commandments; in the Goſpel. Whence in general it appears, that to *believe in*, hath not neceſſarily or conſtantly ſuch a determinate ſenſe, as the fore-mentioned diſtinguiſhers pretend, but capable of various meanings, as the different matters to which it is applied do require: To believe in *Moſes* (for example) was not to confide his power or goodneſs, but to believe him God's Prophet, and that his words were true; to believe in God's Works, was to believe they came from God's Power, and ſignified his Providence over them; to believe in the Commands of God, and the Goſpel of Chriſt, was to take them for rules of life and to expect due reward according to the promiſes or threatnings them reſpectively pronounced to obedience or diſobedience: In a word we may obſerve (and there be inſtances innumerable to confirm the obſervation) that in the New Teſtament πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστὸν, εἰς Κύριον, εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου, and πιστεύειν τῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ Κυρίῳ, τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου, do indifferently bear the ſame ſenſe, both ſignifying no more, than being perſuaded that *Jeſus was the Chriſt*, *the Son of God*, ſuch as he declared himſelf, and the Apoſtles preached him to be. Since therefore the phraſe in it ſelf may admit various ſenſes, we may (with moſt reaſon and probability) take it here according to the nature and deſign of the Creed; which is to be a ſhort comprehenſion of ſuch verities, which we profeſs our aſſent unto: It hath (I ſay) been always taken (not directly for an exerciſe of our charity, or patience, or hope in God, or any other kind of devotion, but ſimply) for a confeſſion of Chriſtian principles and verities; and accordingly when we ſay, *I believe in God Almighty*, *the Maker of Heaven and Earth*; 'tis more proper ſo to underſtand my meaning, as if I had ſaid; *I believe there is one God*; *that he is Almighty*; *that he is Maker of Heaven and Earth*; and ſo of the reſt: To confirm which interpretation, I ſhall only add, That anciently πιστεύειν εἰς was commonly applied to the Church, to the reſurrection, to repentance and remiſſion of ſins: Many examples might be produced

* Exod. 14. 31. 19. 9.
† 2 Chron. 20. 20.
Pſal. 78. 32.
Pſal. 119. 66.
Mar. 1. 15.

duced to that purpoſe; I ſhall only mention thoſe words of *Hierom*: *Solenne eſt in lavacro poſt Trinitatis confeſſionem interrogare, Credis in ſanctam Eccleſiam?* Which expreſſion, according to the Schoolmen's interpretation of *believing in*, were not allowable. Hieron. contra Lucif.

So much for the general notion of Belief; it is ſome kind of aſſent to the truths propounded in the Creed; but what kind particularly it is, that we may more clearly judge, we ſhall obſerve that *Belief* hath two acceptions moſt conſiderable; One more general and popular; the other more reſtrained and artificial: In its greateſt latitude, and according to moſt common uſe, (as alſo according to its origination, from πέπεισμαι, by which it ſhould import the effect of perſuaſion;) thus I ſay it ſignifies generally, being well perſuaded, or yielding a ſtrong aſſent unto the truth of any propoſition: ἡ σφοδρὰ ὑπόληψις, (ſo we have it defined, agreeably to common uſe, in *Ariſtotle*'s Topicks;) that is, a vehement or ſtrong opinion about a thing: and ſo it involves no formal reſpect to any particular kind of means or arguments productive of it; but may be begot by any means whatever. So we are ſaid to believe what our ſenſe repreſents, what good reaſon inferrs, what credible authority confirms unto us. Whence in Rhetorick all ſorts of Probation (from what Topick ſoever of Reaſon deduced, upon what-ever atteſtation grounded) are called πίστεις, by a meonymy, becauſe they are apt to beget a perſuaſion concerning the Cauſe maintained, its being good or bad, true or falſe. But according to a more reſtrained and artificial acception (artificial I call it, becauſe it is peculiar to men of art, and invented by the ſchool, to the purpoſe of diſtinguiſhing ſuch aſſent or perſuaſion into ſeveral kinds, whereof they make Belief in one kind diſtinct from thoſe others, which are grounded upon experience or apparence to ſenſe; or upon rational inference, according to which acception) Belief doth preciſely denote that kind of aſſent, which is grounded meerly upon the authority (the dictate or teſtimony) of ſome perſon aſſerting, relating, or atteſting to the truth of any matter propounded; the authority I ſay of ſome perſon, which implies two things. 1. That ſuch a perſon hath, *de facto*, aſſerted or atteſted the matter. 2ly. That his qualifications be ſuch, that his affirmation ſhould in reaſon have an influence upon our minds, and incline them to conſent; for that he is both able to inform us rightly, and willing to do it; is ſo wiſe that he both know, and ſo juſt that he will ſpeak according to his knowledge and ſo otherwiſe. And this authority (which by reaſon of the Author's qualities mentioned is called *credible*; that is, ſuch, as in ſome meaſure is apt in a well-diſpoſed underſtanding to beget ſuch an aſſent to the truth of what is depoſed) is one kind of argument (diſtinct from thoſe which are drawn from experience, or from principles of reaſon, before known or admitted by us) whereby perſuaſion concerning the truth of any propoſition concerning either matter of fact, or any doctrine) is produced in our minds: and according to the degrees of our aſſurance either concerning the fact, that the Author doth indeed aſſert the matter; or concerning the perſon's qualifications (rendring his authority credible) are the degrees of our Belief proportioned; it is more ſtrong and intenſe, or weak and remiſs; we are confident or doubtfull concerning the matter; if we plainly can perceive by our ſenſe, or have great rational inducements to think, that ſuch an aſſertion proceeds from ſuch an Author; and then by like evidence of experience or reaſon are moved to think him not liable himſelf to be deceived, nor diſpoſed to deceive us, then we become ſtrongly perſuaded; believe firmly, in proportion to the validity of the ſaid grounds. Top. IV. 5.

So Act. 17. 13. πίστιν παρεχὼν πᾶσιν.

'Tis now to be determined according to which of theſe two acceptions, the belief we here profeſs is to be underſtood: and to my ſeeming, we ſhould adequately mean, according to the firſt, the more general and vulgar notion: That, I ſay, we profeſs, to be perſuaded in our minds, concerning the truth of the propoſitions annexed, not implying our perſuaſion to be grounded upon onely one kind of reaſon, that drawn from authority; but rather involving all reaſons proper and effectual for the perſuaſion of all the points jointly, or of each ſingly taken. In this notion I underſtand the word, for theſe reaſons.

1. Upon a general conſideration, becauſe the ancient teachers of our Religion, both as being themſelves men not ſeen in ſubtility of ſpeculation nor verſed in niceties of ſpeech (uſed by men of art and ſtudy) and as deſigning chiefly to inſtruct the generality of men (for the greateſt part being ſimple and groſs in conceit) could not or would not uſe words otherwiſe, than according to their moſt common and familiar acception. They did not employ ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγους, terms * deviſed by human wiſdom for extreme accuracy and diſtinction; but expreſſed their conceptions in the moſt vulgar and beſt underſtood language.

The very nation of the Jews no Logicians.

* 1 Cor. 2. 4. σεσοφισμένοι μύθοι.

2 Pet. 1. 16. Deviſed too after their times; for this ſcholaſtical acception is not ancient.

2. Becauſe we find that *de facto* the word πιστεύειν is uſed by them (in Scripture I mean) according to this general notion, that is, ſo as to ſignify indifferently all kind of perſuaſion, having regard to the particular ground thereof. *Thomas* would not believe that our Saviour was riſen except he diſcerned viſible marks, diſtinguiſhing his perſon from other: he did ſo, and then believes: whereupon our Saviour ſaith: *Thou believeſt because thou haſt ſeen; bleſſed are they that have not ſeen, and yet have believed:* We ſee that faith may be grounded upon ſenſe. And, *If I do not the works of my father* (ſaith our Saviour) *believe me not; but if I do, though you believe not me, believe the works.* Our Saviour requires them not to rely upon his bare teſtimony concerning himſelf, but to conſider rationally the quality of his works; and upon that to ground their faith: which kind of perſuaſion ſeems grounded rather upon principles of reaſon, than any authority. The Devils (St. *James* tells us) do believe *there is one God*, how-ſo? Becauſe they know it by experience, rather than upon any relation or teſtimony given to them. And you know: *He that comes to God muſt believe that he is*; that is, muſt be perſuaded of God's exiſtence, by arguments proper to enforce ſuch aſſent. For I argue farther,

Joh. 20. 29.

Joh. 10. 37.

Jam. 2. 19.

Heb. 11. 6.

3ly. That the belief of the firſt and main Article of this Creed, that *there is a God*, cannot be grounded only upon authority; humane authority cannot alone ſuffice to prove ſo great a point; and divine authority doth pre-ſuppoſe it: for how can we believe that God doth this, or that; that he hath revealed his mind to us; that he teaches us ſo or ſo, before we believe that he is? The belief of the ſubject muſt precede the belief of any attribute or action belonging to it: the belief therefore of God's exiſtence is properly grounded upon other arguments, beſide authority. Yea farther,

4ly. The belief of other main points, not expreſſed indeed, but underſtood and ſuppoſed as the foundation of our believing all the other articles thereof, doth depend upon more than bare authority: As for inſtance, the belief of God's veracity (taken moſt largely, as including his infallible wiſdom, and his perfect ſincerity or fidelity) the truth of God's having actually revealed his mind to us by Jeſus and his Apoſtles; and by all the Prophets before: (or the truth of Chriſtianity it ſelf in groſs, as alſo of the ancient Judaiſm) the truth of the Holy Scriptures: the validity of general tradition, and common conſent of the Chriſtian Churches inſtructed by the Apoſtles,

Apoſtles, ſo far as they may conduce to the probation of any of theſe articles: theſe things, I ſay, we muſt be perſuaded of, as grounds of our believing all the other articles, not immediately deducible from principles of reaſon: and yet none of theſe points can properly be grounded upon meer authority: to prove God is veracious becauſe he ſaith ſo; or that revelation in general muſt be truſted from particular revelations, are *petitiones principii*, moſt inconcluſive and ineffectual diſcourſes. Spirits are to be tried, and revelations themſelves are to be examined, before we can upon their word believe any particular doctrine avouched by them: This muſt be performed by uſe of our ſenſes, and of our reaſons; and therefore virtually and mediately the belief of whatever relies upon ſuch foundations, both depend upon them and not upon bare authority. 1 Joh. 4. 1. Mar. 7. 15, 16.

5ly. I will add laſtly, that if we conſider the manner how the faith of the firſt Chriſtians was produced, we may perhaps alſo perceive that even their faith was not meerly founded upon authority, but relied partly upon principles of reaſon taking in the aſſiſtance and atteſtation of ſenſe. They that beheld the ſincerity and innocency of our Saviour's converſation; the extraordinary wiſdom and majeſty of his diſcourſes; the excellent goodneſs and holineſs of his doctrine; the incomparably great and glorious power diſcovered in his miraculous works (withal comparing the ancient prophecies concerning ſuch a perſon to come with the characters and circumſtances of his perſon) were by theſe conſiderations perſuaded, not meerly by his own teſtimony; that our Saviour himſelf did not ſo much inſiſt upon, but rather diſclaimed it, as inſufficient to beget faith: *If I witneſs of my ſelf, my witneſs is not true*, (not true, that is, not credible:) you were not obliged to accept my teſtimony as true, if it were not alſo accompanied with other convincing reaſons: It was by ſuch a ſyllogiſm as this, that believers did then argue themſelves into faith upon our Saviour: He that is ſo qualified (doth ſo live, ſo ſpeak, ſo work; ſo admirably himſelf, ſo agreeably to prophecies foregoing) his pretences cannot reaſonably be deemed falſe; 'tis juſt that we aſſent to his words. But we plainly ſee and experience *Jeſus* to be ſo qualified (ſo to live, to ſpeak, to do,) therefore 'tis juſt and reaſonable we believe him. This kind of diſcourſe did *de facto*, and of right it ought to produce faith in thoſe, who came under the influence of it: the being convinced by it was the vertue of faith, ſhewing the ingenuity and diſcretion of thoſe ſo wrought upon; and the not being convinced ſo, was the fault for which unbelievers were liable to juſt condemnation. *If I had not come and ſpake to them, they had not had ſin:* and; *If I had not done the works among them, which never any other man did, they had not had ſin:* That is, If my doctrine had not been very good, and my diſcourſe very reaſonable; if my works had not diſcovered abundance of divine grace and power attending them; had not both my words and works been very open and manifeſt to them; they had been excuſable, as having no reaſons cogent enough to perſuade them; but now they deſerve to be condemned for their unreaſonable and perverſe incredulity. And give me leave by the way to obſerve, that by the like ſyllogiſm it is that faith may (and perhaps in duty ſhould) be produced even in us now: The major propoſition is altogether the ſame: A perſon ſo qualified is credible (this is a propoſition of perpetual truth, evident to common ſenſe, ſuch as by all men of reaſon and ingenuity ſhould be admitted: otherwiſe no meſſage from heaven or teſtimony upon earth could be received.) The minor; Jeſus was a perſon ſo qualified, was indeed evident to the ſenſes of thoſe with whom he converſed (to ſuch as were not blinded with evil prejudice, and wilfully diſpoſed to miſtake) and will now Joh. 5. 31. Joh 15. 22, 24.

appear as true to thoſe, who ſhall with due care conſider the reaſons, by which it may be perſuaded: that it is atteſted by ſo many and in all reſpects ſo credible hiſtories, yet extant and legible by us; confirmed by ſo clear, ſo general, ſo conſtant a tradition; maintained by ſo wonderful circumſtances of providence; in a word, that it is evidenced by ſo many and ſo illuſtrious proofs, that no matter of fact had ever the like, none ever could have greater to aſſure it.

Upon theſe and ſuch like premiſes I embrace the more plain and ſimple notion of the word *Belief*; meaning when I ſay, *I believe*, that I am in my mind fully convinced and perſuaded of the truth of the propoſitions hereafter expreſſed (or implied;) not excluding any objects there contained under any formality (either of being apparent to ſenſe or demonſtrable by reaſon, or credible by any ſort of teſtimony) nor abſtracting from any kind of reaſons, perſuaſive of their truth. I believe there is a God, the Creatour of the World; that he is infallibly wiſe, and perfectly veracious; that he hath revealed his mind and will to mankind as well for that good reaſon dictates theſe things unto me, as that the beſt authorities avow them. I believe that *Jeſus is the Chriſt and our Lord and the Son of God*, becauſe the Holy Scriptures do plainly ſo teach, and Apoſtolical tradition thereto conſents: and in like manner of the reſt.

[I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.]

Primus eſt Deorum cultus Deos credere. *Sen Ep.* 95. Deum colit qui novit. *Ib.*

WHat the phraſe *I believe in* doth moſt properly here import, I endeavour (the laſt time) ſomewhat to explain: I would have deduced ſome corollaries, and added ſome conſiderations preventive of miſtake, and farther explicative of that matter, if my intention hereafter to endeavour greater brevity did permit: but for that cauſe I proceed to the objects of our belief: whereof in the firſt place, as is meet, and in front, God is placed; the belief of whoſe exiſtence is the foundation of all religion; the ſupport of all vertue; the principal Article in all the Creeds of all the world. He that comes to God (whoever applies himſelf to any religious performance) muſt firſt of all be perſuaded, that God is, as the object of his devotion, and the rewarder of his obedience. For the explication of which, we will conſider, 1. What it is that we are to believe. 2ly. Why and upon what grounds we ſhould believe it.

Ἔοικε γὰρ βάσις ὑφιστῶσα κοινὴ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν. Plut.

For the firſt: That in the world there are Beings, imperceptible to our ſenſes, much ſuperiour to us in knowledge and power, that can perform works above, and contrary to, the courſe of nature, and concerning themſelves ſometime to do ſo for the intereſts of mankind; for theſe qualifications and performances deſerving extraordinary reſpect from us, have been a conſtant opinion in all places and times; to which ſort of Beings ſome one general name hath been in all languages aſſigned, anſwering to that of God among us. Of ſuch Beings, that there is one, ſupreme and moſt excellent, incomparably ſurpaſſing in all thoſe attributes of Wiſdom, and Power, and Goodneſs; from whom the reſt, and all things beſide, have derived their Beings, do depend upon, are ſuſtained and governed by; to author (I ſay) of all Being, and diſpenſer of all Good; to whom conſequently ſupreme love, reverence, and obedience is due; hath been alſo the general ſenſe of the moſt ancient, moſt wiſe, and moſt noble nations among men; to whom therefore in a peculiar and eminent manner the title of God

Φαμὲν γὰρ θεὸν εἶ ζῷον ἀΐδιον ἄριστον. Ariſt. Metaph. XII. 7.

Deus ſummum magnum, & forma & ratione, & vi, & poteſtate, &c. *Tertull. adverſ. Marc. l.* 3.

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(and thoſe which anſwer thereto) is appropriated: ſo that when the word is abſolutely put without any adjunct of limitation or diminution, he only is meant and underſtood: to which ſometimes, for fuller declaration, are added the epithets; of *Optimus*, *Maximus*, *Summus*, *Æternus*, *Omnipotens*, *Dominus*, and the like: the Beſt, the Greateſt, the moſt High, the Eternal, the Almighty, the Soveraign God. Thus, according to the common ſenſe of mankind, is the word *God*, underſtood; the notion thereof including eſpecially theſe attributes and perfections of nature: Supreme and incomprehenſible Wiſdom, Power, Goodneſs, being the fountain and author; the upholder and governour of all things: And what is contracted with or is conſequent upon theſe; namely, the moſt excellent manner of being, and of activity, eternity and immortality, independency and immutability, immenſity and omnipreſence, ſpirituality and indiviſibility, inceſſant energy of the moſt excellent life, intuitive underſtanding, abſolute freedom of will, perfect holineſs and purity, juſtice, ſincerity, veracity: as alſo complete happineſs, (ſelf-enjoyment and ſelf-ſufficiency) glorious Majeſty, ſoveraign right of dominion; to which higheſt veneration and entire obedience is due. In ſhort, whatever our mind can conceive of good, excellent, and honourable, that in the moſt tranſcendent degree is, by the conſent of mankind, comprehended in the notion of God, abſolutely taken, or in the laſt ſenſe fore-mentioned.

Neither doth divine Revelation commend any other notion thereof to us, but explains, amplifies, and confirms this; expreſſing more clearly and diſtinctly theſe attributes and perfections; with the manner of their being exerted, eſpecially to our benefit; and determining our duty in relation to them.

Now that really ſuch a Being doth exiſt (that this main principle of Religion is not a meer *poſtulatum*, or precarious ſuppoſition, which we muſt be beholden to any reaſonable man for to grant us,) I ſhall endeavour to prove briefly by three or four arguments, which are indeed of all moſt obvious and ſuitable to every capacity, (for they be not grounded upon metaphyſical ſubtilty, nor need any depth of ſpeculation to apprehend them; common ſenſe and experience will ſuffice to diſcover their force,) and yet of all that have been produced, they ſeem to me moſt forcible. The firſt is drawn from natural effects obſervable by every man; A ſecond from the common opinions and practices of mankind from all antiquity; A third, from particular diſcoveries of ſuch a divine power atteſted by hiſtory; A fourth, from every man's particular experience concerning a divine providence. And,

1. I ſay, that natural effects do declare ſuch a being, incomprehenſibly wiſe, powerful and good, from whence this viſible world did procede, and by which it ſubſiſts and is conſerv'd. That it is true, which the Prophet *Jeremy* ſaith, *That He hath made the Earth by his power, hath eſtabliſhed the World by his wiſdom, and ſtretched out the Heavens by his diſcretion*, Jer. 10. 12. It may be aſſumed for a principle, which common experience ſuggeſts to us; that matter of it ſelf doth not run into any order, &c. if not now, then not yeſterday, nor from eternity: it muſt therefore by ſome counſel be digeſted. There is not indeed any kind of natural effect, which either ſingly taken, or as it ſtands related to the publick, may not reaſonably be ſuppoſed to contain ſome argument of this truth; we do not indeed diſcern the uſe and tendency of each particular effect; but of many, they are ſo plain and palpable, that we have reaſon to ſuppoſe them of the reſt: Even as of a perſon, whom we do plainly perceive frequently to act very wiſely, at other times, when we cannot diſcern the drift of his proceeding,

ceeding, we cannot but ſuppoſe that he hath ſome latent reaſon, ſome reach of policy that we are not aware of: Or as in an engine, conſiſting of many parts curiouſly compacted together, whereof we do perceive the general uſe, and apprehend how ſome parts conduce thereto, we have reaſon, although we either do not ſee them all, or cannot comprehend the immediate ſerviceableneſs of each, to think they all are ſome way or other ſubſervient to the artiſts deſigns. Such an agent is God, ſuch an engine is this viſible world: we can often diſcover evident marks of God's wiſdom; ſome general uſes of the world are very diſcernible, and how that many parts thereof do contribute to them, we may eaſily obſerve: and ſeeing the whole is compacted in a decent, and conſtant order, we have reaſon to deem the like of the reſt. Our incapacity to diſcover all doth not argue defect, but exceſs of the maker's wiſdom; not too little in it ſelf, but too great perfection in the work, in reſpect of our capacity. The moſt to us obſervable piece of the Univerſe is the Earth, upon which we dwell; which that it was deſigned for the accommodation of living creatures, that are upon it, and principally of man, we cannot be ignorant or doubtfull, if we be not ſo negligent or ſtupid, as to let paſs unobſerved thoſe innumerable ſigns and arguments that ſhew it: if we look upon the frame of the animals themſelves, what a number of admirable contrivances in each of them do appear for the ſuſtenance, for the ſafety, for the pleaſure, for the propagation, for grace and ornament, for all imaginable convenience, ſuitable to the kind, and ſtation of each? If we look about them, what variety and abundance of convenient proviſions offer themſelves even to a careleſs view, anſwerable to all their needs, and all their deſires? Wholeſome and pleaſant food to maintain their life; yea to gratify all their ſenſes; fit ſhelter from offence, and ſafe refuge from dangers: all theſe things provided in ſufficient plenty and commodiouſly diſpoſed for ſuch a vaſt number of creatures; not the leaſt, moſt ſilly, weak or contemptible creature, but we may ſee ſome care hath been had for its nouriſhment and comfort: what wonderfull inſtincts are they endued with for procuring and diſtinguiſhing of their food, for guarding themſelves and their young from danger? But for man eſpecially, a moſt liberal proviſion hath been made to ſupply all his needs; to pleaſe all his appetites; to exerciſe, with profit and ſatisfaction, all his faculties; to content (I might ſay) his utmoſt curioſity*: All things about him do miniſter (or may do ſo, if he will uſe the natural powers and inſtruments given him) to his preſervation, eaſe and delight. The bowels of the earth yield him treaſures of metals and minerals; quarries of ſtone, and coal ſerviceable to him for various uſes. The vileſt and commoneſt ſtones he treadeth upon are not unprofitable. The ſurface of the earth, what variety of delicate fruits herbs and grains doth it afford to nouriſh our bodies, and cheer our ſpirits, and pleaſe our taſts, and remedy our diſeaſes? how many fragrant flowers, moſt beautifull and goodly in colour and ſhape, for the comfort of our ſmell and delight of our eyes? neither can our ears complain ſince every wood hath a quire of natural muſicians to entertain them with their ſprightfull melody? Every wood did I ſay? yes too, the woods adorned with ſtately trees yield pleaſant ſpectacles to our ſight, ſhelter from offences of weather and ſun, fewel for our fires, materials for our building (our houſes and ſhipping) and other needfull utenſils. Even the barren mountains ſend us down freſh ſtreams of water, ſo neceſſary for the ſuppo of our lives, ſo profitable for the fructification of our grounds, ſo comm dio

* Neque enim neceſſitatibus tantummodo noſtris proviſum eſt, uſque in delicias amamur. *Sen. de Benef. IV.* 5.. Vide locum oprimum.

—Ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum aliquod nobis conferret. *Ibid.*

dious for conveyance and maintaining of entercourſe among us. Even the wide Seas themſelves ſerve us many ways: they are commodious for our traffick and commerce: they ſupply the bottles of heaven with water to refreſh the earth: they are inexhauſtible ciſterns, from whence our ſprings and rivers are derived: they yield ſtores of good fiſh, and other conveniencies of life. The very rude and diſorderly winds do us no little ſervice in bruſhing and cleanſing the air for our health; in driving forward our ſhips; in ſcattering and ſpreading about the clouds, thoſe clouds which drop fatneſs upon our grounds. As for our ſubjects the animals, Pſal. 65. 'tis not poſſible to reckon the manifold utilities we receive from them: How many ways they ſupply our needs, with pleaſant food and convenient cloathing: how they eaſe our labour; and how they promote even our ſport and recreation. And are we not, not only very ſtupid, but very ungratefull, if we do not diſcern abundance of wiſdom and goodneſs in the contrivance and ordering of all theſe things, ſo as thus to conſpire for our good? Is it not reaſonable, that we devoutly cry out with the Pſalmiſt: *O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wiſdom haſt thou made them all; the earth is full of thy riches: So is the wide and great Sea,* &c. Pſal. 104. 24. To ſay this grace with him: *The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon; Thou openeſt thine hand, and ſatisfieſt the deſire of every living thing:* Pſal. 145. 15. Eſpecially to ſay farther: *Lord, what is man that thou art ſo mindfull of him, and the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him: Thou haſt made him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all things under his feet.* Pſal. 8.

Can any man, endued with common ſenſe, imagine that ſuch a body as any of us doth bear about him, ſo neatly compoſed, fitted to ſo many purpoſes of action; furniſhed with ſo many goodly and proper organs; that eye by which we reach the ſtars, and in a moment have, as it were, all the world preſent to us; that ear by which we ſo ſubtly diſtinguiſh the differences of ſound, are ſenſible of ſo various harmony, have conveyed unto our minds the words and thoughts each of other; that tongue by which we ſo readily imitate thoſe vaſt diverſities of voice and tune, by which we communicate our minds with ſuch eaſe and advantage; that hand by which we perform ſo many admirable works, and which ſerves inſtead of a thouſand inſtruments and weapons unto us; to omit thoſe inward ſprings of motion, life, ſenſe, imagination, memory, paſſion; with ſo ſtupendous curioſity contrived. Can any reaſonable man, I ſay, conceive that ſo rare a piece, conſiſting of ſuch parts, unexpreſſibly various, unconceivably curious, the want of any of which would diſcompoſe or deſtroy us; ſubſervient to ſuch excellent operations, incomparably ſurpaſſing all the works of the moſt exquiſite art, that we could ever obſerve or conceive, be the product of blind chance; ariſe from fortuitous jumblings of matter; be effected without exceeding great wiſdom, without moſt deep counſel and deſign? Might not the moſt excellent pieces of humane artifice, the faireſt ſtructures, the fineſt pictures, the moſt uſefull engines, ſuch as we are wont ſo much to admire and praiſe, much more eaſily happen to be without any skill or contrivance? If we cannot allow theſe rude and groſs imitations of nature to come of themſelves, but will preſently, ſo ſoon as we ſee them, acknowledge them the products of art, though we know not the artiſt, nor did ſee him work; how much more reaſonable is it that we believe the works of nature, ſo much more fine and accu-

Archimedem arbitrantur plus valuiſſe in imitandis ſphæræ converſionibus, quàm naturam in efficiendis, &c. pag. 86.

Si ergò meliora ſunt ea, quæ natura, quàm illa quæ arte perfecta ſunt, nec ars efficit quicquam ſine ratione, nè natura quidem rationis expers eſt habenda. *Cic. de Nat. D. II. p.* 86. Quod ſi mundum efficere poteſt concurſus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur urbem non poteſt, quæ ſunt minùs operoſa, & multò quidem faciliora? *Ib.* 89.

rate,

rate, to proceed from the like cause, though invisible to us, and performing its workmanship by a secret hand? I am sure, the most diligent contemplatours of nature, and those of the most incredulous temper, and freest from any prejudice favourable to religion, have not been able to deny, that abundance of counsel and wisdom discovers it self in the works of nature: *Aristotle* (whom no man surely takes for superstitious or partial to the interests of religion) hath a whole chapter in his Physicks to prove that nature works with design and for an end: and otherwhere he affirms, ἡ φύσις ἕνεκα τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖ: Nature doeth all things for some end: Yea farther: Μᾶλλον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα, καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς τῆς τέχνης: Tending to an end, and endeavouring what is best is more observable in the works of nature, than in those of art: This he speaketh in his books *de partibus Animalium*, the consideration of which extorted this confession from him; and if nature works so much for an End, there must be an understanding that intends it, and orders fit means for attaining it. *Galen* is observed in some places of his Writings to speak somewhat irreligiously, yet in his Books *de Usu partium*, he cannot forbear admiring the wisdom that shines forth in the structure of our bodies, breaking forth sometimes into hymns of praise and thankfulness to him that made it. The like expressions hath *Cardan* such another not over-devout Philosopher; and even our own Countryman Mr. *Hobbs*; how little a friend he otherwise seems to religion, and how ready soever to deride those that by reason endeavour to prove *there is a God*; yet being overcome by the evidence of the thing, hath somewhere let fall these words: *Itaque* (saith he) *ad sensus procedo: satis habens si hujusmodi res attigero tantùm, pleniùs autem tractandas aliis relinquero, qui si machinas omnes tum generationis tum nutritionis satis perspexerint, nec tamen eas à mente aliqua conditas, ordinatásque ad sua quasq; officia viderint, ipsi profectò sine mente esse censendi sunt.*

2 Phys. cap. 3.

De part. Anim. II.

Ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἀλόγως, οὐδὲ μάτην ποιεῖ: de cœlo, II. 11.

Οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν εἰκῇ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε γίνεται, ἀλλὰ μετά τινος τέχνης δημιουργούσης. Plut. de placitis, ph. I. 6.

Cujus (naturæ) solertiam nulla ars, nulla manus, nemo opifex consequi possit imitando, *Cic. de. N. D. p.* 83.

De Homine, cap. 1.

Neither doth the force of this argument subsist here but, as we intimated, the correspondence and relation of outward things to our needs, appetites and capacities doth mightily confirm it: if we had organs of nutrition and nothing to feed them; senses and nothing to prove or please them; hands and feet without means of cause to use them, we might have some reason to think these things made causelesly and vainly; but it is, we see altogether otherwise; all things are accommodated for us, so that we could not wish, or conceive better. Which to them, who will not perversely dote, cannot but argue not a wisdom only, but an exceeding benignity, carefull and tender of our good.

Quis hunc hominem dixerit, qui cùm tam certos cœli motus, tam ratos astrorum ordines, támque inter se connexa & apta viderit, neget in his ullam inesse rationem, eáq; casu fieri dicat, quæ quanto consilio gerantur, nullo consilio assequi possumus? *Cic.* 2. *De Nat. D. p.* 90. *Who will call him a man, &c.* ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον· Ἀεί τε γὰρ ἥλιος, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀστήρων τὴν ὑπόγειον φορὰν ἐνεχθέντα, ὅμοια μὲν ἀνατέλλει τοῖς χρώμασιν, ἴσα δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι, καὶ κατὰ τόπους καὶ κατὰ χρόνους τοὺς αὐτούς. Plut. de Plac. Phil. I. 6.

Thus much the most common and obvious effects of nature here below, within us and about us, do signifie to us: thus (as St. *Paul* preached) *God hath not left himself unattested*, doing good, sending us from heaven rains, and fruitfull seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness: Nor do the heavens less declare the glory of God, and the firmament his handy-work: He that shall consider with what regularity, and

οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν. Act. 14. 17.

An cum machinatione quâdam moveri aliquid videmus, ut sphæram, ut foras, ut alia permulta, non dubitamus quin illa opera sint rationis; cùm autem impetum cœli admirabili cum celeritate moveri, vertíque videamus, constantissimè conficientem vicissitudines anniversarias cum summa salute, & conservatione rerum omnium, dubitamus quin ea non solùm ratione fiant, sed etiam excellenti quâdam divinâque ratione? *Cic. II. de N. D.* 90.

wh

What conſtancy, thoſe vaſt bodies perform their rapid motions; what pleaſure, comfort and advantage their goodly light doth yield us; how neceſſary and profitable to us the viciſſitudes of time and recourſes of ſeaſons are, which they make; how their influences conduce to the general welfare and preſervation of things even here below, cannot but wonder, and wondering adore that beneficent wiſdom, and power, that hath diſpoſed and ſtill preſerves them in ſuch order? Could they without a wiſe hand, by a caſual running together of atoms, or whatever ſenſleſs matter, be ſo ordered, as for ſix thouſand years together to perſiſt in the ſame places, and retain the ſame periods of time, in their motion, without any ſenſible alteration? he that can think it, may think any thing, and it were in vain to endeavour to convince him: how much more reaſonable is that Heathen philoſopher, who thus ſpeaks: *Eſſe præſtantem aliquam, æternámque naturam & eam ſuſpiciendam, adorandámque hominum generi, pulchritudo mundi, ordóque rerum cæleſtium cogit confiteri.*

Quid poteſt eſſe tam apertum, támque perſpicuum, cùm cœlum ſuſpeximus, cœleſtiáq; contemplati ſumus, quàm aliquod eſſe numen præſtantiſſimæ mentis, quo hæc regantur? *Id. p.* 53.

Cic. 2. de Divin. Quòd ſi omnes mundi partes ità conſtitutæ ſunt, ut neque ad uſum meliores potuerint eſſe, neque ad ſpeciem pulchriores, &c. 2. *de N. D. p.* 85.

Καλὸν ποίημα τέκτονος σοφοῦ. Eurip. de mundo, apud Plut. de plac. I. 6.

But this argument is infinite and inexhauſtible; as full and pregnant as the world of creatures; each of which is a wonder, and proclaims the incomprehenſible wiſdom, power, and goodneſs of its Maker to us: We cannot without ſtopping our eyes exclude that light of divine glory, which fills and illuſtrates the world; without ſtopping our ears we cannot but hear that univerſal ſhout (that real harmony of the ſpheres) which all creatures in heaven and earth conſent in utterance to his praiſe. Every ſtar in heaven, every beaſt upon earth, every plant, every mineral, yea every ſtone; ſome in a language very loud and expreſs proclaim, others in a more ſtill and low (yet to an attentive ear ſufficiently audible, and ſignificant) ſtrain do ſpeak thoſe moſt glorious properties of God: *There is no ſpeech or language, where their voice is not heard; their ſound is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world,* as the Pſalmiſt ſings. The τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) the cognoſcibility of God is manifeſt in and by them: and the inviſible things of God, even his eternal power and divinity are perceived by obſerving the makes or conſtitutions of the creatures in the world; as St. *Paul*'s words may be rendred, with which I conclude this argument.

Vid. Tertull. adv. Marc. I. 13.

Quocunque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi, &c. *Senec. Benef. IV.* 8.

Pſal. 19.

Rom. I.

2dly. That *there is a God,* is proved by the general conſent of mankind concerning it; by that *teſtimonium* (as *Lactantius* ſpeaks) *populorum tq; gentium in una hâc re non diſſidentium*; that unanimous teſtimony of all people and nations not diſagreeing in this only point. If the authority of ſome particular men, agreeing in vote, of one city, of one nation doth paſs for an argument, and ſhews the thing probable, how can we decline or contemn the common ſuffrage of mankind? He had need have a very clear and ſtrong reaſon for it, who will dare to diſſent from all the world. Hear *Seneca* thus diſcourſing: *Multum dare ſolemus præſumptioni omnium hominum; apud nos veritatis argumentum eſt, aliquid omnibus videri; tanquam Deos eſſe ſic colligimus, quòd omnibus de Diis opinio inſita eſt; nec ulla gens uſquam eſt adeò extra leges morésque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat: Cùm de animarum æternitate diſſerimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet conſenſus hominum, aut timentium inferos, aut colentium.* That is: We are wont to attribute much to what all men preſume; 'tis an argument with us of truth, that any thing ſeems true to all: as that there be Gods, we hence collect, that all men have implanted in them an opinion

Lact. I. 2.

Epiſt. 117.

Vid. Gr. de V. R. p. 37. De Jure B. ac P. II. 20, 45.

concerning the Gods; neither is there any nation so destitute of laws c manners, that it doth not believe there be some Gods.

De Nat. D. II. p. 57. vid. p. 53. In like manner *Cicero: Itaque inter omnes omnium gentium sententia co stat: omnibus enim innatum est, & in animo quasi insculptum, esse Deos quales sint varium est, esse nemo negat:* It is therefore an opinion manife among all men of all nations, and as it were engraven in their mind that there be Gods: how qualified they are, there is a difference; th they are, none denies.

I. de N. D. p. 22. Even *Nelleius*, the Epicurean, in his disputation against Creation an Providence; yet acknowledges there are Gods, being compelled, as h

Vid. Tuscul. Q. I. p. 299. saith, by this argument: *Cùm enim non instituto aliquo, aut more, aut le sit opinio constituta, maneátque ad unum omnium firme consentio, intelligi n cesse est esse Deos, quoniam insitas eorum, vel potius innatas cognitiones h bemus. De quo autem omnium natura consentit, id verum esse necesse est; e igitur Deos confitendum est, &c.* For since (saith he) not by any institu tion or custom, or law this opinion is established, and among all (n excepting one) a firm consent doth abide; it is necessary there should l Gods; because we have implanted, or rather in-bred opinions of them But about whatever thing all men naturally agree, that must needs l true; therefore we must confess there be Gods.

De cœlo, I. 3. *Aristotle:* Πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι περὶ θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες ἀνωτάτω τῷ θείῳ τόπον ἀποδιδόασι καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ ἕλληνες: That is, *A* men have an opinion concerning the Gods, and all men (both *Barbaria* and *Greeks*) do assign to the divinity, the highest place in the world, (v they believe his habitation to be in heaven.)

Cap. 6. The Author of the book *de Mundo* (attributed to *Aristotle*, and de cated to *Alexander* the Great) ἀρχαῖός μέν ἔν τις λόγος καὶ πατρώος π πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ τὰ πάντα, καὶ δι' θεοῦ ἡμῖν συνέστηκεν. There then indeed a certain ancient saying, and familiar to all men, *That fr God all things, and by God all things subsist unto us.*

I alledge these authorities, selected from many others producible to t same purpose, from the wisest Heathens (that is, from witnesses in this ca most impartial and unsuspected,) not only to strengthen the argume but to evidence the matter of fact, upon which it is grounded; to wh testimony all histories both ancient and modern do consent.

Nor doth the force of this discourse rely meerly upon the authority mankind, thus consenting in opinion, (though that, as I said, is not co temptible) but upon a much more solid foundation: and that is up the manner of this opinion its being produced in men and propagate That men should so conspire, must necessarily proceed either from th such an opinion was put into them by nature (by way of natural noti or instinct; as the first most evident principles of science, and the m powerfull instincts (after what is good) are supposed innate) at leas very near disposition to entertain and embrace it; or that some very m nifest and prevalent reason (obvious to all, even the most rude and ba barous) did beget this agreement in them; or that it was derived fro some common tradition, some one common fountain of instruction them: be it which of these ways it will, that this opinion became so u versally instilled into men's minds, the argument carries great weight a validity: if nature either plainly forces men, or strongly inclines the to this persuasion; 'tis a vain extravagancy to oppose it; but if it ca (as most probably to my seeming it did) from primitive tradition, it a gues mankind to have proceeded from one stock; from some one or fe men at first gathered together; of whose original who could be mo credib

credible witneſſes than themſelves? if they did teſtify and teach their poſterity, that they came from God, why ſhould we disbelieve them? eſpecially ſeeing whence elſe ſhould they come; who ſhould form their bodies; who ſhould infuſe their reaſons; who ſhould inſtill this very notion into them, we cannot well imagine: of themſelves they could not be (what ſuch thing as a man did we ever obſerve, or can we conceive to ſpring up of it ſelf?) nor is there any other cauſe here, to which (without great fondneſs) we can attribute their original. 'Tis true, that original tradition did by degrees over the world (by the Devil's malice and man's infirmity or wickedneſs) degenerate into many ſhapes of Polytheiſm and Idolatry: but ſo was Judaiſm depraved by the Scribes; and Chriſtianity it ſelf hath been much debaſed by a long courſe of bad times; yet who doubts but they both derived from one pure inſtruction (that of *Moſes*, and this of Chriſt, our Lord? It is very obſervable what *Ariſtotle* hath concerning this matter, being ſpoken with ſo much judgment: It was delivered by our anceſtours (ſaith he) and the ancients, being left in a fabulous dreſs to poſterity; that theſe are Gods, and that a divinity contains all nature: but other things concerning religion were fictitiouſly ſuperinduced; for the inveagling of the vulgar, and for accommodation of laws and the publick utility. Hence they ſpeak of them as of having humane ſhape, or being like to other animals; and other things ſuitable to theſe, and agreeable to what is ſpoken: of which things, if we making a ſeparation, take only what was firſt delivered, that they thought the Gods the firſt ſubſtances, he may ſuppoſe it divinely ſpoken: ſeeing it is probable, every art and philoſophy being invented, (as things would bear) and afterward decayed, that ſuch opinions as reliques ſhould be preſerved even untill now. The opinion of our Fathers, and that which was derived from the firſt man, is therefore only thus far manifeſt unto us: So *Ariſtotle* expreſsly.

Vid. Plat. Tim. pag. 1053. ἀδύνατον θεὸν ποιεῖν ἄπειρον, &c.

Metaph. XII. 8.

To confirm which diſcourſe, (and to prevent farther objections againſt it) we may conſider, that (however perhaps among ſome very barbarous nations this tradition may have been almoſt worn out by time, and men's ſtupid negligence) yet the moſt ancient hiſtories (that of *Moſes* eſpecially, the far moſt ancient of all, and in this matter to no man incredible) do atteſt that this opinion was moſt univerſal, running in a moſt ſtrong and clear current, among the Eaſtern people, the *Chaldæans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*; who that they were moſt ancient people, from whom the reſt were propagated, the multitude of people, the antiquity of dominion, the uſe of letters, the riſe of arts, the greater progreſs in all kind of civil culture (all which things argue longer continuance in one place and ſtate) do plainly enough ſhew; whoſe conſent therefore doth involve that of all men beſide; and confirms this general opinion to ariſe from the clear ſpring of our firſt parents inſtruction. I might add the ſame manner of worſhipping God (by invocation, by conſulting him in way of oracle, by conſecrating temples and altars, by vows and dedications, by ſacrifices and oblations) which likewiſe men did anciently agree in, doth alſo argue that all religion did proceed from one ſimple original inſtitution, or inſtruction common to all mankind. But I cannot inſiſt upon and purſue every particularity.

A third argument of God's exiſtence is from the diſcoveries of a divine power, in works that cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe viſible or natural: Such are the prediction and preſignification of future events (eſpecially ſuch as are contingent and depend upon man's free choice;)

Vid. Cic. de Nat. p. 54.

choice;) curing the ſick of great chronical diſtempers without any medicinal applications; reſtoring limbs to perſons maimed; ſight to the blind; and raiſing the dead to life (a thing which * *Pliny* deems impoſſible to God himſelf:) theſe and ſuch-like things all men will confeſs do ſurpaſs the power of any natural agent to effect, and are performable only by a cauſe, whoſe power exceeds our comprehenſion: Now that ſuch effects have been performed, we cannot deny without belying the moſt credible records of hiſtory that are extant; without accuſing all ages not only of extreme folly and weak credulity, but of notorious forgery and impoſture; without derogating from the common credit of mankind, and rendring all teſtimony, that can be yielded to matter of fact, ineffectual and inſignificant, *Vetus opinio eſt* (ſaith *Tully* concerning prediction of future events) *jam uſque ab heroicis ducta temporibus, eáque & populi Romani, & omnium gentium firmata conſenſu, verſari quandam inter homines divinationem, quàm Græci μανλικὴν appellant, id eſt præſentionem, & ſcientiam rerum futurarum.* There is an ancient opinion untill now drawn even from the heroica times (that is, from utmoſt antiquity) that there is among men a certain divination, which the *Greeks* call *prophecy* (or *inſpiration*) that is, a preſention and knowledge of future things: of which even the heathen ſtory doth afford many inſtances, but the holy Scriptures moſt eviden and eminent ones: ſuch as that to *Abraham*, concerning his children ſojourning and being afflicted four hundred years in *Egypt*: of the Pro phet (ſome hundred years before) concerning *Joſias*; of *Iſaiah* conce ning *Cyrus*; of *Jeremy* concerning the duration of the Captivity; of *D niel* concerning the revolutions of Empire in the world; wherein the a chievements of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſours are ſo expreſly deſcribed And for miraculous works; although all nations hav had ſo many of them performed among them, as to b get a common opinion, that God did frequently inte poſe ſo as to alter the courſe of nature; yet the ho Scriptures do moſt fully teſtify concerning them, great number, performed for the confirmation of divi truth, and diſcovery of God's will to men; for the r lief and encouragement of Good; the diſcourageme and chaſtiſement of Bad men; which are the proper ca ſes in all reaſon, why they ſhould be performed: a why that teſtimony ſhould not be received, there c no good reaſon be aſſigned; why it ſhould, there is very great reaſo upon which I did formerly touch, and cannot now ſtand to enlarge the upon: and indeed, God's patefaction of himſelf to mankind (his ſpeaki to the fathers in many ways, and laſtly to all the world by his So ſent on purpoſe from heaven to reveal his deſigns of mercy and favo to mankind) accompanied with ſo many prodigious miracles, and many glorious circumſtances of providence, viſible to all the world, a ſo accommodated as in the firſt place to beget this belief in us, is an a gument that cannot but in all honeſt and well-diſpoſed minds obta effect. To this head belong thoſe opinions, and teſtimonies of mankin concerning apparitions, of which the ancient World (their Poets and I ſtorians) ſpake ſo much, all which probably could not be deviſed with ground: concerning the power of enchantment, to which ſome inviſi power muſt co-operate: concerning conjuration, witchery, all entercou and confederacy with bad ſpirits; which he that ſuppoſes to be all m deluſi

*...Ne Deum quidem poſſe omnia: námque nec ſibi poteſt mortem conſciſcere quod homini dedit optimum in tantis vitæ pœnis; nec mortales æternitate donare, aut revocare defunctos. *Lib. II. cap.* 7.

1. De divin. init.

De Nat. II. pag. 54.

Gen. 15. 13.

1 Kings 13. 2.

44 & 45 Iſai.

Jer. 25. 12. 29. 10.

Dan. 8. 21.

That the prediction of future events did belong only to the ſupreme God, even the Heathens ſeemed to know and acknowledge: The wiſe Poet, *Æn.* 3.

Accipite ergo animis, atque hæc mea figite dicta,
Quid Phœbo Pater omnipotens, mihi Phœbus Apollo
Prædixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.

Serv. Notandum Apollinem quæ dicit à Jove cognoſcere.

Heb. 1.

Preſignification by dreams.

deluſion, muſt ſomewhat over-rudely and immodeſtly ſuſpect the world of exceeding vanity and credulity; many worthy hiſtorians of inconſiderateneſs, &c. moſt law-makers of great raſhneſs and folly; moſt judicatories of indiſcretion or cruelty; and too great a number of witneſſes of extreme malice or madneſs: the truth and reality of which things being admitted, inferring the exiſtence of inviſible powers, (though inferiour ones) doth by conſequence inferr (at leaſt conferr much to) the belief of the divine exiſtence, removing the chief obſtacles of incredulity. But I cannot farther inſiſt upon this point.

Vid. Grot. de Ver. I. 18. Tert. de An. 46.

4. The laſt argument I mentioned, was divine providence: which being of two ſorts (general, in the government of mankind, particular, in God's dealing with each ſingle perſon) although to him that will carefully attend and reflect upon it (that, to uſe the Pſalmiſt and the prophet's language, will *regard the work of the Lord, and conſider the operation of his hands,*) even the general providence doth afford no ſmall evidences of his exiſtence; (he that ſhall obſerve the ſtrange detections of miſchief both that which is deſigned, and that which hath been committed: the reſtraints, diſappointments, and exemplary puniſhments of oppreſſion and injuſtice, and all wickedneſs (when it grows outragious and exorbitant) the ſupports, encouragements and ſeaſonable vindications (often by unexpected means,) of innocence and goodneſs; the maintenance of ſuch rules and orders in the world, that notwithſtanding the irregularity and violence of men's paſſions, they commonly ſhift to live tolerably in peace and ſafety; the ſo many poor, weak and helpleſs people (among ſo many crafty, malicious, and greedy ones) being competently provided for; the reparations of good manners and piety being decayed and overborn by power and ill cuſtom; theſe, I ſay, and other ſuch occurrences in the world, he that ſhall conſider wiſely, may diſcern the hand of a wiſe and good Providence watching over humane affairs;) but yet ſeeing commonly the reaſons of God's proceedings with men here are various, myſterious, and ſecret; not to be diſtinctly apprehended by us, (who for example can certainly and eaſily diſtinguiſh between God's mercifull patience toward bad men, and his gracious recompencing the good; between his juſt vengeance of one, and his paternal correction of the other; between his reclaiming one from vice by either adverſe or proſperous accidents, and his exerciſing the others vertue by the like;) and becauſe God's governance hath not its complete iſſue here (this being not the only, nor the chief place of reward or puniſhment; therefore we cannot now with ſo clear evidence demonſtrate the divine attributes from general providence; but are here forced by perverſe antagoniſts to be ſometime on the defenſive; being ſufficiently able in this point to defend our ſelves, but not ſo able hence to convince ſuch ſturdy adverſaries: it is only the children of wiſdom here, that will juſtifie her: therefore I wave that plea: But for particular Providence, I dare appeal to moſt men, eſpecially to thoſe, who have ever had any fear of God or ſenſe of goodneſs; if ſometime or other in their lives, they have not in their needs eſpecially upon their addreſſes to God) found help and comfort conveyed unto them, by an indiſcernible hand; if they have not, ſometimes in an unaccountable manner, eſcaped grievous dangers: if they have not experienced, in performance of their duty and devotion toward God, a comfort extraordinary; if they cannot apply that of the Pſalmiſt to ſome events of their life: *This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved*

Ariſtotle de Gener.

Iſa. 5. 12. Pſal. 28. 5.

Vid. Gr. de Ver. 63, &c.

This is a place, where God permits men to act much according to their freedom, not interpoſing but upon great reaſon, and they have here γνῶμα κείσεως, Chryſ.

Pſal. 34. 6. 7, 8.

Indeed this opinion being not fixed ſteddily in men's perſuaſion, there can be no ſteady bottom of vertuous practice: no, nor to a wiſe man any comfortable life: τί μοι ζῆν ἐν κόσμῳ κένῳ θεῶν, ἢ προνοίας κένῳ, ſaith that noble Emperour nobly: τί καὶ ἐπιθύμῳ εἰκαίῳ συγκείμαι καὶ φύρμῳ τοιούτῳ ἐνδιατρίβειν· to live in ſuch a blind confuſion, &c. II. 2. VI. 10.

ſaved him out of all his troubles: The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them: O taſt and ſee that the Lord is good! O taſt and ſee: If God's goodneſs may be felt and ſeen by us, then is our own experience an argument of his exiſtence: which indeed it is to all good men; (for whoſe comfort and confirmation I mention it; though it is not likely to have much influence upon thoſe that have driven God's preſence out of their ſouls; except they have ſo much ingenuity as to believe others teſtimony, who aſſert this great truth to them from their own inward conſcience and experience.

I have inſiſted two long upon this ſubject, it being ſo rich and copious that I could not eaſily get out of it; nor can I much repent thereof, it being of ſo great conſequence throughly to be perſuaded of this point: the deeper and more ſtrongly this foundation is laid, the more ſtable will the ſuperſtructure of religious practice be thereupon; and I fear moſt of that coldneſs and imperfection which appears therein, doth ariſe chiefly from the weakneſs of our faith in this very article.

1. I ſhall only farther obſerve one or two particulars: firſt, that the preceding arguments as they do moſt immediately evince thoſe three principal attributes of God, his incomprehenſible wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, ſo in conjunction with (or conſequence from) them, they do declare thoſe his other attributes (which are ingredients alſo of that notion, which in the beginning of this diſcourſe I deſcribed) namely, the eternity, and indefectibility of his exiſtence; his immenſe omni-preſence; his ſpirituality: as alſo his juſtice and veracity; his rightfull ſoveraignty of dominion, and the like, (for I cannot proſecute all the divine perfections, according to that multiplicity of diſtinction which our conceit and expreſſion doth make of them:) If God made all things he could not receive being from another (and he who made this world, what reaſon can we have to ſuppoſe him from another?) nor can any thing receive being of it ſelf; nor from meer nothing of it ſelf ſpring up into being therefore the Maker of the World is eternal: ſomething muſt be eternal otherwiſe nothing could be at all; other things ſhew themſelves to have proceeded from the wiſdom and goodneſs of one; that one therefore is eternal; and ſo all nations conſent; and ſo Revelation declares: that he is immortal and immutable, doth as plainly follow: for not depending for his being on any thing belonging to it, neither can he depend for his continuance or conſervation: having ſuperiour power to all things, as having conferred to all whatever of power they have, nothing can make any prevalent impreſſion upon him, ſo as to deſtroy or alter any thing in him: From his making and from his upholding; and from his governing all things, it follows that he was and is every-where where his power is, there his hand muſt be: for nothing can act upon what is diſtant; every action with effect requires a Conjunction of the agent and patient: That he doth penetrate all things with his preſence and power, operating inſenſibly and imperceptibly, doth argue the ſpirituality of his being; and that he doth not conſiſt of ſuch matter, as all the things we feel and perceive do: His over-reaching wiſdom argues him incapable of being deceived; and his over-bearing power ſhews that he doth not need to deceive; and his tranſcendent goodneſs proves him unwilling to deceive or injure any: from whence is conſequent his perfect veracity and juſtice. The excellency of his nature; the eminency of his wiſdom and power; the exceſs of his goodneſs; and his having firſt

Ψευδηγορᾶν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται στόμα τὸ διὸν---- Æſch. Prom.

first given being, and then preserving it to all things, do declare his rightfull title to supreme dominion; and accordingly that all love, esteem, worship and obedience is due to him; according to that devout acknowledgment of the blessed Elders in the Apocalypse: *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive the glory, and the honour, and the power* (or authority) *because thou hast made all things; and for thy will they are, and were created.* Apoc. 4. 11.

I might add, that the constitution of our own souls doth shew and confirm divers of God's attributes: It is not reasonable to think that our Maker made us to admire other qualities than such as are in him: Therefore since we love and esteem and admire goodness, mercifulness, &c. and dislike the opposites; therefore God is in the highest degree good and gracious, &c.

I observe secondly, that in this article the Unity of God is implied, (the authors of the Creed thought it sufficiently signified by the singular number;) the which in other ancient Creeds was expressed: *Orientis Ecclesiæ omnes ità tradunt* (saith *Ruffin*) *Credo in unum Deum patrem Omnipotentem.* All the Churches of the *East* thus express it: *I believe in one God, the Father, Almighty.* So in *Irenæus* his Creed it runs: *Ecclesia quaqua per universum orbem terrarum usque ad fines terræ dispersa ab Apostolis & ipsorum discipulis fidem accepit; quæ est in unum Deum omnipotentem, qui fecit cœlum, & terram, & maria, & omnia quæ in eis sunt.*

And in all *Tertullian* his forms: * *Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi conditorem.* * De velandis virginibus.

Regula fidei; quâ creditur unum omnino Deum esse, nec alium præter mundi conditorem: And in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* his form, 'tis likewise expressed, as also in the *Nicene* Creed afterwards: And this is a main point of our Belief, distinguishing us from Pagans and Idolaters; who ascribed the incommunicable attributes of the one God, and imparted the religious veneration due only to him, unto false Deities, invented by themselves, or suggested by bad spirits; thereby greatly wronging God and themselves; robbing him of his due honour, and themselves of that protection and aid, which God is ready to impart to them, who faithfully serve, and humbly invoke him. De præscript.

Now this truth the precedent arguments do also manifestly enough infer: The uniformity, concord, and perfect harmony which appears in the constitution and conservation of things; their conspiring to one end, their continuing in the same order and course, do plainly shew it: even as the lasting peace of a Common-wealth (composed of different persons and humours) argues one law, that regulates and contains them; and the orderly march of an army shews it managed by one conduct; and the uniformity of a house, or of a city, declares it contrived by one architect.

And thereto also the common suffrage of mankind doth in a manner agree: For that there was one supreme God, the author, and governour of the rest, (and of all other things) transcending in power and wisdom and all kind of perfection, was evidently the common opinion; whom therefore we see the Poets do style, *the Father of Gods and Men*; *the King of the Gods*, ὕψιστος, μέγιστος, κράτιστος; *The Highest, Greatest, most excellent God.* Vid. Tertull. adv. Marc. I. 10. denique major popularitas generis humani, &c.

Even the Vulgar had this conceit; but the wisest of them had more clear and full apprehensions of this Unity: and commonly they speak of God, but as of one, whom he calls πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν: Vid. Hug. Grot. de jure B. ac P. lib. 2. cap. 20. sect. 45.

So

De vet. Rel. Chr. p. 37. Max. Tyr. I. So *Plato* referrs the making of the World to one: and *Ariſtotle*, when he hath occaſion to ſpeak of God, doth uſually ſpeak in the ſingular number; and ſo do other Philoſophers; and ſometime expreſsly they ſignifie their opinion to be, that *there is but one*: There are many popular Gods, but one natural, *Antiſthenes* ſaid in *Tully*: ἕις ὢν πολυώνυμός ἐστι (ſaith the Author *de Mundo*.) Being one in reality, he hath many names, according to the ſeveral affections he diſcovers and the operations he exerts; whom *Seneca* thus conſents to: *Quoties voles tibi licet aliter hunc auctorem rerum noſtrarum compellare: Tot appellationes ejus eſſe poſſunt, quot munera; Hunc & liberum patrem, & Herculem ac Mercurium noſtri putant; ſic hanc naturam voca, fatum, fortunam; Omnia ejuſdem Dei nomina ſunt variè utentis ſuâ poteſtate.*

Cic. 1. de N.D. Ariſt. de Mundo, cap. 7. Sen. de Benef. IV. 7. Vid. Lactant. Vid. Sophoclis dictum apud Grot. excerpt. pag. 149. ἕις ταῖς ἀληθείαιν, ἕις ἐστιν θεὸς, &c. Notab.

But divine Revelation doth moſt fully declare this truth: I need not mention places; the whole Scripture doth chiefly teach and inculcate it; That there is but one Maker and one Governour of the World; to whom all veneration and obedience is due: and to whom be all honour, and glory, and worſhip for ever aſcribed and payed, *&c. Amen.*

Marſil. Fic. arg. 10. de leg. Sed nè turbet quæſo Deorum numerus, quem non turbat numerus angelorum. Nihil enim plus apud Platonem tot poſſunt Dii, quàm apud nos tot angeli, tótque beati.

Ψιλὴν καὶ ἄλογον πίστιν. Orig. 1. It was anciently objected by *Celſus* and other adverſaries of our Religion, that Chriſtianity did exact of men a blind, groundleſs belief; that it condemned humane wiſdom, baniſh'd underſtanding, and prohibited all inquiry; commanding men to ſwallow its dictates without any previous examination or debate concerning the truth of them; impoſing νόμους ἀναποδείκτους, laws uncapable of proof, and inculcating this rule, μὴ ἐξέταζε, ἀλλὰ μόνον πίστευε. Do not examine, but only believe.

The ground of this accuſation ſeems to be a great miſtake, proceeding from the not diſtinguiſhing that belief, whereby we embrace Chriſtianity it ſelf in general and in groſs; and the belief, whereby we aſſent to the particular doctrines thereof, (eſpecially ſuch as concern matters ſupernatural, and above the reach of our underſtanding to find out or comprehend.)

As for the firſt, that faith, whereby we embrace Chriſtianity in the groſs; I ſay, that Chriſtianity doth not propound it ſelf as immediately evident; nor requires a precipitate aſſent to it; but offers blind reaſon for it ſelf, and invites men to inquire, conſider, and judge about its truth. Never any Religion was ſo little liable to this cenſure; none ever ſo freely expoſed it ſelf to a fair trial at the barr of reaſon: it deſires of men an εὐγνώμων ἐξέτασις, a candid and diſcreet examination for its ſake and their own: Other Religions have for their juſtification inſiſted upon the example of anceſtours, and cuſtom of times; their large extent and prevalence among many people; their eſtabliſhment by civil laws, and the countenance of ſecular power; (arguments extrinſick to the matter, and very weak in themſelves) declining all other teſt or trial of reaſon: and it is remarkable, how *Celſus* and thoſe (who made the foreſaid objection) did therein contradict themſelves, when they affirm men ought, without ſcruple, to conform to the Religion preſcribed by the laws of their Country, be they what they will; never ſo abſurd, or diſhoneſt: This is indeed an exacting of irrational belief; a ſtifling of our underſtanding and muzling our judgments; a requiring of men to yield their conſent to innumerable moſt palpable falſhoods and inconſiſtencies. The teachers and defenders of Chriſtianity proceeded otherwiſe; confiding in the truth and reaſonableneſs of their cauſe, they excited men to lay aſide all unreaſonable

Orig. V. pag. 248, &c.

sonable prejudices; to use their best understandings; to apply themselves to an industrious and impartial search of the truth: Hear *Lactantius* speaking for the rest: *Oportet in ea re maximè, in qua vitæ ratio versatur, sibi quémque considere, suóque judicio ac propriis sensibus niti ad investigandam, & perpendendam veritatem, quàm credentem alienis erroribus decipi tanquam ipsum rationis expertem: Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam, ut & inaudita investigare possent, & audita perpendere:* That is; We ought especially, every one of us, in that matter, which chiefly concerns our life, to confide in our selves; and rather with our own judgment and our proper senses strive to find out and weigh the truth, than believing other men's errours, to be deceived as men void of reason: God hath given all men their share of wisdom, that they might both inquire into what they hear, and weigh it: so he disputing against the heathen credulity. Lib. II. cap. 7.

Thus doth Christianity call upon men to inquire into its self; yea it obliges them thereto: it propounds faith as a vertue highly commendable (supposing it therefore voluntary and managed with reason) for all vertue is ἕξις προαιρετικὴ μετ' ἀληθοῦς λόγου, 'tis ἕκδοσις συγκαταθεσις, a voluntary assent, promising ample rewards thereto; and infidelity it propounds as a vice very blameable (and consequently very irrational) threatning very severe punishments thereto: it doth not inveagle men by slight, nor compell them by force; but fairly persuades them to imbrace it: it doth not therefore avoid examination, nor disclaim the use of good reason; but seeks and procures the one; cheerfully and confidently appeals to the other.

Indeed after it hath convinced men of its truth in general; having evidenced the truth and certainty of its fundamental principles, it then requires a full and cordial consent (without exception) to all its particular doctrines grounded upon them: when (I say) it hath propounded sufficient reason to satisfy men's minds, that is grounded upon most solid principles, it then requires men to surcease farther doubt or scruple concerning what it teaches: which is a most reasonable proceeding, and conformable to the method used in the strictest sciences: for the principles of any science being either demonstrated out of some higher science, or evidenced by fit examples and experiments to common sense, and being hence admitted, 'tis afterward unlawful and absurd to refuse the conclusions deduced from them: so it having been proved that our principles are true; (*viz.* that God is perfectly veracious; and that Christian Religion did proceed from him, and is built upon his attestation;) 'tis a part of absurd levity and self-contradiction then to question any particular proposition evidently contained therein, and in this sense it is true (and thus I take those Christians to be understood * who commend immediate faith, and exclude reason from being too busy in matters of religion, and discountenance curious inquiry:) thus I say it is true, that Christianity engages us to believe, without reason or dispute. It will allow (yea it invites, and exhorts) an infidel to consider and judge of its truth; but it will not allow a Christian to be so vain and inconstant, as to question any particular of its doctrine; by doing so he renounces his faith, at least ceases to be a steady Christian. * Vid. Orig. pag. 9.

Now the first principle of Christianity (common thereto and all other religions) is, That *there is one God:* the next (which also no Religion doth not acknowledge) that God is perfectly veracious; or, that whatever appears to be asserted or attested to by God is certainly true: which two principles we have already proved by reasons proper and sufficient

(we conceive) to ſatisfy any well-diſpoſed mind. A third principle is, that God is the Author of the Chriſtian doctrine in general; that it hath been revealed and impoſed upon mankind by divine authority. And a fourth is, that thoſe authorities and traditions upon which we ground and by which we prove (mediately or immediately) the particular doctrines of Chriſtianity to be truely ſuch (that is, admitting the former principle, to have come from God) are proper and ſufficient to that purpoſe. Theſe two latter principles involving matter of fact and conſequently being not evident in themſelves, do (for a full conviction of a man's mind and producing therein a ſolid perſuaſion) require a rational probation; and that it may appear we believe like reaſonable men, not upon wilfull reſolution, or by meer chance (as Pagans and Mahometans, and other ignorant opinioniſts do) as alſo to confirm the grounds upon which the ſubſequent articles or doctrines of faith are built, I ſhall endeavour briefly to ſhew the reaſonableneſs of them; beginning with the firſt; and advancing my diſcourſe by ſeveral ſteps or degrees. And, I obſerve that,

1. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that God ſhould ſometime reveal unto men the truth concerning himſelf, and concerning them, as they ſtand related toward him; (his nature and will; our ſtate and duty) His prime attributes perſuade thus much. It is moſt evident to common experience, that mankind, being left to it ſelf (in matters of this nature eſpecially) is very inſufficient to direct it ſelf; it is apt to lie under a wofull ignorance; to be poſſeſſed with vain conceit; to wander in doubt; and fall into errour; 'tis ſubject to all kind of deluſion, which either the malice of wicked ſpirits or the ſubtilty of naughty men, or the wildneſs of its own unruly paſſions and deſires can bring it under; and conſequently 'tis liable to incur all thoſe ſins (diſhonourable, hurtfull, and deſtructive to its nature) and all thoſe miſeries, which from ignorance, errour, and ſin do naturally ſpring; (an eſtrangement eſpecially from God, and his grievous diſpleaſure) we ſee that not only the generality of mankind did ſometime lie in this ſad condition, but that even the moſt elevated and refined wits, thoſe among men, who by all poſſible improvement of their reaſon did endeavour to raiſe and reſcue themſelves from the common ignorance, miſtakes ſuperſtitions and follies of the world, could by no means, in any good meaſure attain their end: what did their diligent ſtudies and inquiries produce but diſſatisfaction and perplexity of mind? wherein did their eager diſputations conclude, but in irreconcilable differences of opinion, and greater uncertainty, than at firſt? moſt were plung'd into a deſperate Scepticiſm; (a doubt and diffidence of all things;) none arrived higher, than ſome faint conjectures, or ſome unſteady opinions, concerning thoſe matters of higheſt conſequence: ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς: they were (as St. *Paul* obſerved) made vain (were fruſtrated and befooled) in their reaſonings, and their fooliſh heart was darkned, &c. The world by wiſdom did not know God: could not attain to a requiſite meaſure of knowledge in divine things. This being the natural ſtate of men, deſtitute of divine help and direction, doth it not (I pray) greatly need another light to guide it in this darkneſs; a helpfull hand to relieve it from theſe inconveniences? Can then that infinite goodneſs hear mankind groan under ſo lamentable oppreſſions, and not pity it? Can he behold his own dear offſpring, the flower of his creation, lying in ſo comfortleſs, ſo remedileſs diſtreſs, without affording ſome relief? Can ſuch a ſpectacle delight that gracious eye? or can he forbear long to remove it out of his ſight? his goodneſs makes it highly improbable that he ſhould: We accompt it great wan

Rom. 1. 21. Eph. 4. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 21.

'ant of goodneſs not to direct a bewildred traveller; not to relieve, if we ın, a perſon greatly diſtreſſed? and if we, being bad, often perform ſuch ood offices to one another; how much more ready ſhould we think him, ıat is goodneſs it ſelf, to do the like, for all mankind, ſo much needing it? is wiſdom alſo gives us to ſuppoſe the ſame: If God made the world to xpreſs his goodneſs, and manifeſt his glory; is it likely, he ſhould ſuffer imſelf to be utterly fruſtrated in his deſign by letting men continue in gnorance and doubt concerning who it was that made it and how he goerns it? who but men can admire his excellent perfections, and render im his due honour; and how can they do it, without competent knowedge, and full perſuaſion concerning him? Doth not God expect duty nd ſervice from men? would he not have the world proceed in ſome ood order? doth he not deſire the good of men, and delight in their appineſs? And then being infinitely wiſe, muſt he not diſpoſe fit means or accompliſhing theſe ends? will he not provide, that himſelf be not toılly diſappointed? So his wiſdom grounds an argument for divine reveıtion: He had made an inward faculty of ſeeing in vain, if he had not iven an outward light, &c. God's juſtice alſo doth in ſome manner perıade the ſame: Doth not every good Governour take care that his ſubects ſhould underſtand his pleaſure, and be acquainted with his laws? oth he not propound fit encouragements to obedience; and deterr them rom diſobedience by menacing puniſhment? and the ſoveraign Goverıour and Judge of the World can he fail ſufficiently to declare his will? vill he leave any apology for diſobedience? ſhall he neglect any means pt to promote his ſubjects performance of their duty; fit to prevent the reach of his laws? If he loves righteouſneſs, and deſires to be duely oeyed, and delights in his ſubjects good; he will ſurely diſcover his mind, nd encourage men to comply with it; and terrify them from oppoſing :. Indeed that God ſhould for a while connive at mens ignorance, and ıffer them to grope after truth (as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it in the 14 and 17 f the *Acts*) to try them, as he did the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſs, how hey would behave themſelves, in the uſing their talent of natural light; o make them ſenſible of their natural infirmity; more ready to embrace; nore able to value the redreſs vouchſafed them; to commend his extraordinary grace and mercy to them; that for ſuch purpoſes, unſearchable vholly by our ſhallow underſtanding; he ſhould, I ſay, for ſome time orbear with a full evidence to declare all his mind, is not ſo ſtrange or ınlikely. I might add, that it is not likely God ſhould ſuffer the World his Kingdom) perpetually to lie under the uſurpation and tyranny of the Devil (καταδυναστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, Acts 10. 38.) That his imperial hrone ſhould be poſſeſſed; his authority uſurped; his name inſulted and riumphed over as it were by that arch-rebel, and capital enemy of his; ut that he ſhould for ever ſuffer men to abide in ſuch depth of ignorance, uch perplexity of doubt, ſuch captivity under ſin, and miſery, ſeems not probable; and much leſs, can it ſeem improbable that he hath done it: it cannot, I ſay, ſeem misbecoming the goodneſs, wiſdom, or juſtice of God, that he ſhould ſhew them clearly, what he requires of them to do; what good he intends for them: what way leads to their happineſs; and how they ſhould avoid miſery. This conſideration, though it doth not fully prove God hath made ſuch revelation (for we cannot reach the utmoſt of poſſibilities, nor are judges of what God muſt needs do) yet it removes all obſtruction to our belief, and diſpoſes us to admit the following reaſons: it being not unprobable, yea in the reaſon of the thing very probable, he ſhould do it; we cannot wonder, and have

Acts 17. 27, 30. 14. 16.

Vid. diſcurſum Quintii Ciceronis in I. de divin.

leſs reaſon to diſtruſt thoſe arguments, by which it may appear that he hath done it.

2dly. We may conſider, that no other religion, that hath been, or now is could (or can) with any probability pretend thus to have proceeded from God, or by him to have been deſigned for the general, complete and perpetual inſtruction and obligation of mankind. There have been but three pretenſions thereto: that of Paganiſm, of Mahometaniſm, and of Judaiſm; let us a little examine each of them.

As for Paganiſm, it was never one ſimple, or certain; one fixed or conſtant thing; but according to difference of place and time infinitely various and mutable: diverſly ſhaped and modelled according to fancy and humour, deſign or intereſt of the ſtate that allowed it, the prieſts that managed it, or the people that received it; a plain ſign that (excepting ſome general confuted notions, derived from ancient tradition) it did wholly proceed from humane device, or ſome worſe cauſe: ſurvey it all, and what ſhall you find but a company of idle, ridiculous, ill-contrived incredible and inconſiſtent ſtories, arguing nothing of truth, and little of wit in them that invented them; theſe attended by practices moſt fond lewd, and cruel, unworthy of humane nature, contrary to common ſenſe and honeſty. Their worſhip directed to objects moſt improper: to the ſouls of dead men (men famous for nothing ſo much as the vicious enormities of their lives, bloudy cruelties, thefts and rapines; murders and parricides; horrid luſts, adulteries, rapes and inceſts; and ſuch perſons alive or dead, what good or wiſe man would not rather deteſt and abominate, than reſpect or worſhip!) To brute beaſts; and them the moſt vile and miſchievous (Dogs, Serpents, Crocodiles) which to pay devotion unto, what a debaſement is it of humane nature? To creatures inanimate the ſtars and elements; rivers, trees, *&c.* which we ſee acting by a natural neceſſity; yielding no ſignification of any life, ſenſe, or underſtanding in them, and conſequently much inferiour to us in dignity of nature which therefore 'tis a ſottiſh baſeneſs in us to adore: yea, which is yet a extremer degree (if it may be) of folly, they dedicated temples, and offered ſacrifices to things void of all ſubſiſtence; to meer qualities and accidents of things; the paſſions of our minds, and the diſeaſes of our body and accidents of our lives: who would think men ſhould be ſo mad as to reckon impudence (that odious vice) or a fever (that tormenting diſeaſe) or fortune (that which we can ſo little truſt, and ſo oft complain of) among things venerable? and from ſuch thorns, what fruits of good life and morality can we hope ſhould ſpring? what piety towards God, what juſtice, truth or goodneſs towards men, what ſobriety or purity in men themſelves can we expect ſhould ariſe from ſuch conceits, and ſuch practices in Religion none other, than ſuch as St. *Paul* deſcribes in the firſt Chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and in the ſecond of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*; which hiſtory and experience ſhew to have been no ſlanderous imputations upon Gentiliſm. But 'tis needleſs to diſcourſe againſt that, which I ſuppoſe hath no reaſonable Patron; and which hardly any wiſe-man, when it was practiſed, did ſeriouſly think had any truth or reality in it: *Plato* often inveighs againſt the inventours of thoſe fictions in heathen Theology: *Ariſtotle* attributes the conſtitution of thoſe Religions to the policy of law-givers: there was no Philoſopher, who did not ſignifie his diſlike or contempt of the vulgar opinions; that is, of their Religion. What *Tully* ſaith of one part, the wiſer ſort of men did judge of all: *Tota res eſt inventa fallaciis aut ad quæſtum, aut ad ſuperſtitionem, aut ad errorem:* The whole buſineſs was deceitfully forged either for gain, or out of ſuperſtition, or from miſtake.

Ariſt. Metaph. XII. 8. Example Cic. de. div. II. pag. 240. Tuſc. Qu. I. p. 301. De Div. II. p. 245.

They

They did in their external carriage comply with common practice, out of politick diſcretion; for their ſafety, and for peace-ſake: but in their mind they believed nothing, nor liked any thing in it: they obſerved the common things, *tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata* (as commanded by the laws, not as acceptable to the Gods) as *Seneca* ſpeaks. vid. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, lib. IV. 33. VI. 10.

I might add, that all theſe Religions did vaniſh with the countenance of authority and power that ſuſtained them; which ſhews they had no root in the hearty belief or approbation of thoſe that profeſſed them. 'Tis therefore plain that this Religion did not proceed from God; but either from humane device, or diabolical ſuggeſtion.

As for Mahometaniſm, a Sect in later times ſprung up and vaſtly ſpread about the World; neither can that fairly pretend to a divine original: In times of great diſturbance and confuſion in the World (when even among Chriſtian's ignorance and diſſenſion, ſuperſtition, and viciouſneſs of manners had hugely prevailed) in a very blind corner of the earth, among a crew of barbarous thieves and wild runnagates (ſuch have thoſe *Arabians* been always famed to be) this Sect did firſt ariſe; being accommodated to the genius of ſuch people, and infuſed into them, partly by jugling pretences to wonder-working and prophecy, partly by ſeditious violence; by a perſon not, as their own legends deſcribe him, of any honourable qualities; but having all the characters of an impoſtor, (rebellious and perfidious; inhumane and cruel; lewd and laſcivious;) propagated it was afterwards by rage and terrour of arms, and grew wholly among barbarous people, void of learning and civility; having no religion before, and therefore (as all mankind is naturally receptive of religious impreſſions) capable to admit any, eſpecially ſuch an one as this, agreeable to their ſavage humours and luſts; It ſubſiſts upon the ſame grounds of ignorance and force, refuſing all examination, and upon extreme penalties prohibiting any diſpute, or controverſy about its truth; being ſo far wiſe, as conſcious to it ſelf, that the letting in a little light, and a moderate liberty of diſcuſſing its pretences, would eaſily overthrow it. Even theſe exteriour circumſtances of its riſe, growth, and continuance, (ſo full of iniquity and inhumanity) are great preſumptions againſt its divinity, or rather plainly demonſtrate, that it did not proceed from God; whoſe truth cannot need ſuch courſes, whoſe goodneſs abhorrs them: And if we look into it, we ſhall find it to be a lump of abſurd opinions, odd ſtories, and uncouth ceremonies, compounded chiefly of the dregs of Chriſtian hereſies, with ſome ingredients of Judaiſm and Paganiſm, confuſedly jumbled and tempered together: From Chriſtian hereſies it hath its negative doctrines, oppoſite to Chriſtianity; for allowing Chriſt much reſpect, it yet denies his being the Son of God; and his having really ſuffered; it rejects his true ſtory, and affixes falſe ones upon him; that God hath a body and a humane ſhape, (*Mahomet* felt his hand forſooth, and it was very cold,) an opinion ſo unreaſonable and miſbeſeeming God, he might draw from the *Anthropomorphites*; and from the *Manichees* that doctrine concerning the fatal determination of all events; a doctrine ſo prejudicial to Religion, taking away thoſe foundations of juſtice between God and Man; Man's free choice in ſerving God, and God's free diſpoſal of rewards to men, ſuitable to their actions. The Jew contributed his ceremonies of circumciſion, and purgations by waſhing; his abſtinence from Swine's-fleſh; his allowance of Polygamy and Divorce. I might add, that from him it borrowed its inhumane condemning, deſpiſing, and hating all the world; calling all men dogs (beſide themſelves) and adjuring all to certain damnation; affirming withall, that all of their belief,

lief, how wickedly ſoever they have lived, ſhall at length partake of ſalvation. The Pagan Elyſium might be a pattern, whence their paradiſe of corporeal delight, and brutiſh ſenſuality might be tranſcribed; which any man ſees how poor an encouragement it is, how unworthy a reward to vertue; yea, how much it rather detracts from and diſcourages all performances of honeſty and reaſon. He muſt be very ſtupid, who can ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded that theſe conceits did come from the God of Holineſs and Wiſdom. And how *Mahomet* was inſpired with truth, his ſtories alone would evince; ſtories patched out of old hiſtories corrupted, mutilated, and tranſplaced, interlarded with fabulous legends; contrary to all probable records of hiſtory (the perſons, places, times, and all circumſtances of which it moſt unskilfully confounds,) yea repugnant to the nature of things, and to all imaginable poſſibility; Evident arguments both of an ignorant and impudent impoſtor: He that will lye or blunder about matters of fact, who can truſt him in matters of right and reaſon? All which (if time would permit and it were worth the while) might by manifold inſtances be ſhewed. I might add its multitude of ſilly ceremonies, grounded on no reaſonable deſign, nor ſubſervient to any purpoſe of vertue. But what is ſaid doth enough declare this Religion to be of no divine extraction.

Vid. Pſ. 78. 5. 76. 1. Deut. 4. 7, &c. As for ancient Judaiſm; that it has no ſuch revelation as that we require, and did in the former concluſion aſſert, (nor has any probability to expect) an univerſal, complete, ſtanding revelation) upon many ſcores may appear. It is from the tenour thereof evident, that it was deſigned only for one ſmall nation, poſſeſſing a very inconſiderable portion of the earth purpoſely diſtinguiſhed and as it were concealed from the reſt of mankind; and in effect ſo remaining for many ages (untill the *Roman* Conqueſts opened the World and diſcovered them) in a ſolitary obſcurity ſo that the moſt inquiſitive ſurveyours of the earth and ſearchers into the cuſtoms of people (*Herodotus* for inſtance and others) could not diſcern them, did take no notice of them; though for their peculiar manner otherwiſe moſt remarkable. Pſal. 14. 19. *He ſhewed* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *his word unto Jacob, his ſtatutes and judgments unto Iſrael:* He hath not dealt ſo with any nation; and as for his judgments, they have not known them. *I the Lord am Holy, and have ſevered you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine* (ſaith God to the Jews, *Levit.* 20. 26.) and: *So ſhall we be ſeparated* (ſaith Moſes in his addreſs to God, *Exod.* 33.) *So ſhall we be ſeparated, I, and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth.* Exod. 33. 16. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2. *Thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord hath choſen thee to be a ſpecial people unto himſelf, above all people that are upon the face of the earth:* And for this very purpoſe (of diſtinction and ſeparation) many of their laws were appointed: *I am the Lord your God which have ſeparated you from other people; Ye ſhall therefore put difference between clean beaſts and unclean*, &c. Levit. 20. 24, 25. We ſee the laws of that Religion particularly directed to the people, *Hear, O Iſrael*, being the uſual compellation, ſet in the head of them: and, *I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt*, is the introduction to the very Decalogue it ſelf; the encouragements and to and diſcouragements from obedience do peculiarly appertain to them; a long and proſperous enjoyment of the land of *Canaan*, if they did obey; and, diſpoſſeſſion or affliction therein, if they ſhould preſume to diſobey: *You ſhall walk in all the ways, which the Lord your God hath commanded you, that ye may live, and that it may be well with you, and that ye may prolong your days in the land which ye poſſeſs.* Such were the promiſes, exciting to obedience; and the threatnings to diſobedience ſuitable; as every-where in their law and ſtory is viſible. Deut. 4. 1. 5. 1. 6. 3, &c. Exod. 20. Deut. 5. 33. vid. Deut. 6. 3, &c.

This

This revelation therefore cannot be deemed general, ſuch as we argued in reaſon might be expected from him, who (as the Pſalmiſt ſings) *is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works*: who *hath made of one bloud* πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, *the whole nation of mankind* (as St. *Paul*, in the *Acts*, expreſſeth it) who (as St. *Peter* there implies) *is no reſpecter of perſons*, or of nations: *who is the Maker and Saviour of all men*, (and, as the *Wiſeman* tells us) *careth for all alike*: being deſirous that *all men ſhould be ſaved, and come to the knowledge of the truth*; not willing *that any ſhould periſh, but that all men ſhould come to repentance*. Who is not φιλεβραῖος only, or φιλέλλην (a lover of *Jews* only or *Greeks*) but φιλάνθρωπος, a lover of men, and φιλόψυχος, a lover of ſouls; who, laſtly, *is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles alſo*: as not our Prophets and Apoſtles only tell us, but the reaſon of the thing and the voice of nature doth declare.

Pſal. 145. 9. Acts 17. 26. Acts 10. 34. 1 Tim. 4. 10. 2. 4. Wiſd. 6. 7. 11. 23, &c. 2 Pet. 3. 9. Tit. 3. 4. Sap. 11. 26. vid. Ezek. 18. Rom. 3. 29. ἑνὸς Θεὸς δύσνυς ἀνθρώποις. Plat. Theat.

And as this revelation was particular, ſo was it alſo partial; as God did not by it ſpeak his mind to all, ſo neither did he in it ſpeak out all his mind. Surveying this Religion, may we not eaſily deſcry a great redundance in the circumſtantial and exteriour parts; a great defect in the ſubſtantials, and inwards thereof? Ritual inſtitutions innumerable we ſee, nicely deſcribed, and ſtrongly preſſed; moral precepts more ſparingly delivered, not ſo clearly explained, nor ſo fully urged by rational inducements: Obſervation of times, and places; diſtinction of meats, and habits; corporal cleanſings and purgations; modalities of outward ſervice in ſacrifices and oblations, thoſe δικαιώματα σαρκὸς, (*Heb.* 9. 9, 10.) juſtifications of the fleſh, that could not perfect the obſerver's conſcience, or mind or inward man;) touch not, taſte not, handle not, moſt largely and with extreme punctuality, ſome of them under heavy penalties (exciſion and extermination) injoined; while moral duties, and ſpiritual devotions ſo exceedingly more agreeable to rational nature, and more pleaſing to God) ſeem not ſo perfectly provided for. Many things are tacitly connived at, or plainly permitted to them, (as Polygamy, Divorce, ſome kind of revenge and uncharitableneſs;) which even natural reaſon diſlikes, or condemns: God's placability, and aptneſs to forgive great ſins, wilfully and preſumptuouſly committed, (ſuch as no man lives altogether free from,) not openly revealed, but rather the contrary expreſſed, (*Curſed is that abides not in all things written in this law to do them*:) which excludes all aſſurance, and diſcourages from hope of mercy; and conſequently obſtructs repentance and amendment of life. And where do we ſee any clear diſcovery concerning the immortality of the ſoul, or the future ſtate, a material a point of Religion, of ſo great moment to encourage vertue and piety? Even the gentile Theology ſeems more expreſs in this point, than the Jewiſh law; and the Pagan prieſts (by help of ancient tradition) ſeem to have reached farther than the Hebrew prophets: God indeed ſeems to have ſhewed only his back-parts to *Moſes*; when he diſcovered no more of his nature, and his pleaſure to him; when he ſeems to delight in, and lay ſo much ſtreſs upon thoſe carnal and ceremonious performances. Neither do we herein charge God: for he did herein but what wiſdom required: The laws and inſtitutions of this Religion were ſurely accommodated to the ſtate, and diſpoſition, and capacity of that people; people not very wiſe or conſiderate; grave or conſtant; meek or flexible; but a very ſtubborn, froward, humorous generation of men, as their own writings deſcribe them; and therefore not capable of perfect inſtruction, or rigorous precepts; like children, by reaſon of the groſsneſs of their apprehenſion, and unrulineſs of paſſion, not οἰκεῖοι ἀκροαταὶ (no proper auditors)

Deut. 27. 26. Gal. 3. 10. vid. Ezek. 20. 25.

tors) of a pure and accurate diſcipline; and as with ſuch God in his wiſdom and tender goodneſs ſeems to have dealt with them; diſpenſing with the infirmities of their age, and condeſcending to their mean capacities; feeding them with milk, and indulging them innocent trifles; and ſo tempering his ordinances given unto them, as might beſt ſerve partly to pleaſe and humour them, partly to curb and reſtrain them: whence St. *Paul* calls them *poor and weak elements*, and *elements of the word*, (ſuch as vulgar and ſilly people were fit to learn) adapted to the learning and practiſing of * children; the law being a School-maſter to keep them in order and prepare them for a higher inſtruction. Such variety of ſuperficial formalities might well agree to childiſh fancies, and content ſlaviſh ſpirits; but to men improved in reaſon, who could reliſh ſpiritual entertainments they muſt needs ſeem burthenſome and tedious: Wiſe-men cannot be much affected with pomps and ſolemnities. In the practice of vertue and piety there are alluring ſweetneſſes and beauties, which it muſt needs diſpleaſe him, that is ſenſible of them, to be avoked from, by an obligation to attend preciſely to ſuch an abundance of outward ſapleſs obſervances; to be bound to chew ſuch husks, neglecting ſo delicious a kernel, cannot but be irkſome and grievous: they are therefore ſtyled well in the New Teſtament an intolerable *yoke and burthen*, (*Acts* 15. 10, 28.) and to be free of them is a very valuable privilege, which Chriſt hath purchaſed for us (*Gal.* 5. 1.) 'Tis true, by degrees God imparted farther manifeſtations of light even to that people by the examples, and inſtructions of holy men and prophets ſent among them, in a manner and upon occaſions extraordinary. Holy men by their practice ſhewed that the rigour of the law might in ſome caſes be relaxed and diſpenſed with; that a more ſpiritual ſervice was acceptable to God; that he loved a purer devotion, and a higher charity, than the law required. And the Prophets often declared, that God did not ſo much delight in ceremonious obſervances; but chiefly did require hearty piety, perfect juſtice and tender charity; accompanied with meekneſs and patience, temperance and ſobriety. By them alſo God diſcovered more of his gracious diſpoſition and mercifull intentions; that he could pardon the greateſt ſins, and was reconcilable to the moſt heinous offenders, upon ſincere repentance and amendment of life. But the arbitrary and extraordinary diſpenſations of farther light and inſtruction to the Jews do confirm our purpoſe, ſhewing that God did not primarily intend the Jewiſh law for a complete diſcovery of his mind; having reſerved ſo much to be diſcovered in fit opportunity, argues, that more ſtill might be behind; as indeed we ſee that future life and immortality was not even by the prophets quite brought to light; that better covenant, eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes, was not yet revealed.

Yea this Religion, as it was not univerſal, and complete, ſo neither was it immutable and perpetual: It ſelf tells us, that God hereafter would raiſe another Prophet (for extraordinarineſs and eminency like to *Moſes*) which ſhould have words by God put into his mouth, (new words ſurely, new revelations from God) whom they particularly ſhould be obliged to hear and obey: That *the days ſhould come, when the Lord would make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael*, different from that which he made with their fathers after their delivery from *Egypt*; not to be written upon ſtones, but impreſſed upon men's hearts: concerning which we may ſay with the author to the *Hebrews*: *If the firſt had been* ἄμεμπτος, *faultleſs* and *perfect*; *there would have no place been found for the ſecond*: And: *by ſpeaking of a new one, he antiquated the old one.*

Vid. Orig. adv. Celſ. lib. 3. Gr. V. 6.

Gal. 4. 9. 4. 3. 3. 24. * Νήπιοι.

Remiſſion of ſins not clearly diſcovered under the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, a fundamental point of Religion.

Heb. 8. 6.

Deut. 18. 15.

Jer. 31. 31.

Heb. 8. 7, 13.

The

That another Prieſthood ſhould infallibly be eſtabliſhed, not after the order of *Aaron*, but *after the order of Melchiſedeck*; (not to offer carnal ſacrifices, but to impart ſpiritual benedictions.) Pſal. 110. 4.

That time ſhould be, when God would *gather all nations and tongues*; *and they ſhould come and ſee his glory*; and out of them God would *take* (that which the Moſaical conſtitution would not permit) *of them for Prieſts and for Levites.* Iſa. 66. 18, 21. Vid. Jer. 3. 16.

That there ſhould be a *Sion*, a Mountain ſeated above all Mountains, wherein God would place his perpetual reſidence, (his ſeat of worſhip and government) to which all nations ſhould flow, to learn God's will and walk in his ways. (Which could not be *Jeruſalem*, which is long ſince deſolated; and which if ſtanding, could be no convenient reſort for all the world; 'tis another ſpiritual *Sion*, a myſtical Rock is ſurely propheſied of. Pſal. 132. 13. Mic. 4. 1, 2, &c. Joel 2. 28. 3. 26.

That God will *create a new heaven and a new earth*; (a wholly new World and ſtate of things) *ſo that the former ſhould not be remembred, nor come into mind.* Iſai. 65. 17. 66. 22.

That God would pour his ſpirit of prophecy upon all fleſh (though the prophetical ſpirit hath long deſerted the Jewiſh nation;) that *the earth ſhall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the ſea.* (Judaiſm cannot be this knowledge, which was never likely to fill the earth.) That *from the riſing of the Sun, to the going down of the ſame, God's Name ſhall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto his Name, and a pure offering.* (In every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto God, not only at *Hieruſalem*, to which the Jewiſh ſervice was confined.) For that a time was determined to finiſh tranſgreſſion, and make an end of ſins, to make reconciliation for iniquity and introduce everlaſting righteouſneſs, to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy; and to anoint the moſt Holy: that is, in fine; that God would ſend the Meſſias, to enlighten the World with a perfect inſtruction; revealing God's will, and declaring his mercy to mankind; to erect an univerſal ſpiritual Kingdom over men's hearts, reducing them to the knowledge and obedience of God: theſe things (to which I might add divers more) ſufficiently ſhew that the Moſaical diſpenſation was but temporal and changeable: and that that was intended by God to be done, which the Author of the *Hebrews* affirms alone by Chriſt: An abrogation is made of the precedent command, for its weakneſs and unprofitableneſs, (its unprofitableneſs to the purpoſes of bringing men to ſuch a ſpiritual ſanctity, which would pleaſe God; which is another conſideration, that ſhews the imperfection of the Jewiſh Religion. If Judaiſm could not diſpoſe men to any tolerable degree of piety and righteouſneſs acceptable to God (that which St. *Paul* ſo largely proves in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*,) if it alſo tenders no favour or pardon to thoſe, which had tranſgreſſed the law and offended God, (which he alſo there and other-where ſhews,) it was neceſſary, that either all men ſhould lie under a deſperate ſlavery to ſin and guilt, or that God ſhould diſcover another way of righteouſneſs and mercy to be obtained. Dan. 9. 24. Heb. 7. 18. Διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνωφελές. Rom. 3. Gal. 3, &c.

That the Chriſtian doctrine did proceed from God, is a principle, upon which our faith of all particular articles in our Creed doth rely; the truth and reaſonableneſs of which I began to ſhew, proceeding by ſome ſteps; whereof the firſt was, The probability that God ſhould reveal ſuch a doctrine for the benefit and direction of mankind. The ſecond, That no other religion can pretend to ſuch a revelation: theſe aſſertions do well prepare our way to a third (which now we proceed to) that I might farther conſider how unſuitable the Jewiſh Religion was to the common nature and genius of mankind; and therefore unapt to prevail upon men's

minds: *Judæorum mos abſurdus, ſordidúſque,* (the Jewiſh way of religion
Hiſt. V. 5. is uncouth and ſordid) was *Tacitus* his cenſure, but it agreed to the general conceit of men about it, at that time when it began to be commonly known and obſerved; and a religion ſo little plauſible or probable (ſo apt to be diſliked and deſpiſed) it is not likely that God would commend to the generality of mankind. But I will not farther inſiſt upon this argument; but proceed to aſſert,

3ly. That the Chriſtian doctrine is in all reſpects ſuch, as might become God to be the Author of; worthy his wiſdom and goodneſs to reveal and impoſe upon mankind. We cannot imagine a better, more clearly true, more full and exact: more ſatisfactory to our minds and to our wants: We have therein the nature and will of God plainly declared, ſo far as it is fit and uſefull for us to know them; together with our relations to him, and all the ſtate of our own ſouls. An exact rule of life preſcribed to us, with all fit helps, and proper encouragements to the performance of our duty; The way of obtaining all the happineſs we are capable of, and avoiding all miſery clearly ſet before us, all the darkneſs removed, the doubts reſolved, the miſtakes corrected, with which mankind, in thoſe matters of higheſt concernment, hath been hitherto diſturbed and diſtracted. It, aſſigns, I ſay, a true and lively character of God; true, becauſe worthy of him; agreeable to whatever reaſon dictates, and the works of nature ſhew concerning him; aſcribing all conceivable perfections to him in the higheſt degree, and aſſerting all his due rights, and prerogatives; Omniſcient wiſdom, and Almighty power; Infinite benignity and beneficency toward his creatures; Supreme majeſty and authority over all; Having made all things with eſpecial regard to man: and upholding them with the ſame gracious reſpect; and governing them with a particular care and providence; ſearching all the thoughts, and ordering all the actions of men to a general (and ultimate) good end: This is the firſt excellency of our Religion, which is great both as to the object and influence thereof. The ignorance of God's nature, or miſconceptions about him, what miſchief and what ſuperſtitions do they not produce in the worſhip of God? Chriſtian Religion repreſents him in his eſſence One, perfectly ſimple, ſpiritual, omnipreſent, eternal, impaſſible and immutable; ſelf-ſufficient and infinitely happy: in his interiour diſpoſition of will and in all his purpoſe abſolutely free, pure and holy; juſt, faithfull and conſtant: in all his dealings with rational creatures, as very carefull and tender of their good; exceedingly gracious and mercifull toward them; ſo in no wiſe fond or indulgent, but impartially juſt and ſevere againſt all iniquity, obſtinately purſued and perſiſted in; moſt amiable in his goodneſs, moſt terrible in his juſtice, moſt glorious and venerable in all his proceedings: it repreſents him compaſſionate of our evils: placable for our offences; acceſſible and inclinable to help us in our needs. Thus, but with advantage beyond what I can expreſs, it deſcribes God to us, mixing nothing unworthy or miſ-becoming him (as other religions and doctrines may be obſerved to do) adding nothing repugnant to what natural light diſcerns or approves but ſhewing ſomething beſide and beyond what it can diſcover; concerning his incomprehenſible nature and manner of ſubſiſtence; his unſearchable counſels of wiſdom; his admirable ways of providence; whereby he hath deſigned to commend his goodneſs and glorifie his juſtice to us: which kind of truths (exceeding the reach of humane invention and capacity) as it becomes God, (ſo far tranſcending us in wiſdom and knowledge) to reveal them, ſo they ſo wonderfully ſuiting to the perfections of God otherwiſe diſcernible by us, do argue the divinity of the doctrine that

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cquaints us with them. That God ſhould ſend his ſon out of his boſom o partake our nature, and appear in our fleſh; to manifeſt his will unto us; to ſet before us an exact pattern of holy life (the moſt difficult parts ſpecially thereof, humility and patience) by his obedience and ſuffering o expiate our ſin and reconcile God to mankind, is a myſtery indeed and epth of goodneſs, which our reaſon cannot fathom, which we can better dmire than underſtand; but neither can any reaſon contradict or diſ- rove it: nothing can be incredible to us concerning that immenſe good- neſs; whoſe common care of us even in matters of ordinary providence s ſo wonderfull and unaccomptable that the conſideration thereof made *ob* and the *Pſalmiſt* thus exclaim: *What is man, that thou ſhouldeſt mag- ify him, and that thou ſhouldeſt ſet thy heart upon him?* (Job 7. 17.) *Lord, hat is man, that thou takeſt knowledge of him? or the ſon of man, that thou akeſt accompt of him?* (Pſal. 144. 3. Pſal. 8. 4.)

2. This doctrine alſo informs us concerning our ſelves, and the ſtate f our ſouls: concerning the nobleneſs of our extraction and the dignity f our nature, derived from God and reſembling him; how we fell from ur original felicity, and laps'd into this wretched blindneſs, errour, and iſorder of ſoul, into this ſtate of frailty, ſorrow, and miſery, by our di- ruct and diſobedience to God; how being thus eſtranged from God and xpoſed to his wrathful diſpleaſure we may recover again his love and fa- our; and may by returning to God and complying with his will be re- ſtated in a happy condition, more happy far than that, from which we ll. That our ſouls are immortal (a point, which the wiſeſt men have much diſputed about, and doubted of; and in the certain deciſion of hich they would have been ſo much ſatisfied) and what its ſtate ſhall be ter its ſeparation from this body, ſuted to its demeanour and demerits this life; what a judgment and trial all our actions (even our moſt cret thoughts, and words) muſt undergo after this life; theſe ſo im- ortant truths, ſo uſefull for the ſatisfaction of our minds and the dire- ion of our lives; ſo conducible to the clearing of our notions, even con- erning nature and the courſe of things, in this world; this doctrine lainly ſhews us; and is it not in that reſpect worthy to come from God, ho alone could teach and ſatisfy us in theſe things?

3. As for that rule of life it preſcribes us, nothing can be more exactly greeable to our reaſon, more perfective of our nature; more conducible ither to the publick good, or to our private content. What can be more ſt and reaſonable, than all thoſe duties of piety, which it requires? than ighеſt eſteem and honour of him which is moſt excellent, moſt hearty ve and affection to him, who is in himſelf moſt good, toward us moſt eneficent; moſt awfull fear of him, who is ſo powerfull, ſo pure, ſo juſt nd ſevere; gratitude to him, from whom we have received our being, nd all our good things; truſt and hope in him, who can do what he will, nd will do what ever he hath promiſed; and what ever in reaſon we can xpect from his goodneſs; all obedience and obſervance of him, whoſe hildren and ſervants, and ſubjects we are born? can there be a greater rivilege, than liberty of acceſs to him in our needs, who is alone able o ſupply them; can we deſire upon eaſier terms to receive benefits, than y acknowledging our wants and asking for them? Is there a more equal r favourable kind of ſatisfaction for our offences, than confeſſion, and epenting of them? is it not fit we ſhould endeavour to promote his glo- y, who hath been ſo carefull of ours? the practice of ſuch a piety cannot ut produce excellent fruits, a joyfull peace of conſcience, a comfortable ope; a freedom from all ſuperſtitious terrours and affrightments; and

therefore is not our obligation to theſe duties moſt reaſonable? And fo
our behaviour toward each other, what better directions can we have
than thoſe which our Goſpel affords us: that we cordially love one anc
ther, earneſtly deſire each others good, pity all the evils of our brethrer
be ready to afford them all the help, and comfort we can: not limitin
Gal. 6. 10. this our charity, but extending it to all, in imitation of God's boundle
Mat. 6. 44. beneficence. That we ſhould mutually bear infirmities; and pardon a
injuries done us, not rendring evil for evil; but requiting evil with gooc
that we be juſt and honeſt in all our dealings; obſervant of all duties cor
cerning our relations; diligent in our callings; peaceable and quiet i
our ſtations; reſpective and obedient to our ſuperiours; meek and gentl
and courteous in our behaviour, toward all men: rooting out all malic
wrath, envy, ſtrife, animoſity, ill ſuſpicion out of our hearts; forbearir
to revile, ſlander, detract, or raſhly to cenſure any man: Now what gre
benefits is it not evident that the practice of ſuch duties would brir
forth? what miſchiefs would it prevent? how ſociable and pleaſant ar
ſecure a life ſhould we lead therein? what innumerable griefs and tro
bles; fears, and ſuſpicions; diſcompoſures and diſtractions of mind
home; what dangers, tumults, confuſions, and tragedies abroad would
remove? This part therefore of our rule plainly deſerves the impreſſic
of divine authority upon it. As for the precepts concerning the manag
ment of our ſelves; our own ſouls and bodies; thoſe which oblige us
be humble and modeſt; calm and ſerene; contented and patient; pure a
chaſt; ſober and temperate, baniſhing all haughty conceits, and vain op
1 Theſ. 4. 4. nions concerning our ſelves; regulating our paſſions and reſtraining o
appetites; moderating our ſelves in all corporeal enjoyments; poſſeſſi
our veſſels in ſanctity and honour; abſtaining from all unlawfull and ir
gular pleaſures, (baſe in kind, or exceſſive in degree) which may corru
our minds, or impair our healths, or diſturb our quiet: it prohibits
not the uſe of any creature, whence we may receive any profit or delig
but indulges us a prudent and ſober enjoyment of them all, with ſenſe
God's goodneſs, and thankfulneſs, (1 *Tim.* 4. 4.) And who ſees not wh
benefit and convenience doth accrue to us from obeying ſuch commanc
Philip. 4. 8. In few words, *Whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are juſt, wh*
ſoever things are decent, whatſoever things are pure, whatſoever things
lovely, whatſoever things are of good report, if there be any vertue, or a
praiſe, thoſe things the Chriſtian doctrine injoin us to regard and practi
and what other religion I pray, or what philoſophy hath ſo perfectly a
clearly, with ſuch conſiſtence, and with ſuch confidence, taught us t
like? If any have taught us ſome of them (as 'tis no wonder if they ſhou
ſince all of them are ſo plainly agreeable to good reaſon) yet could no
preſs them with ſuch effectual inducements, nor enforce the practice
them upon ſo true, and neceſſary grounds. Some philoſophies have high
commended vertue, and vehemently exhorted thereto; but the ends a
mean, which they aim at; the grounds very weak, from which th
argue: preſent ſatisfaction and tranquility of mind; ſafety, quiet, conv
nience, and pleaſure of this life; can they perſuade men eaſily that the
are ſufficient inducements ſo carefully and painfully to follow vertu
doth that thing deſerve ſuch mighty elogies, which hath no greater r
wards, or benefits, than thoſe, attending it? No ſurely; He that tells u
by doing theſe things, we ſhall imitate the higheſt goodneſs; we ſh
honour God and pleaſe him; we ſhall perform a duty of gratitude to o
great benefactour; we ſhall obtain the love and favour of God; we ſh
avoid his wrath and diſpleaſure; we ſhall acquire not only comfort a

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peace of conſcience here, but an everlaſting crown of joy and bliſs hereafter; he propoundeth ends infinitely more noble, he uſeth arguments incomparably moſt efficacious and perſuaſive to the practice of vertue. No philoſophy in any meaſure repreſents vertue ſo truly upon all accompts eſtimable and eligible as this; none can diſcover the excellent fruits that grow upon it.

4. Neither doth this religion only teach and perſuade us to ſo excellent a way of life, but (what no other law or doctrine pretends to) it ſhews us the means, it affordeth us help, and ability to practiſe it (without which, ſuch is the frailty of our nature, experience ſhews, that all inſtruction or exhortation whatever would ſignify little;) 'tis no dead letter but hath a quickning ſpirit accompanying it; it ſounds not only through the ear, but impreſſes it ſelf upon the heart: If our mind be doubtfull or dark, it directs us to a ſure oracle, where we may receive certain counſel and information: if our paſſions be turbulent, and our appetites outragious; if temptation overbear us, it leadeth us thither, whence we may procure ſtrength to reſiſt and ſubdue them. This doctrine (laſtly) fully ſatisfies us about that inquiry, which hath ſo much perplexed all men, and with ſo much final irreſolution hath exerciſed philoſophers, wherein mans happineſs conſiſts, and what the means are to attain to it: that it doth not conſiſt in any one of theſe tranſitory things, nor in a confluence of them all; but in the favour of God, and enjoyment of him, and in the bleſſings flowing thence; which happineſs only by a ſincere and conſtant obedience to God's Commandments; a practice of that vertue and piety (in moſt part before ſpecified) is obtainable. Such is the tenour of the Chriſtian doctrine: theſe things it diſcovers and teaches, not with fine methods of artificial eloquence and ſubtilty, πειθοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, the perſuaſive words of humane wiſdom, but with a majeſtick ſimplicity, confidence and authority, with demonſtration of ſpirit and power: ſuch as becomes the ſoveraign Lord to uſe, when he vouchſafes to declare his mind. I ſhould have interpoſed this very material obſervation, that Chriſtianity requires chiefly and in a manner only rational and ſpiritual ſervice, not clogg'd with multitude of external rites and obſervances, (thoſe few it injoins are plainly moſt reaſonable, very decent and uſefull, fit to inſtruct us in and excite us to our duty,) which ſhews that this revelation is complete, ſuitable to the moſt adult age, the moſt ripe and improved capacities of man. But I muſt leave this point: And I think, thus much may ſuffice to ſhew, that a doctrine ſo beneficial and ſatisfactory to mankind; ſo exceedingly beautifull and amiable; ſo agreeable to reaſon, and yet ſo much ſurpaſſing it, may well be ſuppoſed to have proceeded from divine authority and revelation: *Non vox hominem ſonat*; the true tone and air of it ſounds above the voice of man; its looks ſo much reſemble the divine wiſdom and goodneſs, one cannot think it had any other parent.

2 Pet. 1. 16. σεσοφισμένοις μύθοις
1 Cor. 2. 4.

To theſe abſtracted conſiderations I add (which is the laſt ſtep of our diſcourſe,)

Laſtly, that *de facto*, in very deed, God hath aſſerted and atteſted to the Chriſtian doctrine: God is himſelf inviſible and indiſcernible to our ſenſes; neither could we endure the luſtre and glory of his immediate preſence; it muſt be therefore by works ſupernatural and extraordinary (ſuch as no creature can effect or counterfeit) that he muſt (if ever aſſuredly) ſignify his mind and purpoſe to us: and of ſuch there is no kind of teſtation needfull or (perhaps) poſſible, which God hath not afforded to his doctrine. He had by many ſeveral prophecies, in different times, long

long before præſignified, that he would make ſuch a revelation to mankind, to be diſpenſed by a perſon, extraordinarily qualified, and eſpecially to be favoured by himſelf; whom therefore the Jewiſh nation did with much deſire expect: to which prophecy, as no other hath appeared that can pretend to agree, ſo this is very congruous. And this is one way moſt proper to God of atteſting his mind; becauſe it cannot be any wiſe counterfeited, it being only in God's power to foretell ſuch future events. Another way is by expreſs voices and apparitions from heaven; and by theſe God declared the ſame at ſeveral fit ſeaſons: To St. *John* the Baptiſt (that moſt juſt and holy perſon, ſo taken and acknowledged by all, even by his enemies that murthered him) when Jeſus was baptized; To St. *Peter* and St. *John*, and St. *James*, three moſt credible witneſſes, if any can be, concerning matter of fact: and again, before the multitude, a little before his death; To St. *Paul*, a perſon alſo in all reſpects credible, and in moſt remarkable circumſtances; and ſuch atteſtations as theſe it is not likely God would ſuffer to be given to falſhood or impoſture; if any creature ſhould be ſo daring as to endeavour it, we cannot reaſonably deem, that God would permit his name and authority (in ſo direct a manner) to be abuſed.

Matt. 3. Matt. 17. 5, &c. Luk. 9. 2 Pet. 1. 16, &c. Joh. 12. 28.

3. But farther; to thwart the courſe of nature, and act againſt its eſtabliſhed laws, can only belong to him, who is Lord of nature, who made it and upholds it and governs it by a perpetual decree: and this in favour and countenance to this doctrine hath God performed not once, but often; in many places; through a long courſe of time; in ſeveral ways; by many inſtruments; moſt openly and viſibly: Numerous were ſuch ſupernatural works performed by the principal author of this doctrine, our Lord himſelf; many of them ſo publick and palpable, that they convinced many of the ſpectatours; and them not only indifferent and ingenuous people, but thoſe who were moſt unwilling to be convinced and aſhamed, or afraid to acknowledge their conviction: *Many* (ſaith St. *John*) *believed on him, beholding the miracles that he did: Nicodemus* came ſecretly to him, and confeſſed thus: *We know that thou haſt come a teacher from God; for no man can do theſe miracles which thou doeſt, except God be with him:* Again 'tis ſaid: *Many of the people believed in him, ſaying; When Chriſt comes, will he do more miracles than this man hath done?* Alſo of the rulers, *many believed on him; but becauſe of the Phariſees they did not confeſs it, leſt they ſhould be put out of the Synagogue: What ſhall we do* (ſaith the chief Prieſts and Phariſees) *for this man doth many wonders? if we thus let him alone, all men will believe on him.* St. *Peter* thus confidently appeals to the Jewiſh nation: *Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words; Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved* (or demonſtrated) *by*, or from, *God among you by miracles, and wonders, and ſigns, which God did by him in the midſt of you, as you your ſelves know.* So notorious were many of our Saviour's miracles, that his worſt adverſaries could not but acknowledge them: And of theſe the moſt ſignal, his reſurrection, was ſuch, that no evaſion ſeemed deviſable to withſtand either its truth, as to the fact; or its force to confirm our purpoſe, (that God did atteſt to this doctrine,) by it indeed God did (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) πίστιν παρέχειν πᾶσι, yield an argument moſt perſuaſive to all; that what our Saviour taught (particularly concerning the immortality of our ſouls, the reſurrection of our bodies, and the judgment to come) is moſt certainly true. That our Saviour really died, all the world could teſtifie (no death was ever more ſolemn, or remarkable;) that he roſe again, was atteſted not by one or two, but by many perſons, (thoſe moſt familiarly acquainted with him) who did not ſee him once, in paſſing

Jer. 5. 22. Heb. 2. 4. Ὅσα, Joh. 10. 41. Joh. 2. 23. Joh. 3. 2. Joh. 7. 31. Joh. 12. 42. Joh. 11. 47. Act. 2. 22. Act. 17. 31. Rom. 1. 4. 1 Pet. 1. 3. Vid. Act. 13. 31, &c. Act. 1.

at a diſtance, but often, for a good time, (forty days together) converſed with him, (above five hundred of ſuch perſons at once did ſee him, as St. *Paul* tells us,) ſo that they could not be deceived themſelves therein, being ἀυτοπίαι, and αὐτήκοοι τȣ̃ λόγȣ; perfectly informed concerning the matter as eyes and ears could make them: Not having followed cunningly-deviſed fables, did we acquaint you with the power and preſence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but being ἐπόπται τ ἐκείνȣ μεγαλειότητος, having a full view of his majeſty: and, what we heard our ſelves; what we did ſee with our eyes; what our hands did feel of the word of life: ſuch as to their ability of teſtifying the truth, was theſe men's teſtimony: and concerning the fidelity and honeſty of theſe witneſſes, that they ſhould not either in this caſe (or concerning other actions of Chriſt, which they atteſted to) wilfully deceive others, there be preſumptions as great as can be: They were men that preached all goodneſs and ſincerity to others; and in other things irreprovably practiſed them; they could have no deſign imaginable upon any profit, or honour, or advantage whatever to themſelves; (they refuſed all; they willingly underwent all afflictions, and diſgraces for the ſake of this very teſtimony; bearing the Croſs was the *officium* they pretended to undertake; and the *beneficium* too they did promiſe themſelves to enjoy in this world.) Peace of conſcience, and hope of future reward was plainly all the ſupport they had, neither of which they could have enjoyed or expected, in the maintenance of a lye; perſecution from men, and damnation from God they muſt be ſure of, if conſcious of ſo villainous a deſign, to abuſe the world with a tale; neither were they downright mad-men or fools (as they muſt have been if they could have believed themſelves, or thought to perſuade others ſuch ſtories, had they been falſe) their excellent Writings ſhew the contrary, and the prodigious efficacy their endeavours found: ſo unanimous a conſent, ſo clear a confidence, ſo firm reſolution, ſo invincible conſtancy and patience, nothing but truth it ſelf and a good conſcience could inſpire men with: 'Tis poſſible in matter of ſpeculation and ſubtilty men upon weak grounds might be deſperately pertinacious; but in matter of fact to be ſo, none in ſuch circumſtances, and to ſuch purpoſes could be ſo baſely ſtupid; no ſuch men ſurely: No matter of fact ever had, nor could have in any reſpect a ſtronger atteſtation: to doubt or diſtruſt it were to invalidate all proof by teſtimony; (upon which yet the adminiſtration of juſtice, all commerce and tranſaction of humane affairs doth in a manner ſubſiſt and depend,) it were to embrace the vanity of the moſt impudently pertinacious Scepticks: and admitting the truth of their teſtimony (as if we be reaſonable and ingenuous we muſt) to believe that God ſhould do ſuch works, or ſhould permit them to be done (ſhould lend his ſoveraign power and interpoſe an extraordinary hand) for procuring credit to a falſhood; that he ſhould ſo far contribute to men's deluſion in matters of this nature, concerning his own honour and men's ſalvation, is a conceit as blaſphemous, and diſhonourable to God, as derogatory to his attributes of Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs, as can be. This kind of atteſtation did God yield not only to the Perſon of our Lord, but to his diſciples and followers for a long time after; as by the ſame authentick teſtimonies doth appear; yea it continued for ſome ages, ſo long as any ſuch extraordinary means were needfull or convenient for conviction of the world; as by many expreſs paſſages in *Tertullian*, *Juſtin Martyr*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and other ancient Writers might be ſhewed. I ſhall only add one kind of divine confirmation more; which was that of an extraordinary Providence attending this doctrine in the conveyance and propagation thereof: That by the miniſtery of a few mean, poor, unlearned and ſimple men,

1 Cor. 15. 6. Matt. 28 7. Luk. 1. 2.

2 Pet. 1. 16. 1 Joh. 1. 1.

men, without any outward circumſtances commending them to men's regard; without any aſſiſtance of power; any ſubtilty of wit; any trains of policy; any eloquence of ſpeech; any external advantage diſcernible; yea againſt all theſe; againſt the utmoſt endeavours of all the force in the world; all politick devices; all cruel perſecutions; againſt all prejudices of education, publick law, inveterate cuſtom; againſt moſt ſubtle, and eloquent adverſaries, it ſhould in a ſhort time ſo vaſtly prevail, ſo that within a while all the power, and wit, and eloquence of man did ſubmit unto it and ſerve under it; is an argument that God did interpoſe his almighty hand; no leſs power could effect ſo unaccountable a charge; it ſeems no leſs a miracle in matters of this nature (a moral or political miracle I may call it) than to blow up a great Oak with one's breath, or remove a Mountain with a word ſpeaking would be a miracle in nature.

I might adjoin, that this doctrine being ſo much directed againſt, ſo vigorouſly impugning the domination and deluſion of wicked ſpirits, (being ſo prejudicial and deſtructive to the intereſt of hell) all the malice, wit, and power of the devil we may preſume employed againſt it; and ſuch potent combinations of mundane and infernal force to withſtand, ſubdue, and overthrow, cannot juſtly or reaſonably be aſcribed to any other power, than that of heaven. The proceeding alſo in ſo meek and quiet a way, without any tumult or terrour, not rudely forcing men's outward complyance, but ſweetly drawing their hearts into the love and approbation of this doctrine, ſo different from the courſe of humane proceeding, ſo becoming the divine goodneſs, doth well conſent and conferr to the efficacy of this diſcourſe. But I cannot inſiſt longer on theſe things; ye think I may well upon all theſe premiſes (though very ſlightly and cursorily handled) conclude, that the Chriſtian Doctrine did proceed from God.

I ſhall briefly touch the laſt principle: That there be proper and ſufficient means, by which we may diſcern the genuine doctrines and dictates of Chriſtianity. Indeed if there were not ſuch, our diſcourſe hitherto uſe would be all vain, having no certain ſcope or ſubject; to no purpoſe ha God diſpenſed a revelation for the direction and benefit of mankind, if h had not withall provided means of apprehending it with a competent ce tainty, ſuch at leaſt as might ſuffice to engage men honeſt and moderatel wiſe upon the practice of all neceſſary duties preſcribed (for enough t ſatisfy cavilling ſpirits, that are poſſeſſed with prejudices, or proceed upo deſign, or delight in doubt and diſpute, whoſe buſineſs and intereſt, (humour) it may be to confound things, did not need, perhaps could n be, provided: there have been men that have queſtioned what the mo evident reaſon, the moſt common ſenſe and experience ſhews; and ſuc ſcepticks, or ſuch politicks no means will ſerve to ſatisfy their minds, leaſt to ſtop their mouths, but) in reality there be ſeveral means, by God wiſe providence afforded, whereby we may diſcern Chriſtian truth, ſon more convenient and ſecure, all in their kind proper and good. For tran mitting to poſterity any particular doctrine, no man can doubt, but th moſt ſure way is its being commended to writing by the authors and i ventours thereof (thoſe upon whoſe authority it doth rely) as if *Pytha goras*, or *Socrates*, or *Zeno* their writings were extant, by them we ſhou be beſt aſſured, what their philoſophies were: and no man will diſpu whether that be genuine Peripateticiſm which is plainly read in the W tings of *Ariſtotle* the father of that Sect; though even his unskilfull exp ſitors ſhould miſtake, or his prejudiced adverſaries ſhould pervert or c lumniate his meaning. They that write are wont with moſt care a deliberati

eliberation (and conſequently with moſt perſpicuity and exactneſs) to xpreſs their minds: and *litera ſcripta manet*: letters are ſubject to leaſt ariation: memories are frail, fancies are buſie, but writings are eaſily reſerved without conſiderable alteration. The next moſt ſure way of onſerving ſuch doctrines, is the writings of the next diſciples, that immeiately received them from the authors, or before they had paſſed through nany hands, and commended them to writing: ſo what *Socrates* (for inance) did teach, the writings of *Plato* and *Xenophon* can with a very good egree of certainty acquaint us. The next is the writings of men (ſtudious nd learned in thoſe matters) after larger diſtances of time; ſo as we may e informed concerning Stoiciſm by the writings of *Cicero*, of *Epictetus*, f *Seneca*; the which way is more imperfect; every writer being apt to iſapprehend and miſrepreſent ſomething; eſpecially all affecting to do mewhat more than tranſcribe what they find in former authors to comnent and deſcant upon; to adorn and ſet out; to confirm or confute the octrine they relate, in order thereto repreſenting it with advantage to heir purpoſe. The laſt way, is by continued tradition, by oral inſtruction, ſucceſſively from time to time; which is of all ways moſt liable o defect and corruption: for the teacher may unaptly expreſs his meang, and the hearer may not rightly underſtand him; the memory of both nay in ſome material thing faulter: Men love to be curious in their peech; to vary in expreſſion, to make explications, to draw conſequences, o mix their own conceits and inventions, to ſhew the acuteneſs of their it, and the fruitfulneſs of their fancy; to diſplay all their faculties of tiocination and eloquence; eſpecially they are apt to accommodate doctrines to their own prejudices, inclinations, and deſigns: whence errour nd difference may inſenſibly creep through this conduit; and the farther ich tradition departs from the original ſpring, the more ſubject it is to ontract ſuch alterations and impurities. Every doctrine thus propagated like a ſtream; at the head 'tis ſmall and narrow, clear and pure; proeeding on, it grows larger and fouler: ſo tradition ſwells, by taking in hat oblique channels of private fancy and pragmatical invention diſnarge into it; and by receiving tincture from particular inclination, or olitick deſign it grows muddy and feculent. We have all theſe ways afforded us, and for confirmation and diſtinction of our doctrine may uſe nem all: in the principal doctrines (ſuch as we mentioned) they all conire, and therefore there can be no reaſon to doubt, that they are pure nd genuine: But in reaſon the beſt and ſureſt means of knowing what ur Saviour and his Diſciples taught, are the Writings of his Diſciples, perſons, beſides their advantage of immediately learning from our Saviur's mouth, extraordinarily aſſiſted by God in their miniſteries and inructions) of whoſe Writings many have by God's good providence been reſerved to our times; being ſuch as no man hath reaſon to queſtion, that ney came from them (no more than concerning the moſt undoubted Writings of any author; wherein they aim at nothing elſe, but to declare ne doctrine of Chriſtianity and inculcate the practice thereof, in the moſt mple, plain, and familiar manner; plainly agreeing with each other in ne main drift and deſign of their diſcourſes; ſo that we may juſtly preume that all important doctrines of Chriſtianity are in them fully delivered; and that whatever we find in them perſpicuouſly expreſſed we are bliged to take for ſuch. To the ſame purpoſes we may uſe the Writings f the Chriſtians of the firſt ages; who with care committed to writing hat they had learned from the mouths of the Apoſtles, or their ſucceſſours; for in ſo ſmall diſtance of time 'tis not likely any conſiderable

variation ſhould intercurr; neither would ſuch men, living in times of perſecution, and ſuffering for conſcience-ſake, ſo free from all deſigns of avarice or ambition, be ſo ready to alter, or adulterate the doctrine they received: and ſuppoſing the Writings of the Apoſtles were wanting, even theirs would yield us a competent knowledge of the Chriſtian doctrine: neither were their monuments alſo loſt, ſhould we be quite deſtitute of means, from the loweſt and lateſt, whether writings or traditions of Chriſtianity, to diſcover its principal and fundamental doctrines: for diſcreetly parting off ſome excreſcencies, diſcernible enough to have proceeded from humane invention; what ſophiſtical curioſity hath introduced (nice poſitions and queſtions about the right application of terms of art) what politick deſign hath added (wherein ſome ſorts of men are we may plainly ſee, privately concerned) what plainly reliſhes of thoſe ages, wherein ignorance and ſuperſtitious dotage did ſo generally prevail what is inconſiſtent with the moſt generally acknowledged principles of our Religion; refining I ſay with ſome ſerious conſideration, the pure ore from ſuch droſs, we may not difficultly perceive, even by the uſe of the moſt inferiour means allowed us, what the true principles of Chriſtianity are. But ſince God hath vouchſafed us ſo various helps, we may in their due order, according to our capacity, apply them all; comparing preſent Traditions with ancient Writings, and confirming what we learn from theſe, by the ſupreme and unqueſtionable authority of holy Scripture. But this argument the time will not permit me to proſecute diſtinctly and as it deſerves. Theſe digreſſionary diſcourſes (which yet I thought pertinent to the deſign of our buſineſs, declaring and confirming the grounds of our faith) being thus paſs'd over; I ſhall hereafter cloſely purſue the explication of the Creed: In the mean while craving pardon from your patience, *&c.*

I Believe in God the Father.

THE Appellation of God not improperly taken (as when it is attributed to creatures, upon ſome reſemblance in nature or office they bear to the ſupreme God) but relating to him, who only truely and properly is ſtyled *God*, is ſometimes put abſolutely, ſometimes hath a relative appoſition going along with it. Being abſolutely (or ſingly) put it ſometimes referrs, by way of eminency particularly to the firſt Perſon in the glorious Trinity; as when Chriſt is called *the Son of God*; and the Holy Ghoſt, *the Spirit of God*; and when God is put in diſtinction from the other Perſons: (when for inſtance it is ſaid: *That they may know thee the only true God, and whom thou haſt ſent, Jeſus Chriſt: Bleſſed be the God and father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The word was with God.* To ſerve the living and true God; and to wait for his Son from heaven: and in the form of bleſſing: *The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all:*) but commonly it is to be underſtood for God eſſentially conſidered (according to that divine eſſence common to the three perſons) to whom in that reſpect all the divine attributes agree, and from whom all divine operations (abſolute and *ad extra*) do jointly proceed. And to this ſenſe or notion we have hitherto ſuppoſed that the name of *God* might here be applied: for that *there is one God*, having ſuch eſſential attributes, is the firſt principle and foundation of all religion; which we muſt therefore ſuppoſe, if not directly expreſſed, yet at leaſt ſufficiently implyed in the Creed. And ſuppoſing the word, in part doth imply this ſenſe, the attribute, or tit-

Vid. 1 Theſ. 1. 9, 10. 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 1. 3. 4. 6. Joh. 17. 3. 2 Cor. 1. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 3. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

of *Father*, doth in many reſpects, truly and properly belong to God. Being a father denotes cauſality, ſuſtenance, beneficence, governance; eſpecially when theſe operations are attended with particular care and affection; in all which reſpects (ſeverally conſidered or jointly) God may fitly be ſtyled *Father*: Father of all things being: Father of all intellectual Beings eſpecially: The Father particularly of all men; and among men, chiefly of Good men. He is the Father of all Beings, as the maker and efficient cauſe of them: So is he called in that famous ſentence of *Plato's Timæus*: Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. That maker and father of this Univerſe 'tis hard to find out, and having found him 'tis impoſſible to expreſs him, unto all men; and πατέρα πάντων (St. *Paul* calls him) *the father of all things* (taking πάντων in the largeſt ſenſe.) *To us there is one God, the father, from whom are all things.* Neither only as author, but as he by whoſe care and providence all things ſubſiſt and are contained in order; *He commanded, and they were created: He hath alſo eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever; he hath made a decree, which ſhall not paſs; upon whom the eyes of all wait, and he giveth them their meat in due ſeaſon,* as the Pſalmiſt ſings; and in this reſpect, we often find, even in heathen Poets, the title *Pater* (Father) abſolutely put to denote *God*, as the author and diſpoſer of all things.

Plat. p. 1047.

Eph. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 8. 6.

Pſal. 148. 5, 6.

Pſal. 145. 15.

Virg. ——————— *Pater ipſe colendi,*
Haud facilem eſſe viam doluit.——

Georg. 1.

Hor. *Jam ſatis terris nivis atque diræ*
Grandinis miſit Pater,——

And *Pater omnipotens* is the Periphraſis, by which the wiſeſt of Poets doth frequently uſe to deſign the ſupreme God. But more eſpecially God is called *the Father of intellectual Beings: The Father of Spirits:* particularly the Angels are (by excellency) called *the Sons of God:* (Job 1. 6.) *There was a day, when the Sons of God came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came alſo among them:* Job 38. 7. *When the morning-ſtars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for joy:* where, *for the Sons of God,* the Seventy have ἄγγελοί μου; (though perhaps all God's creatures may there be underſtood, as it were *rejoycing* and *exulting* in their Being newly conferr'd on them by God.) And of theſe Beings God more eſpecially is Father, not only for that he did produce them, and upholds them (as all other things) in being, but becauſe they nearer reſemble him in their nature; becauſe he hath a more dear affection unto, a more particular care over them, and becauſe he governs them in a more excellent kind, (by obligations of reaſon, ingenuity, and juſtice,) they alſo being capable to render offices of piety, obedience, and gratitude to him again. [And thus even the Pagan Theologers did conceive God in eſpecial manner the Father of the Gods, (intending ſuch Gods, as were not of men's making, creatures conſecrated by the flattery or fondneſs of men; but of a higher rank, anſwering to our Angels, which they conceived as to approach in excellency of nature, ſo to attend upon God, partaking of his glory and happineſs,) hence *Divûm Pater* is a common title of God among them: and we have in *Plato's Timæus* an Oration, which he feigns God made to them, at the Creation, beginning

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη ὕπατε κρειάντων.
O Pater & Rex Jupiter.
Hor. Serm. II. 1.

Heb. 12. 9. Numb. 16. 22. Ezek. 18. 4.

Vid. Pſal. 89. 6. 29. 1.
The Sons of the Mighty: ſome take to be *the Angels,* בני אלים *in heaven.*

Ὅτι κοινωνεῖν μόνον ταῦτα πέφυκε τῷ θεῷ τῆς συναναστροφῆς κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐπιπεπλεγμένα. Epict. Arr. I. 9.

Pag. 1054.

beginning thus: Θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς, πατήρτε: *O ye principal Gods, of whom I am the Maker and Father*; concerning which kind of God's children, he pretends to deduce all he can ſpeak from ancient and original tradition.] But (to come nearer to our particular relation) God is alſo in eſpecial manner the Father of mankind,

Hor. Carm. I. 2. *Gentis humanæ Pater atque Cuſtos*, (as *Horace* calls him:)

* Omnes ſi ad primam originem revocentur à Diis ſunt. *Sen. Ep.* 44.

* *Adam* was the Son of God; and ſo (at leaſt) we are God's off-ſpring *his hands made and faſhioned us*; *and his mouth breathed into us the ſpirit of life*: † *he formed our ſpirit within us*: we were made after his image and naturally reſemble him: he hath aſſigned us the principal and moſt honourable ſtation in this his family of viſible creatures; he hath ſhewed an eſpecial tenderneſs toward us in providing for us all manner of ſuſtenance and accommodation; in educating us * with wholeſome advice and precepts; in bearing with exceeding patience our infirmities and offences; in inflicting moderate chaſtiſements to reduce us to duty and amendment: all his carriage toward mankind argues a paternal regard and affection thereto.

† Zach. 12. 1. Vid. Epict. Arr. I. 3 & 9.

* Pſal. 71. 6.

Farther, in a peculiar notion God is the Father of good men: ſuch relation being built upon higher grounds and conſiderations: The ſeeds of vertue are by his grace ſown in their hearts; that emendation, and perfection of nature is effected by him. They reſemble him in diſpoſition of mind, in purpoſe, in action; which are more perfect and noble reſemblances, than thoſe of nature, (being holy as he is holy; beneficent and merciſull as he is: theſe qualities our Saviour tells us do render or at leaſt declare him our Father; do conſtitute men or argue them to be the Sons of God: *Love your enemies, bleſs thoſe that curſe you, do good to thoſe that hate you----That you may be the ſons of your father in heaven: Love your enemies, and do good, and lend, expecting nothing thence, and your reward ſhall be great, and ye ſhall be the ſons of the moſt High.----*) To ſuch God bears a paternal affection and compaſſion: *Like as a father pitieth his children, ſo the Lord pitieth them that fear him.* He deals with them as with his children, in all reſpects; he inſtructs and guides them; he cheriſhes and comforts them; he maintains and protects them: He gently reproves and corrects them: *Whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, even as a father the ſon in whom he delighteth.* [*Patrium habet Deus adverſus bonos virum animum, & illos fortiter amat: Inter bonos viros ac Deum amicitia eſt, conciliante virtute: amicitiam dico? imò etiam neceſſitudo & ſimilitudo: quoniam quidem bonus ipſe tempore tantùm à Deo differt, diſcipulus ejus, æmulatórque & vera progenies; quem pater ille magnificus, virtutum non lenis exactor, ſicut ſeveri patres, durius educat:* God (ſaith a Pagan Philoſopher) hath a fatherly mind toward Good men, and mightily loves them:--Between them and God there is a friendſhip, vertue conciliating it: friendſhip, ſay I? yea a kindred and reſemblance: For that a good man differs only from God in time (and degree,) being his diſciple and imitator, and his true off-ſpring; whom that magnificent Father, no ſoft exactor of vertue, as ſevere fathers do, brings up hardly.] And we may obſerve, that God in his proceedings with men (ſuch as he deſigns to contain them by within their duty, and lead them to happineſs) delights to repreſent and commend himſelf under this obliging and endearing relation: he did ſo toward the *Iſraelites*, Deut. 32. 6. *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O fooliſh people, and unwiſe? is not he thy father, that bought thee? hath he not made thee and eſtabliſhed thee? Of the rock that begat thee, thou art unmindfull, and haſt forgotten God that formed thee:* So God expoſtulates with

1 Pet. 1. 23.

Bonus vir ſine Deo nemo eſt, *Sen. Ep.* 41.

Matt. 5. 45. Luk. 6. 35.

Pſal. 103. 13.

Ὡς υἱοῖς προσφέρεται, Heb. 12. 7.

Prov. 3. 12.

Sen. de Prov. 1. 2.

1 Chron. 29. 10.

with that people; and thus *David* in their behalf addresses himself to God: *Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel our father, for ever and ever: Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty*, &c. and, *I am a father to Israel, and Ephraim is my first-born: Is Ephraim my dear Son? is he a pleasant child?* So God argues with them. But in the Christian dispensation God more signally represents himself in this quality: he treats us not so much as a Lord and Master, with imperious awfulness; but as a friend and a father, with gracious condescension and allurement of kindness: *I call you not servants: you are my friends, if you do what I command you:* So that ('tis St. *Paul*'s collection from a precedent discourse) *thou art not still a servant, but a son:* Our Saviour (saith the Author to the *Hebrews*) was *not ashamed to call them* (his disciples and followers) *brethren. Go* (saith our Saviour) *to my brethren, and say to them: I ascend to my father and your father, and my God and your God:* Accordingly all the performances of God toward us and in our behalf are of such a nature, and are set out by such terms, which ground and import this relation.

Vid. Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 3. 9, 20. Joh. 15. 14, 15. Gal. 4. 7. Heb. 2. 11. Joh. 20. 17.

2. That renovation of our nature, and qualifying our souls, as the Gospel requires, is called *regeneration, a new creation, a new birth, the begetting a new man within us:* We are αὐτοῦ ποίημα (his *work* or *production*) being *created in Christ Jesus to good works. Ye have been taught*----*to put on the new man that is created according to God* (* according to God's image) *in righteousness and true holiness: If a man be not born again from above, he cannot see the Kingdom of God: Whoever is begot of God, doth not do sin.*

Ephes. 2. 10. Eph. 4. 21, 24. * Col. 3. 10. Joh. 3. 3. 1 Joh. 3. 9.

1. The reception of a Believer into the privileges and advantages of Christianity, is termed * υἱοθεσία, the making of him a Son, adopting him into God's family; conferring upon him the title, and the quality of God's child; the internal disposition of spirit, and the liberty of access to God suitable to this relation: *Whosoever* (saith St. *John*) *did receive him, he gave to them authority to become the Sons of God* (he invested them in that dignity) *even to them who believed in his Name: Ye are all the Sons of God by faith in Christ Jesus* (*i.e.* by embracing Christianity:) and, *Behold, what manner of love the father hath given us, that we should be called the Sons of God? Ye have not received the spirit of servitude again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of adoption, by which we cry, O father:* (by which in our prayers, with humble affection, according to our Saviour's instruction, we say, *Our father.*)

Gal. 4. 5. Rom. 8. 15. Ephes. 1. 5. * Eph. 3. 15. 2. 19. Joh. 1. 12. Gal. 3. 26. 1 Joh. 3. 1. Rom. 8. 15. Gal. 4. 6.

3. That resurrection after death to a better state of life; entring into glory and happiness and immortality, is worthily styled παλιγγενεσία, being *generated* or *born again:* whereby they receive from God another more excellent life and state of being, more like and conformable to God: *They which shall be accompted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead*----*are the Sons of God, being the Sons of the Resurrection:*----*We know, that if* (or *when*) *he shall appear, we shall be like him. As we have born the image of the earthly* (man,) *we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.* We shall be metamorphosed (or transfigured) into the same image; shall be made *partakers of the divine nature.* That state of bliss is therefore styled a *portion* or *inheritance*, allotted to Sons; and consequent upon that relation: *If sons* (saith St. *Paul*) *then heirs; heirs of God, co-heirs with Christ; receiving the reward and promise of an eternal inheritance:* and, saith St. *Peter*, *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who according to his abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; To an inheritance incorruptible, and undefiled, and that fadeth not away,*

Mat. 19. 28. Luk. 20. 35. 1 Joh. 3. 2. 1 Cor. 15. 49. 2 Cor. 3. 18. 2 Pet. 1. 4. Gal. 4. 7. Rom. 8. 17. Col. 3. 24. Heb. 9. 15. 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4.

away, reserved in heaven for us. I might add, that Christian men become the Sons of God by our Saviour's intervention; by his assumption of our nature, and our conformity to his image (as St. *Paul* speaks,) whereby he becomes *the first-born among many brethren,* (Rom. 8. 29.) *God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, that we might receive the privilege of being made* Heb. 2. 14. *Sons,* (Gal. 4. 4, 5.) In this respect our Saviour is πρωτότοκος ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, *(the first-born among many brethren,)* Rom. 8. 29. Upon so many several scores is God our Father; as we are his creatures; (being made, preserved and maintained by him) as we are intellectual creatures (placed in degree and quality of nature so near him;) as we by vertue and goodness any-wise resemble him; as we are Christians (adopted into his family renewed by his grace, and destinated to a participation of his glory.)

Vid. Forb. p. 52. Now the consideration and belief of these grounds (each one and all of them together) upon which this relation of God to us is founded, hath manifold good uses, is apt to inform us of, to inforce upon us many necessary duties, resulting from it: It teaches us what reverence and honour and observance is due to him; (not from gratitude only and ingeMal. 1. 6. nuity, but in justice:) *If I be a Father, where is my honour?* saith God, in *Malachy.* If we be bound to love and respect those, who, under God, have been instrumental in producing and maintaining us, how much more to him, who principally hath bestowed our Being, and all the supports comforts, and conveniences thereof upon us? from whose free bounty we derive not only the benefits of this transitory life, but the privileges of the future, incomparably better, eternal state: If we neglect our duty may not God justly expostulate with us, as with those children of his *Deut.* 32. 6, 18. *Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise is he not thy father that bought thee?* (ὃς ἐκτήσατό σε, who procured and acquired thee to himself) *hath he not made thee, and established thee?*

It will induce us to humility, if we are God's Sons, have received our being, all our powers and abilities, all our goods and riches from his disposal, what reason have we to ascribe any thing to our selves; to be raised in conceit, ambitious of praise, or reputation upon the score of any such 1 Cor. 4. 7. things? *Who made thee to differ? For what hast thou that thou didst not receive? and if thou hast received, why doest thou glory, as if thou hadst not received?* It shews us, that we are (as *Plato* often speaks) Θεῶν κτήματα, God's *possessions,* God's *riches* they are called, *Psal.* 104. 24. If he made us, whatever we are, (according to all accompts and capacities; whether ἐκτήσατό σε. men by his common providence, or good men by his especial grace) Deut. 32. 6. hath the best right and title possible unto us; he may justly make such use of us, as he thinks good: We may well be obliged to *Glorify God* 2 Cor. 6. 20. *our body, and in our spirit, which are God's.* We have reason also hence be content with whatsoever condition God disposeth us unto, or impose upon us; he doth therein justly; and if we complain, may we not Mat. 20. 15. answered: *Is it not lawfull for me to do what I will with my own?* Is it not lawfull? yea, is it not probable, that God will order things for the best for the good of his children? will he willingly hurt them? can he design the Isa. 49. 15. mischief? *Can a woman forget her sucking-child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea they may forget, yet will not I forget thee.* Sooner may the most tender parents become unnaturally regardless, malicious, and cruel towards their children, than God neglect the good of his off-spring. We have reason therefore to be satisfied with all that befalls us; to be patient in the sorest afflictions; esteeming them to come from a paternal hand, inflicted with great affection and compassion; designed and tending to our good: *Thou shalt consider in thy heart, that as a*

man chaſtneth his ſon, the Lord thy God chaſtneth thee: ſaith God to the *Iſraelites. We have had fathers of our fleſh, which corrected us, and we gave them reverence; ſhall we not much rather be in ſubjection unto the father of ſpirits and live? For they verily for a few days chaſtned us after their own pleaſure, but he for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holineſs.* What ſweeter comfort can there be, than to know that the moſt diſtaſtfull and croſs accidents befalling us do conduce to our profit; ſhall prove moſt beneficial to us? This conſideration alſo ſerves to cheriſh our faith, and raiſe our hope, and quicken our devotion: Whom ſhall we confide in, if not in our father? from whom can we expect good, if not from him, who hath given us already ſo much, even all we have? if we in our need with due reverence and ſubmiſſion requeſt help from him, can ſuch a father refuſe us? No: *What man is there of us, that if his ſon ask him bread, will give him a ſtone? or if he ask fiſh, will give him a ſerpent? If we then who are evil know how to give good gifts unto our children; how much more ſhall your father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?* Deut. 8. 5. Heb. 12. 9, 10. Matt. 7. 9, 10, 11.

This conſideration alſo may beget in us a due valuation of our ſelves; and thereby raiſe us from baſe and unworthy practices; excite and encourage us to worthy deſigns and attempts: Even natural light dictates to us the uſe of this conſideration, and heathen Philoſophers much apply it: "If any one (ſaith *Epictetus*) could duely be affected with this opi- Epict. diſſert. I. 3.
'nion that we are all originally deſcended from God, and that God is the 'father both of men and Gods, he would not, I ſuppoſe, conceive any 'thing ignoble or mean concerning himſelf: if *Cæſar* ſhould adopt thee, none could endure thy ſupercilioufneſs: and if thou knoweſt, that thou art God's Son, will it not elevate thee? ſo the Philoſopher. Shall we that are ſo nobly born, of ſo illuſtrious an extraction, ſo far debaſe our ſelves, as to regard and purſue trivial, abject, diſhonourable things? ſhall we not be aſhamed of ſuch a contemptible degeneracy? ſhall we not be afraid, for ſuch unworthineſs to be degraded, rejected, and diſinherited by our holy Father? who can no wiſe brook that ſuch blots and diſhonours ſhould ſtick to his lineage, that ſuch diſorders and misbehaviour ſhould be committed in his family, that we ſhould ſo deform his image impreſſed upon us. *Every branch that beareth not good fruit, he loppeth from his ſtock, and caſteth it away* (as our Saviour tells us.) 'Tis proper for children to reſemble their father, in their countenance, in their temper, in their doings: *If ye were Abraham's children* (ſo our Saviour argues) *ye would do the works of Abraham:* and, *Ye are of your father the Devil, becauſe ye perform the luſts of your father*; (becauſe ye reſemble him in his murderous and treacherous diſpoſition.) So if we pretend to be the children of God, we muſt (according to St. *Paul*'s exhortation) imitate him *as dear children:* we muſt be holy, and pure, juſt, beneficent, mercifull, perfect as he is; otherwiſe we fall from this high dignity, we forfeit this excellent privilege of being thus related to God; we become aliens and exiles, and enemies inſtead of ſons and friends unto him. Joh. 15. 2, 6. Joh. 8. 39, 44. Epheſ. 5. 1. 1 Pet. 1. 14, 15. Mat. 5. 45, 48. Luk. 6. 35, 36. Joh. 1. 3. 3. 17.

Conſidering alſo this relation will prompt us how we ſhould be affected and how behave our ſelves towards all God's creatures: if God be the father of all things, they are in ſome ſort all our brethren: ſhall we then abuſe, trample upon or tyrannize over any of them? will God permit it, doth it become us to do ſo? If we be all branches ſprouting from one root; ſtreams iſſuing from one common ſource of divine beneficence, members of one family, we are obliged to univerſal good-will and charity; to be kind and compaſſionate; to be helpfull and beneficial ſo far as our capacity Vid. Epict. l. 9. diſſert.

pacity reacheth; to endeavour, as we may, to preſerve the order and promote the welfare of the world; and all things in it. Eſpecially toward thoſe beings, who according to a more proper and excellent ſenſe are entitled the ſons of this our common father; toward beings intellectual, we hence learn our reſpective duties, of love and reſpect toward thoſe elder brethren of ours, the angels (the bleſſed and holy ones I mean, ſuch as have not degenerated from their nature and apoſtatized from their duty toward God) of charity and good will to each other; which if we do not maintain, let us conſider we are undutifull and unkind to God firſt, and then to our ſelves; both his relations and our own we hate and harm, his children and our brethren, by hating or harming any man whatever, eſpecially any good man, any Chriſtian brother, who by ſo many other more eſpecially bands is ſtraitly tied unto us, upon ſo many better grounds doth ſtand related both to God and us.

But let thus much ſuffice for this attribute or title of God, underſtood in this manner, as applicable to God eſſentially conſidered, which notion we ſee how true and uſefull it is. But that God is alſo here (and that according to the principal intention of the words) to be underſtood ſo as by way of eminency to ſignify the firſt perſon in the bleſſed Trinity and that the Title or Appoſition *Father* doth reſpect eſpecially him, wh according to a more proper and excellent manner * is *the Son of God, our Lord Chriſt Jeſus*, may upon divers accompts appear. 1ſt. Becauſe it follows, *and in Jeſus Chriſt his Son:* God is to be taken in that notion according to which Chriſt is his Son: the *Father* preceeding relates to the *Son* following. 2. Becauſe this Creed appears (according to our former discourſes) enlarged upon the foundation of the firſt moſt ſimple confeſſion uſed in baptiſm, and thoſe derived from the form preſcribed by our Saviour, of *baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt:* wherefore *the father* here is to be interpreted, according to that form. 3. The ancient Chriſtians (from whom we received the words and may beſt underſtand the ſenſe) did thus generally take and expound them. Now that God is the *Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, the univerſal tenour of the Goſpel ſpeaketh, and it is the chief doctrine thereof: this God from heaven by a vocal atteſtation declared *(this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed;)* our Saviour profeſſed; the Apoſtles preached; the miracles (performed by our Saviour) were intended to confirm. In this God manifeſted his tranſcendent love and mercy and goodneſs to mankind, that *he gave his only begotten Son, that no believer in him ſhould periſh, but have everlaſting life; that he did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all:* His own Son, ἴδιος υἱός, his peculiar Son, in a more proper and peculiar manner ſo: his μονογενὴς, only begotten Son (in a reſpect, according to which no other can pretend to that relation;) his ἀγαπητὸς his darling, (whom he loves with a ſuperlative dearneſs.) So that God is the *Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; and that it is a fundamental point of our religion and belief; and that it is mainly deſigned here, doth ſufficiently appear. Now the grounds of this paternity are ſeveral: his temporal generation by the Spirit and Power of God. *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall come upon thee, and the power of the moſt High ſhall overſhadow thee: therefore that Holy thing which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God. When the fulneſs of time came, God ſent forth his Son born of a woman.* His reſtoral from death to life: we preach the promiſe made to your fathers that God hath fulfilled it to us their children, raiſing up Jeſus; according alſo to what is written in the ſecond Pſalm, *Thou art my Son this day have I begotten thee.* Whence he is called πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, *the firſt bo*

* Κατὰ τίνα σχέσιν ὑψηλοτέραν, (as *Nazianzen* ſpeaks) *Orat.* 37.

Joh. 10. 38.

Joh. 3. 16.

Rom. 8. 32.

Luk. 1. 35.

Gal. 4. 4.

Act. 13. 32, 33.

Joh. 1. 50.

orn from the dead: His deſignation of him to ſoveraign power and au- Col. 2. 18.
hority: *Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Iſrael* (was *Natha-* Heb. 1. 2.
ael's confeſſion) *whom God appointed* (or *made*) *heir of all; putting all* Compare Joh.
hings under his feet. Father (our Saviour prays) *glorify thy Son, as thou* 17. 1, 2. vid.
aſt given him power over all fleſh: All power is given me in heaven and Joh. 5. 25, &c.
pon earth. But the moſt eminent ground of this paternity (and moſt Matt. 28. 18.
proper to this place) is that eternal generation, whereby God the Father Epheſ. 1. 22.
lid in the beginning, before all time imaginable or poſſible (in a manner Heb. 1. 6.
nconceivable and ineffable) communicate his own divine eſſence to God
he Son: his eſſence, not ſpecifically the ſame (ſuch as men impart, when Heb. 1. 3.
hey beget a Son in their own likeneſs) but the ſame individually; beget- Col. 1. 15.
ing him perfectly like himſelf, without any ſo much as accidental diſſi- ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.
nilitude or diſparity; (by an unconceivable irradiation of his glory, and
mpreſſion of his ſubſtance, as the Author to the *Hebrews* ſpeaks.)

Which doctrine (though full of deep myſtery, and tranſcending the apacity of our underſtanding to comprehend) as we are obliged, becauſe t hath been God's good pleaſure to reveal it unto us, with a firm faith and umble adoration to embrace, ſo it is of great conſequence and (even practical) uſe; ſerving to illuſtrate the wonderfull grace of God in the diſ- enſation Evangelical, and thereby to beget ſuitable gratitude in us; en- ouragement and enforcement to our duty, ſtrong faith and hope in God; as alſo to direct and order our devotion toward him.

But theſe conſiderations (with the farther probation f this great truth againſt ſome, who have dared to op- oſe it) I ſhall referr to that Article, in which we moſt xpreſsly confeſs, that *Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God*, and onſequently that *God is his Father.* And therefore pro- eed to the next word,

· Omne nomen dictum de Deo reſpectu creaturæ indicat eſſentiam, adeóque prædicatur de tribus perſonis ſimul, exceptis quæ pertinent ad unionem ſeu diſpenſationem, id eſt ad incarnationem ſive aſſumptam carnem. *Forb. p.* 24.

Almighty.

THough all the divine perfections (being intrinſecal unto and identified with the divine nature or eſſence) do really and equally belong o each Perſon of the Bleſſed Trinity, yet are eminently in ſome reſpect Vid. Rom. 16. 27.
tributed to the Father, as the firſt Perſon in order of nature, the ori- inal fountain and root of the Deity: likewiſe although all divine ope- itions *ad extra* (as proceeding from the ſame divine will nd power) do proceed from all the three Perſons, con- piring in them, yet are ſome κατ' οἰκονομίαν (by way f myſterious diſpenſation) appropriated to one, ſome o another: as Creation and Dilection to the Father; econciliation and Redemption to the Son; Illumination and Sanctifica- on to the Holy Ghoſt. Omnipotency therefore is here aſcribed to God he Father not excluſively, but eminently, (for the Son nd the Holy Ghoſt by participation of the divine nature om the Father are alſo omnipotent.) And God the ather is called *the Maker of heaven and earth*; although y the Son (or eternal Word) alſo *all things were made, nd without him was made nothing that was made*; and *all things were cre-* Joh. 1. 3.
ted by him, both things in heaven and things in earth, and things upon earth; Col. 1. 16.
oth things viſible and things inviſible: and the Spirit of God is ſaid to ave *garniſhed the heavens*, (Job 26. 13.) and, *By the word of the Lord ere the heavens made, and all the hoaſt of them by the ſpirit of his mouth*, ſal. 33. 6. This I premiſe, to prevent miſtake, in ſuppoſing the glorious

Quando unus trium in aliquo opere nominatur, univerſa operari Trinitas intelligitur. *Aug.*

Una voluntas eſt Patris, & Filii & inſeparabilis operatio. *Id.*

Sancta & inſeparabilis Trinitas nunquam aliquid extra ſe ſigillatim operare noverit. *Ambroſ. in Symb. cap.* 9. *Forb. p.* 23.

perfections, of works attributed to *God the Father*, to be aſcribed to him in diſtinction, and excluding the other Perſons. Now to the Attributes themſelves.

Joh. 5. 19. Matt. 12. 28.

Almighty.] The title or epithet παντοκράτως (which we render *Almighty* (or *Omnipotent*) there being no other word more properly and fully to expreſs it) is often (in a manner peculiar and characteriſtical) aſcribed to *God* in the Scripture; but in the New Teſtament from *imitation* (as it ſeems) or *tranſlation* of the Greek in the Old, where it anſwers to two famous and uſual names of God, *Sabaoth* and *Shaddai*, (eſpecially to the former, for the latter is only ſo rendred in ſome places of the book of *Job*,) the name *Sabaoth* I ſay, (for that it is ſo, we have expreſsly affirmed in ſeveral places; *Their Redeemer is ſtrong*; *Jehovah Sabaoth is his Name* Jer. 30. 54. (ſo alſo *Iſa.* 48. 2.) and *Amos* 4. 13. *He that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought*---- *Jehovah Elohei Sabaoth is his name*: from whence ſome Criticks deduce Ζεὺς Σαββάσιος, mentioned in ſome heathen * Writers.) Now the name *Sabaoth* doth ſeem to import God's Univerſal dominion over the world for all things of the world, as being ranged in a goodly order (like an army marching in array, or marſhalled to battel) are called *armies*: Thus the heavens and earth were finiſhed, and all the hoſt of them, (ἡ πᾶς κόσμος αὐτῶν, ſaith the Greek: and all the world, or the furniture of them:) *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the hoſt of them: Bleſs the Lord all ye his hoſts:* (that is, all creatures:) *Lift up your eyes on high* (ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah*) *and behold who hath created theſe things: that bringeth out their hoſt by number: * he calleth them all by names, by the greatneſs of his might, for that he is ſtrong in power, not one faileth:* Where God is repreſented bringing forth, and ordering his creatures, as a General ſummons together to a rendezvous, and muſters, and embattels his hoſt. Hence I ſay this title of *God* (παντοκράτως) ſeems derived; (which in the Revelation of St. *John* is moſt frequently attributed to him: *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty*, (ὁ παντοκράτωρ) *who was, and is, and art to be*; that heavenly hymn there reſounded to God.) But not dealing ſo ſtrictly but taking the word παντοκράτως in its common latitude for ὁ πάντα κρατῶν (or ὁ πάντων κράτος ἔχων) it may import, either right and authority over all (*omnipoteſtas*;) or power and ability to do all things (*omnipotentia*:) or actual exerciſe of ſuch authority and power, in ruling and diſpoſing all things (*omnipotentatus*;) alſo the poſſeſſion or holding all things (*omnitenentia*,) and the preſervation or upholding all things (*omnicontinentia*,) for κρατεῖν hath in propriety and ordinary uſe all theſe ſignifications, and according to them all God is truely παντοκράτωρ. He hath firſt a juſt right and authority over all things; he is naturally the ſovereign Lord and King of the World; *The Lord of Lords, and King of Kings* the ſpring and original of all right and authority. Whatever imaginable reaſon or ground there is of authority, it doth in reſpect of all things agree to God. *Ariſtotle* in his Politicks diſcourſeth thus. Government doth aim at and tend to the mutual benefit of the governour and governed that therefore which is moſt able and beſt diſpoſed to provide for and procure the common benefit in natural reaſon and juſtice deſerves to be, and is fitly the governour; whence the ſoul hath a right to govern the body and men naturally do rule over beaſts; and were there any ſuch men as did ſo eminently exceed others in wiſdom and goodneſs, to them, according to natural congruity, the government of others ſhould appertain. If then ſuch excellency of nature be a foundation of authority, God, who in wiſdom and goodneſs doth incomparably exceed all things, hath a right

Jer. 50. 34. Amos 4. 13. Iſa. 18. 7. 48. 2.

Seld. de Diis S. cap. 3. * Ariſtoph. & Cicero.

Gen. 2. 1.

Iſa. 40. 26.

Iſa. 45. 12.

* Compare Pſal. 147. 4.

Rev. 1. 8. 4. 8. 11. 17, &c.

Pſal. 136. 3. Deut. 10. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Apoc. 19. 16.

Pol. I. 1, 3, 4. Τὸ δυνάμενον φύσει προορᾶν ἄρχον φύσει, καὶ δεσπόζον φύσει. I. 1.

govern all: He is only * wiſe (and thence able,) only good (and thence willing to manage all for the general welfare and benefit of the world †.) by eminency of power do qualifie for dominion (as ſurely it doth, for what cannot be withſtood, muſt in reaſon be ſubmitted unto; 'tis vain to queſtion that authority which by force altogether irreſiſtible can maintain itſelf,) God hath the only right; nothing in the world being able to diſpute his title: *For who in the heaven can be compared unto the Lord? who among the Sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord? O Lord God of Hoſts, who is a ſtrong Lord like unto thee?* All things are weak and feeble in comparison; are in his hand; lie under his feet; are wholly at his diſcretion and diſpoſal: *The Lord is the true God* (ſaith the Prophet) *and the everliving King, at his wrath the earth ſhall tremble, and the nations ſhall not be able to abide his indignation. How terrible art thou in thy works? through the greatneſs of thy power ſhall thine enemies ſubmit themſelves unto thee: He ruleth by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations; let not the rebellious exalt themſelves.* If to have made all things and to preſerve them, do create a right of governing, (as it muſt needs: for what can we challenge juſtly a dominion over if not over our own works; over that which we feed and nouriſh continually; over that which depends altogether upon us, and which ſubſiſts but at our pleaſure?) then well may the Elders acknowledge: *Worthy art thou, O Lord, to receive the glory and the honour and the power*, (that is, the royal majeſty and dominion over the world,) *for thou haſt made all things, and for thy will they are, and were made.* Well might every creature that is in the heaven, and in the earth, and under the earth, and thoſe things which are in the ſea; and all things in them cry out: *To him that ſitteth upon the throne* (and to the Lamb) *be the bleſſing, and the honour, and the glory, and * the dominion for ever and ever:* And *Nehemiah: Thou, even thou art the Lord alone, thou haſt made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their hoſts, the earth and all things that are therein, the ſea and all that is therein, and thou preſerveſt them all, and the hoſt of heaven worſhippeth thee:* and King *Hezekiah: O Lord of Hoſts----thou art the God, thou alone of all the Kingdoms of the earth, thou haſt made heaven and earth.*

* Rom. 16. 27.
† Luk. 18. 19.
Pſal. 89. 6, 8.
Jer. 10. 10.
Pſal. 66. 3, &c.
Apoc. 4. 11.
Apoc. 5. 13.
* Τὸ κράτος.
Neh. 9. 6.
Iſa. 37. 16.

Thus is God παντοκράτως, the Rightfull Soveraign (upon all accompts) of all things----*Divúmque hominúmque æterna poteſtas* (as the wiſe Heathen Poet could acknowledge and call him:) He is alſo ſo in regard of his infinite power (Omnipotent:) Natural light affords us pregnant arguments and experiments of the *greatneſs of his power*, demonſtrated in the conſtitution and conſervation of the world; (diſpoſing ſo ſtupendiouſly faſt, ſo innumerably various creatures into ſo comely, and ſtable a poſture; by them his eternal power and divinity are diſcerned, as St. *Paul* tells us; he that could effect ſo much, his power muſt needs be greater than we can imagine or comprehend; but Holy Scripture declares more fully and clearly the extent of his power; that it reaches unto the utmoſt poſſibility of things: that whatever is not repugnant to his eſſential perfections, his wiſdom and goodneſs; doth not misbecome him to do, or to the nature of things to be done; (that doth not imply a contradiction, and thereby is impoſſible, and no object of any power,) he can eaſily atchieve: there is nothing ſo difficult, but he can perform it; nothing ſo ſtrong or ſtubborn, but he can ſubdue it. *Is any thing too hard for the Lord?* ſaith God to *Abraham*, when *Sarah* doubted or admired concerning God's promiſe, that ſhe in ſo extreme an age ſhould become fruitfull. *Behold* (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy* in his prayer to God) *thou haſt made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and thy ſtretched-out arm, and there*

Virg. 10. Æn.
Rom. 1. 20.
Gen. 18. 14.
Jer. 32. 17. 27.

is nothing too hard for thee : ἐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ θεῷ πᾶν ῥῆμα : *Nothing*
Luk. 1. 37. (that can be ſaid, or conceived, or done) *ſhall be impoſſible to God* (if he
pleaſes to undertake it) ſaid the Angel to the Bleſſed Virgin, when he de-
livered ſo ſtrange a meſſage to her, concerning an event ſo wonderfull and
Job 42. 2. ſupernatural. That a rich man ſhould be induced to part with all and ſub-
Mat. 19. 26. mit to God's will, our Saviour affirmed exceedingly difficult, *(harder tha*
for a Camel to paſs through the eye of a needle :) but to ſatisfie his diſciple
ſcruple thence ariſing, he ſubjoins : *With men this is impoſſible; but with*
2 Chr. 20. 6. *God all things are poſſible. In thine hand* (ſaid *Jehoſaphat) there is powe*
and might, ſo that none is able to withſtand thee. He doth according to hi
will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and non
Dan. 4. 35. *can ſtay his hand, or ſay unto him, What doeſt thou ? Nebuchadnezzar* (havin
felt an experiment of his power, and being returned to a right underſtan
Iſa. 14. 27. ding) did ſo confeſs. *The Lord of Hoſts hath purpoſed, and who ſhall di*
annull it ? his hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back ? He is *E*
Shaddai, the God all-ſufficient ; able to do whatever he pleaſes. He mad
the World at firſt with a word : *(By the word of the Lord were the heaven*
Pſal. 33. 6, 9. *made* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *and all the hoſt of them by the breath of his mouth :--*
Heb. 1. 3. *Let the earth fear the Lord---- for he ſpake, and it was done ; he commande*
and it ſtood faſt ;) and by a word he doth preſerve it *(upholding all thing*
(ſaith the Apoſtle) *by the word of his power* ; or by his mighty word : an
by a word he can deſtroy all things ; yea more eaſily, in a manner, by h
ſilence ; by withdrawing that ſalutary breath, which cheriſheth all thing
Pſal. 104. 29. *(Thou hideſt thy face, they are troubled ; thou with-holdeſt thy breath, th*
Ἐι θεὸν ὄιδα, ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ ἀλί- *die, and return to their duſt :)* for even in this reſpect is God all-powerfu
μονι ῥέξαι πᾶν for that all power is derived from and depends upon him : He not on
δυνατόν. can do all things, but nothing can be done without him. *Without me y*
Callim. Plut. *can do nothing*, is true not only in Spiritual matters, but in all others : *I*
de plac. I. 1. Joh. 15. 5. *gives* (as St. *Paul* preached at *Athens) life* (or being with all vital facultie
Acts 17. 24, *and breath* (all natural powers) *and all things unto all. In him* (or rath
28. Ῥᾴδια πάντα by him) *we live, and move, and have our being* ; whatever we have, or c
θεῷ τελέσαι καὶ do proceeds from him : thus is God Almighty. He is alſo ſo, by reaſon th
ἀδύνατον ἐδέν. he doth actually exerciſe all dominion, and exerts his power, accordi
to his pleaſure ; he hath not only a juſt title to govern all things, and al
Pſal. 103. 19. lity to ſway, but he uſes them : *The Lord hath prepared his throne in he*
Vid. Pſal. 47. *ven and his kingdom ruleth over all : The Lord is high above all nations, a*
Pſal. 103. 4. *his glory above the heavens ; who is like unto the Lord our God, who humble*
himſelf to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth ? 'Tis inde
a great condeſcenſion in God, that he will vouchſafe the government
things, ſo much inferiour to him, yet for the general good he doth i
1 Chron. 29. 11, 12. *Thine* (ſaid *David) is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as hea*
above all, both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reigneſt over all ;
thine hand is power and might, &c. He is indeed the only Governour, abſ
1 Tim. 6. 15. lutely and directly ſo ; (μόνος δυνάστης, the *only Potentate)* all authority an
power are imparted by him, are ſubordinate to him ; by his diſpoſal an
direction all Potentates receive them, and in his behalf, by vertue
his commiſſion and command, as his delegates and officers they adm
niſter any dominion or power : It was *Nebuchadnezzar*'s doom to be drive
from men untill he did know this truth (ſo neceſſary for all Princes
Dan. 4. 25. know and conſider) *that the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdoms of men, a*
Dan. 7. 27. *giveth it to whomſoever he will : His Kingdom is an everlaſting Kingdo*
Pſal. 72. 6, 7. *and all dominions ſhall ſerve and obey him. Promotion cometh neither fro*
Rom. 13. 1. *the eaſt, nor from the weſt, nor from the ſouth : but God is the Judge, he pu*
Joh. 19. 11. *teth down one and ſetteth up another : There is no power but from God ; t*

powe

powers that are, are appointed by God. The Judgment is God's (ſaid *Moſes* in his charge) exerciſed in his behalf, and according to his appointment. Deut. 1. 17.
Thus is God παντοκράτωρ; the only direct ſoveraign commander; the author and fountain of all authority, *the Lord of Lords and King of Kings.* He alſo is παντοκράτωρ, as the true proprietary, and juſt poſſeſſor of all things. *(Omnitenens) Bleſſed be Abram of the moſt high God poſſeſſor of heaven and earth,* ſaith *Melchiſedech.* Gen. 14. 19. *The earth is the Lord's and the fulneſs thereof, the world and they that dwell therein; for he hath founded it upon the ſeas, and eſtabliſhed it upon the floods.* Pſal. 24. 1. 50. 12. *Behold, the Heaven and the heaven of heavens is the Lords thy God, the earth alſo with all that therein is* (ſaith *Moſes)*: and the Pſalmiſt again: *The heavens are thine, the earth alſo is thine, as for the world and the fulneſs thereof*; (that is, all which the world contains, which it is repleniſhed with.) *The ſea is his, and* (that is, *for*) *he made it, and his hands formed the dry land.* Deut. 10. 14. Pſal. 89. 11. 1 Chro. 29. 11. Pſal. 95. 5. Thou haſt founded them: all things are God's goods and poſſeſſions (for that he hath made and by creation purchaſed them to himſelf; ſo we ſee the Pſalmiſt argues) and ſo the diſpoſal of them do belong unto him; he may and doth apply them to what uſe he pleaſeth. He is alſo *Omnitenens* ('tis St. *Auſtin*'s word) as containing all things in his hand, encircling and comprehending them (as it were) in his arms. *Whither ſhall I go from thy ſpirit* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *or whither ſhall I flee from thy preſence? if I aſcend up into heaven thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there; if I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermoſt parts of the ſea, even there ſhall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand ſhall hold me.* Pſal. 139. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Who hath meaſured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meeted out heaven with the ſpan, and comprehended the duſt of the earth in a meaſure. Iſa. 40. 12.

Mine hand hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my hand hath ſpanned the heavens. Iſa. 48. 13.

He laſtly is, παντοκράτωρ, in regard that he ſuſtains and preſerves all things: ἐκεῖν (ſaith *Gregory Nyſſen*) ὅταν τὸ παντοκράτωρ φωνῆς ἀκούομεν τοῦτο νοοῦμεν τὸ πάντα τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ εἰ συνέχειν: when we hear the word *Almighty*, we underſtand that God doth contain all things in being. *Thou, even thou* (ſay the *Levites* in *Nehemiah*) *art Lord alone? thou haſt made heaven, the heaven of heavens with all their hoſt, the earth and all things that are therein, and thou preſerveſt them all; and the hoſt of heaven worſhippeth thee.* Neh. 9. 6. In all theſe reſpects is God truly Almighty.

The belief and conſideration of which truths are of great importance and uſe to us: if God be the ſoveraign Lord of all things (which is the chief ſenſe of this article) and we conſequently his ſubjects and vaſſals; then is all awfull reverence, worſhip, and obedience due from us to him: we are in juſtice bound humbly to adore his majeſty, and readily to perform his commands, and patiently to ſubmit to his will. We muſt not think to guide our actions according to our own will or fancy, as if we had no Lord over us; but conform them we muſt to the decrees and determinations of our moſt good and wiſe Governour. 'Tis our duty to do thus, and we have reaſon to do it willingly and cheerfully; for 'tis alſo our happineſs to be under ſo juſt and gracious a government: 'tis no cruel tyrant, no unjuſt uſurper, but a moſt gracious and equal King, whom we are in ſubjection to: of whom 'tis ſaid truly, *Juſtice and judgment are the eſtabliſhment of his throne; mercy and truth go before his face*; whom we are exceedingly obliged to thank that he will vouchſafe to undertake the tuition and overſight of us: ſo that in this conſideration the Pſalmiſt might well excite the world to joy and Jubilation: *O clap your hands all ye people, ſhout unto God with the voice of triumph; for the Lord moſt High* Pſal. 89. 14. Pſal. 47. 1.

The belief of God's power. For it *Abraham* juſtified, &c. in the Goſpel.

ὃ δὲ νομοθετήσοντες παίρεσμεν, &c. Plut. ad Apoll. P. 193, 194.

is

Conſ. Socrates in Plato's Phædo, &c.

is terrible, he is a great King over all the earth. All the world hath reaſon not only to be content and acquieſce but to rejoice and triumph in being ſubject to ſuch a governour, ſo able ſo willing to maintain good order, peace and equity therein.

Τραχὺς μονάρχης, ἐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κράτει. Æſchyl. Prom.

Alſo, If God be Omnipotent; able to do all things and of irreſiſtible power, then have we all reaſon, 1. To hope in his providence and rely upon his promiſes. For that he is able to ſupply us with all we need and perform what ever he hath promiſed. It was *Abraham's* vertue (ſo accceptable to God and ſo richly rewarded by him) that he did not *ſtagger at the promiſe of God through unbelief, but was ſtrong in faith, giving glory to God; being fully perſwaded, that what he had promiſed he was able to perform.* It was the *Iſraelites* great offence that ſo incenſed God; that *they ſpake againſt God,*

—ἐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον, ἐδ' ἀπλητὸν, Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον γ' ὅτι κὲν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω. Hom. Il. α. 526. Rom. 4. 20, 21.

Pſ. 78. 19, 20. *ſaying, Can God furniſh a table in the Wilderneſs? Behold, he ſmote the rock, that the waters guſhed out, and the ſtreams overflowed: can he give* Matt. 8. 26. 14. 31. *bread alſo? can he provide fleſh for his people?* Our Saviour upon this accompt took it ill of his diſciples, that in the greateſt dangers they ſhould be afraid, or in the leaſt manner diſtruſt. Since nothing is impoſſible, nothing difficult to him (that can be done, or which he will promiſe) we ſhould not in reſpect of any difficulty or improbability appearing, doubt in the leaſt; 'tis injury to him, 'tis folly, 'tis blaſphemy to do it.

Ὀλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας, &c.

2. We ſhould hence dread God; fear to oppoſe his will, or provoke his diſpleaſure. Is it not a madneſs for impotency (ſuch as ours) to contend with, or withſtand Omnipotency, that can ſo eaſily cruſh us into miſery, into nothing? *Foraſmuch as there is none like unto thee, O Lord; thou art great, and thy Name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of nations?* (Jer. 10. 6, 7.) *Fear you not me, (ſaith the Lord?) will ye not tremble at my preſence, which have placed the ſand for the bound of the ſea,* &c. (Jer. 5. 22.) 'Tis the argument by which *Moſes* enforces obedience to the law, for that *the Lord is a great God, a mighty and a terrible,* (Deut. 10. 17.) Our Saviour admoniſhes and inculcates earneſtly *Fear him, which after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell: I ſay unto you, Fear him,* (Luk. 12. 5.) *Do we provoke the Lord to jealouſie,* (St. *Paul* urges) *are we ſtronger than he?* No, let us follow St. *Peter's* advice, (1 *Pet.* 5. 6.) and *humble our ſelves under the mighty hand of God.* But I leave theſe and other applications eaſily emergent from theſe points of doctrine, to your further meditation.

It may be demanded, why, beſide that of *Almighty,* no other attribute of God is expreſſed in our Creed; why, for inſtance, the perfections of infinite wiſdom and goodneſs are therein omitted. I anſwer, 1. That all ſuch perfections are included in the notion of a God, whom, when we profeſs to believe, we conſequently do aſcribe them to him; for he that ſhould profeſs to believe in God, not acknowledging thoſe perfections would be inconſiſtent and contradictious to himſelf; *Deum negaret* (as *Tertullian* ſpeaks) *auferendo quod Dei eſt*; he would deny God, with drawing what belongs to God. Adv. Marc. I. 3. 2ly. The title παντοκράτως, as implying God's univerſal providence in the preſervation, and government of the world, doth alſo involve or inferr all divine perfections diſplayed therein; all that glorious majeſty and excellency, for which he is with highe reſpect to be honoured and worſhipped by us; which added to the name of God doth determine what God we mean, ſuch as doth in all perfection excell, and therewith doth govern the world. I might add, 3ly. That the doctrine of God's univerſal providence being not altogether ſo ev-

dent to natural light, as those attributes discovered in the making of the world (more having doubted thereof and disputed against it with more plausibility) it was therefore convenient to add it, as a matter of faith clearly and fully (as we did shew) attested unto by divine revelation. So much may suffice to remove such a scruple. I proceed:

Maker of Heaven and Earth.

THis clause is one of those, which was of later times inserted into this Creed, none of the more ancient expositors thereof (*Augustine, Ruffin, Maximus Taurinensis, Chrysologus*, &c.) taking any notice thereof. But *Irenæus, Tertullian*, and other most ancient writers in their rules of faith exhibit the sense thereof; and the confessions of all General Councils (the *Nicene* and those after it) express it. And there is great reason for it, not only thereby to disavow and descry those prodigious errours of *Marcion* and *Manichæus*, and other such hereticks, which did then ascribe the Creation of the world (or of some parts thereof, seeming to their fancy less good and perfect) to another God (or principle) inferiour in worth and goodness to that God, which is revealed in the Gospel; or did opinionate two principles (not distinct only, but contrary to each other) from one whereof good things did proceed, from the other bad things. But also for that the creation of the world is that peculiar, august and admirable work of God, by which, we learn that he is, and what he is; by which (I say) his existence is most strongly proved, and in which his divine perfections are most conspicuously displayed; which is the prime foundation of his authority over the world; and consequently is the chief ground of natural religion; of our subjection, and duty and devotion toward him. This title also most especially characterizing and distinguishing that God whom we believe and adore from all false and fictitious Deities: for, as the Psalmist sings, *All the Gods of the nations are idols, but the Lord made the heavens.* And the Prophet *Jeremy: The Gods that have not made the heavens, and the earth, they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens. And we preach unto you* (said St. *Paul* to the ignorant *Lycaonians*) *that ye should turn from those vanities unto the living God, which made heaven and earth.* There was reason therefore more than sufficient that the Creed should be enlarged and enriched with this so material insertion; that we should be obliged explicitly to acknowledge a point of so grand consideration and use. For the explication whereof and the terms wherein it is conceived, we may observe first, that the ancient *Hebrews* having (as it seems) in their language no one word properly signifying *the World* (or universal system of things created*) did use instead thereof a collection of its chief parts (chief either absolutely in themselves, or in respect to us) *the heaven and the earth*; adding sometimes *the sea*, (yea sometimes for fuller explication subjoining *to heaven its host, to earth its fulness, to the sea its contents*,) but most frequently *heaven and earth* are put to design the whole. *In six days* (saith *Moses*) *the Lord made heaven and earth. Do not I fill heaven and earth, saith the Lord? It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail: God* (saith St. *Paul*) *that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth:* where the world and all things therein doth signify the same, with *heaven and earth*; God's dominion being co-extended with his creation, as being grounded thereon. By *heaven and earth* therefore I say we are to understand those two Regions,

Psal. 96. 5. Jer. 10. 11. Vid. 2 Kings 19. 15. Act. 14. 15. 17. 24.

* Σύστημα ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων, is *Aristotle*'s definition of the word, *de Mund.* 2.

Psal. 69. 34. Neh. 9. 60. Gen. 1. 1. Exod. 20. 11. 2 King. 19. 15. Jer. 23. 24. Luk. 16. 17. Acts 17. 24. Vid. Is. 42. 5.

gions, ſuperiour and inferiour, into which the whole frame of things is divided, together with all the Beings that do reſide in, belong unto, are
Acts 4. 24. comprehended by them; as we ſee ſometimes fully expreſſed. *O Lord, thou art the God that haſt made the heavens, the earth, the ſea, and all things being in them* (pray the Apoſtles in the *Acts*); and with utmoſt diſtinction
Rev. 10. 6. the angel in the Apocalypſe *ſwears by him that liveth for ever, who created the heaven and the things that therein are; and the earth with the things that therein are, and the ſea with the things therein.*

By *heaven* is then underſtood, all the ſuperiour Region, encompaſſing the earth, and from it on all ſides extended to a diſtance unconceivably vaſt and ſpacious, with all its parts, furniture, and inhabitants; not only thoſe that are viſible and material, but alſo thoſe that are immaterial and
Col. 1. 16. inviſible. *By him* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *were created all things which are in heaven, and which are in earth, both thoſe that are viſible, and thoſe that are inviſible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him:* That is, not only the material and ſenſible parts (thoſe bright and beautifull lamps of light expoſed to our ſight) but thoſe beings of a more pure and refined ſubſtance, indiſcernible therefore to our ſenſe, how eminent ſoever in nature, mighty in power, exalted in dignity, whoſe ordinary reſidence * is in thoſe ſuperiour regions (as being God's courtiers, and domeſtick officers, attending upon and miniſtring unto him; † *encircling his throne* (as it is in the Apocalypſe), and *always beholding his face* (as our Saviour teaches us, *Matt.* 18. 10.), even theſe all were made by God: for they are included in the univerſal term *all:* if God made all things, in heaven (as we heard it told us by the mouth of an Angel in St. *John*'s revelation) then certainly the Angels (the moſt conſiderable things therein.) And they are expreſsly called *the Son*
Job 2. 1. *of God*; (as deriving their being from him) and they are ſubject to God's
38. 7. government and juriſdiction (which argues their proceeding from him
Pſal. 89. 6. and dependance upon him:) and St. *Jude* tells us, they did not retain
29. 1. τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν, their beginning or primitive ſtate; wherefore they had
Jud. 6. a beginning, and whence that but from God, who alone (originally, intrinſecally, and neceſſarily) hath immortality, and conſequently (as *Ari-*
1 Tim. 6. 16.
1. de Cœlo, cap. ult. *ſtotle* proveth by ſeveral reaſons againſt *Plato*) alone hath eternity: and
Pſal. 103. the Pſalmiſt calls them *God's works*; *Bleſs the Lord* (ſaith he) *ye his Angels that excell in ſtrength, that do his commandments, hearkning unto the voice of his word: Bleſs the Lord all his hoſts, ye miniſters of his, that do his pleaſure:* then concluding and recapitulating, he adds: *Bleſs the Lord all*
Pſal. 148. *his works in all places of his dominion:* and again in the 148 *Pſalm*, ſummoning all the creation to a conſort of doxology; he begins with the heavens; and then proceeds to the earth; making a very particular recitation of the chief parts, and inhabitants belonging to each: and in the firſt place reckoning the Angels, then the ſtars, then the heaven of heavens; he ſubjoins the reaſon, why they ought all to praiſe God: *Let them* (ſaith he) *praiſe the name of the Lord, for he commanded and they were created; he hath alſo ſtabliſhed them for ever and ever; he hath made a decree* (concerning them) *which ſhall not paſs.* Thus doth the Scripture teach us concerning the exiſtence and original of thoſe ſublime beings, the knowledge of whom (that they are, what they are, whence they are) natural light could not reach; although from primitive tradition even the heathens themſelves did in a manner acknowledge this truth, calling all the inferiour and ſecondary Gods the children of the firſt and ſupreme God, as we did formerly touch, Θεοὶ Θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρτε:

* Ἴδιον οἰκητήριον (as St. *Jude* 6. hath it) *proper habitation.*
Heb. 1. 14. Dan. 7. 10.
Rev. 5. 11. Matt. 18. 10.
† Κυκλόθεν τῦ θρόνυ.

Gc

God speaks to them in *Plato's Timæus*. And for all other things, both in heaven and earth; the material frame of the world, with all its parts compacted together in so fair, so fit, so fast an order) we have before sufficiently discoursed, that they speak themselves (even to natural understanding) to have been produced by a most wise, most powerfull, most beneficent author; that is, by God; which is confirmed by testimonies of holy writ innumerable and which need not be repeated.

Vid. Comment. in Ant. pag. 145.

And thus much (as we did also formerly shew) the generality of mankind hath always consented unto; as also the most and best reputed Philosophers did (in general terms) avow it. There is only one particular, wherein they seem to have disagreed (some or most of them) from what Christian piety obliges us to acknowledge; which concerns the matter of corporeal things; for even *Plato* himself (who so positively and expressly doth assert the world to have been framed by God) is yet conceived to suppose the matter of things to have been eternal and uncreated; ascribing only to God the forming, and disposing it into a good order, agreeable to some patterns pre-existent in his wise understanding; even as a good artist doth out of an unshapen lump of matter frame a handsome piece of work, conformable to some idea preconceived in his mind. (*Socrates* and *Plato*, saith *Plutarch*, did suppose three principles of things, τὸν θεὸν, τὸν ὕλην, τὸν ἰδέαν, *God*, *Matter*, *Idea*: God is the Mind, Matter the first subject of generation and corruption, Idea an incorporeal subsistence in the conceptions of God. *Anaxagoras* also (the same Author tells us, and *Aristotle* confirms it in his *Metaphysicks*, commending his opinion,) did affirm two principles, One *passive*, Matter; (consisting of an infinite number of small particles like to one another in shape;) the other *active*, Understanding; and to the same effect he reduces *Pythagoras* his conceits, though with much obscurity expressed *.) And *Aristotle* tells us, that generally all natural Philosophers before him did conceive and assume it for a principle, (it was κοινὴ δόξα τῶν φυσικῶν, ὡς οὐ γινομένου μηδενὸς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος) † that nothing was made out of nothing, or that every thing made had necessarily some pre-existent matter, out of which it was made; [Which principle *Aristotle* himself not only *admits (in his sense) but extends farther, affirming it impossible, that any thing should be produced out of matter not pre-disposed to admit the form to be introduced, οὐδὲ γίνεται ὁτιοῦν ἐξ ὅτου οὖν: every thing is not made of every thing; but out of some subject fitted thereto, or capable thereof; as Animals and Plants out of their seeds.] Which principles, being deduced from observation of natural effects (or works of art) performed always by alterations, and transpositions of some subjacent matter, we may safely in respect only to such kind of effects admit; allowing no natural agent, no created artificer able to produce any thing without some subject, aptly qualified and prepared to receive its influence. But hence to conclude generally, that every action possible doth necessarily require a matter pre existent, or pre-disposed subject, is no wise reasonable; because such a thing doth not usually according to the course of nature happen, therefore it is in it self absolutely impossible to be, is no good collection; no Logick will allow us from particular experiments

Vid. Tertull. adv. Valent. cap. 15. & adv. Hermog. I.

Cic. de div. II. sect. 37. Quis hoc physicus dixit unquam.

De placitis. I. 3. Anton. IV. sect. 4. Metaph. I. 3, 4.

* *Thales* his conceit was also in a manner the same; who (as *Tully* tells us *de Nat. D. I.*) Aquam dixit esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret. The *Stoicks* also had this opinion; as *Lipsius* by many testimonies proves in his *Physiologia Stoica*.

† Δοκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὅλων δύο· τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον· τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὸν ἄποιον ὕλην· τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν. Laert. in Zen. vid. Sen. Epist. 65.

Ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίγνεται ἀδύνατον περὶ τὰς ταύτης ὁμογνωμονοῦσι τῆς δόξης ἅπαντες οἱ περὶ φύσεως.

* Phys. I. 5. Phys. I. 9.

Vide locum luculentum. *Metaph.* I. 3.

Ἀεὶ ἔστι τι ὁ ὑπόκειται, ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται τὸ γιγνόμενον, οἷον τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῶα ἐκ σπέρματος. I. 8.

Cic. de div. II.

—Erit aliquid quod aut ex nihilo oriatur, aut in nihilum subitò occidat: Quis hoc physicus dixit unquam? *Vid. Anton. IV. sect.* 4.

riments to eſtabliſh general concluſions; eſpecially ſuch as concern abſo ſute impoſſibility of things to be otherwiſe, than ſometimes they appea to be: There may be, for all we can know, agents of another ſort, an powers much differing in kind and manner of efficacy from thoſe whic are ſubject to our obſervation; eſpecially to ſuppoſe the Supreme Bein (that made the world) can himſelf act no otherwiſe, than we ſee the inferiour things do, is groſly vain; nor from any certain principle o reaſon can it ever appear, that it is impoſſible ſome ſubſtances ſhould b totally produced *de novo*; or receive an exiſtence, which they had no We cannot derive any ſuch propoſition from ſenſe; it aſſures us tha ſome effects are poſſible, but cannot help us to determine what is im poſſible: that which we ſee done is poſſible; but what we cannot pe ceive done, is not therefore impoſſible: nor can any reaſon of ours reac the extent of all powers and poſſibilities. That opinion therefore of th ancient Philoſophers, that the matter of the World, or of natural thing is eternal and uncreated, had no certain foundation: We may ſay t

Matt. 22. 29. them, as our Saviour once did to the Sadduces: *Ye err, not knowing th Scriptures, nor the power of God:* and that their opinion was indeed falſ and contrary to our faith, may appear, 1. Becauſe it is ſo often generall

Rom. 10. 11, &c. affirmed in holy Scripture, that *God did make all things*; *all things th that are in heaven and in earth:* It is unſafe, and not without great re ſon ever to be done, to make limitations, and reſtrictions of univerſ propoſitions, often (yea conſtantly) ſo ſet down. And like as St. *Pa* ſomewhere diſcourſes: Becauſe it is ſaid in the Prophets: *Every one th believeth in him, ſhall not be aſhamed: Whoſoever ſhall call upon the Na of the Lord ſhall be ſaved*; therefore both *Jews* and *Greeks* (in caſe belief and calling upon God) are capable of ſalvation and acceptanc: ἐ γὰρ ἔϛι διαϛολὴ, for that there is no diſtinction or exception made: it being ſaid univerſally and without any limitation, all things we made, therefore the matter of things was alſo made; the matter bei one thing, yea, in the opinion of moſt Philoſophers, as well ancient modern, the principal thing, the only ſubſtantial thing in nature;

Metaph. I. 3. Phyſ. I. 8. other things being only the modes and affections thereof. Whence *A ſtotle* tells us, that moſt of the firſt Philoſophers did affirm nothing to made, nothing to be deſtroyed, becauſe matter did always exiſt and abi the ſame; as if nothing elſe in nature had any Being conſiderable.

Vid. Lactantii libro II. (p. 179, &c.) diſputationem hac de re. God therefore did not produce matter it ſelf, he could hardly be a compted author of any thing in nature: how then is he truly affirm the maker of all things? 2. Again, God is in like manner affirmed g nerally the true poſſeſſour and proprietor of all things, excepting non how ſo, if he did not make them? is not this expreſſed the foundation

Pſal. 89. 11. his right and dominion? *The heavens are thine, the earth alſo is thine: for the world, and the fulneſs thereof, thou haſt found them:* How is God (I ſay) Lord and Owner of matt (at leaſt by the moſt excellent ſort of right;) but for th he did produce and doth ſuſtain its being, and therefo may juſtly uſe and diſpoſe of it according to his ple ſure? 3. Again: Suppoſing any Being eternal, unmade, and indepe dent upon God, doth advance that Being in ſome reſpect to an equ lity with God, (imparting thoſe great attributes of God thereto,) a it deprives him of thoſe perfections, making him to depend upon in his operations, and not all-ſufficient in himſelf without it: it der gates from his prerogative, and limits his power. 4. Fa ther, as *Ariſtotle* well diſcourſeth againſt the ancie

---de re non ſua, ſcilicet non facta ab ipſo. *Tert. ad Herm.* 9. De alieno uſus, aut precariò uſus eſt quâ egens ejus, aut injuriâ quâ prævalens ejus. *Ib.*

Quis alius Dei cenſus quàm æternitas?

Phil-

Philoſophers, who before *Anaxagoras*, did aſſign but one principle to things, (that material and paſſive one;) as if no active principle were required; ſo may we argue againſt him and them together; if God did produce and inſert an active principle into nature, (as who can well imagine thoſe admirable works of nature, the ſeminal propagation and nutrition of plants; the generation, motion, ſenſe, appetite, paſſion of animals to be performed by a meer blind agitation of matter, without ſome active principle diſtinct from matter, diſpoſing and determining it toward the production of ſuch ſpecifick effects?) if God could, I ſay, produce ſuch an active principle (ſuch an ἐντελέχειαν, to uſe the Philoſopher's word,) why might he not as well produce a paſſive one, ſuch as the matter is? 5. Farther, If God did produce immaterial Beings (ſimple and uncompounded ſubſtances, diſtinct from all matter) ſuch as angels and the ſouls of men, meerly out of nothing, for out of what pre-exiſtent ſubſtance could they be made?) then may he as well create matter out of nothing. What greater difficulty can we conceive in making ſuch a lower imperfect thing, than in making thoſe more excellent Beings, ſo much farther (as it were) removed from nontity? If any thing be producible out of nothing, why not all things capable of exiſtence, by a vertue omnipotent *? But that ſuch immaterial Beings were produced by God, we ſaw before from many plain teſtimonies of divine revelation. 6. I add, That the manner of God's making the World, delivered in Scripture, by meer will and command: *He ſpake, and it was done; he commanded, and it ſtood faſt:)* that by only pronouncing the word *fiat*, all things ſhould be formed and conſtituted in their ſpecifick natures and perfections, doth argue that matter might be produced out of nothing by divine power: as alſo the effecting miracles, contrary to the courſe of nature (without any preparation or preiſpoſition of the ſuſcipient matter) in the ſame manner (by ſaying only, as our Saviour did, θέλω, καθαρίσθητι *(I will, be thou cleanſed.) Woman, great thy faith*; γενηθήτω σοι ὡς θέλεις, *(Be it to thee as thou deſireſt)* * doth new the ſame. For it is no wiſe harder, nor more impoſſible to produce matter it ſelf, than to produce a form therein without or againſt its aptitude to receive it: Nay, it ſeems more difficult to make children to *Abram* out of ſtones, than to make them out of nothing: there being a potive obſtacle to be removed; here no reſiſtance appearing; there being ſ well ſomewhat preceding to be deſtroyed, as ſomething new to be produced. [Eſpecially, I ſay, conſidering that God uſes no other means or ſtruments in theſe productions, than his bare word and command; which hy ſhould we not conceive as able immediately to produce the matter, the forms of things?] 7. Laſtly: The text of *Moſes*, deſcribing the manner and order of the creation, doth inſinuate this uth: *In the beginning* (ſaith he) *God made heaven and rth: Now the earth was without form:* Firſt, it ſeems, od made the matter of heaven and earth, devoid of l form and order; a confuſed and unſhapen maſs; then e digeſted and diſtinguiſhed its parts; by ſeveral derees raiſing thence all thoſe various kinds, thoſe well arrayed hoſts of odly creatures. From theſe premiſes we may conclude (againſt thoſe hiloſophers, who deſtitute of the light of revelation, did conceive otherſiſe; and againſt ſuch Chriſtians as have followed them; as *Hermogenes*,

Veritas ſic unum Deum exigit defendendo, ut ſolius ſit quicquid ipſius eſt. *Tertull. adv. Hermog.* 4, 5.

Nemo non eget eo, de cujus utitur; nemo non ſubjicitur ei cujus eget, ut poſſit uti: Et nemo qui præſtat de ſuo uti, non in hoc ſuperior eſt eo, cui præſtat uti. *Ib.* 8.

Metaph. I. 3.

Niſi quòd jam non omnipotens, ſi non & hoc potens ex nihilo omnia proferre. *Ibid.*

* — Cur non omnia ex nihilo, ſi aliquid ex nihilo, niſi ſi inſufficiens fuit divina virtus omnibus producendis quæ aliquid protulerit ex nihilo, &c. *Tert. adv. Herm.* 15.

Pſal. 33. 9.

Luk. 5. 13. Matt. 15. 28.

* Νεανίσκε, λέγω σοι ἐγέρθητι. Luk. 7. 14.

Mat. 3. 9.

Scriptura terram primò factam edicit, dehinc qualitatem ipſius ediſſerit; ſicut & cœlum primò factum profeſſa, dehinc diſpoſitionem ejus ſuperinducit. *Tertull. contra Hermog.* 26.

whom *Tertullian* hath upon this occaſion writ a diſcourſe againſt, and ſome *Socinians*, *Volkeim*, &c.) that God did create (in the moſt ſtrict and ſcholaſtical ſenſe of that word) produce out of nothing, either immediately or mediately beſtow total exiſtence upon every thing that is, not excepting any one; and that this is the true meaning of theſe words, *Maker of heaven and earth*; which is aſcribed here to *God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; a truth, which as all good Chriſtians have always acknowledged, and the Holy Scriptures do moſt plainly avouch, (For *to us there is but one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we from him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt* (his Son) *by whom are all things, and we by him*; though *Marcion* of old (and other Gnoſtical hereticks before and after him) did contradict it, affirming that the God who made the World, and enacted the law (whom *Moſes* did declare) was a worſe conditioned, a rigid and angry God; but the God of the Goſpel was another more benign and harmleſs God, void of all wrath and ſpleen [*Tertullian* thus in Verſe deſcribes this conceit.

Nihil ſine origine, niſi Deus ſolus. *Tertull. adv. M. V.* 1.

1 Cor. 8. 6.

Adv. Marc. Poem. I.

Prædicat hic duos eſſe patres, diviſáque regna,
Eſſe mali cauſam Dominum qui condidit orbem;
Quique figuravit carnem ſpiramine vivam;
Quique dedit legem, & vatum qui voce locutus;
Hunc negat eſſe bonum, juſtum tamen eſſe fatetur,
Crudelem, durum, belli cui ſæva voluptas,
Judicio horrendum, precibus manſueſcere nullis.
Eſſe alium ſuadens, nulli qui cognitus unquam,
Hunc ait eſſe bonum, nullum qui judicat, æquè
Sed ſpargit cunctis vitam, non invidet ulli.]

Of affinity to this was the errour of the *Manichees*, who ſuppoſed two firſt cauſes of things, one of *good*, the other of *bad*, taken it ſeems from the *Perſian*, *Egyptian*, or other *Ethnical* doctrines, which to this purpoſe we may ſee recited by *Plutarch* in his Tractate *de Iſide & Oſiride*: the *Perſian* from *Zoroaſter*, he tells us, had their *Oromazes* and *Arimanius*; the *Egyptians* their *Oſiris* and *Typhon*; the *Chaldæans* their good and bad Planets; the *Greeks* their *Zeus* and *Hades*; the *Pythagoreans* their Μονὰς and Δυὰς; *Empedocles* his Concord and Diſcord, &c. The common reaſon or ground upon which erroneous conceits were built, was this: That there being in nature ſome things imperfect and bad, theſe could not proceed from perfect goodneſs; it would have produced all things in higheſt perfection, and in indefectible ſtate of goodneſs.

Plut. de Iſ. & Oſir. p. 659. Steph. Gr.

Ἐι γὰρ ἀΐδιον ἀναιτίως πέφυκε γενέσθαι, αἰτίαν ὃ κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν ἐκ ἂν παρέσχοι, δεῖ γενέσιν ἰδίαν τῇ ἀρχὴν, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς, τῇ κακῷ τ φύσιν ἔχειν, &c.

(If, diſcourſeth *Plutarch* there, expreſſing the main of their argument, nothing naturally can ariſe without cauſe, and good cannot afford cauſality to evil, it is neceſſary that nature ſhould have a proper ſeed and principle of evil, as well as good: and thus it ſeems to the moſt and wiſeſt for they indeed conceive two Gods as it were counter-plotting each other one the contriver and producer of good things, and the other of bad; calling the better one, *God*; the other, *Dæmon*.)

But this diſcourſe hath two great faults; it ſuppoſeth ſomething imperfect and evil, which is not truly ſo; and that which is truly imperfect and evil, it aſſigneth to a wrong cauſe; it ſuppoſeth ſome things, according to their original conſtitution imperfect and evil; which is falſe: there was no creature, which did not at firſt paſs the divine approbation:

Gen. 1. 31. *God ſaw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good.* Good; th

that is, convenient and ſuitable to its deſign; fair and decent in its place and proportion: Very good; that is, altogether perfect in its degree; without any blemiſh or flaw; not liable to any juſt exception: there be indeed degrees of perfection, (it was fit there ſhould be ſuch, in great variety; that things might commend and illuſtrate each other,) ſome things may comparatively be ſaid to be imperfect, or leſs excellent in reſpect of others; but nothing is poſitively bad or imperfect, void of that perfection due to its nature and kind. Every thing contributes ſomething to the uſe and ornament of the whole; no weed that grows out of the earth; no worm that creeps upon the ground, but hath its beauty and yields ſome profit; nothing is deſpicable or abominable, though all things not alike admirable and amiable. There is nothing therefore unfit or unworthy to have proceeded from God; nothing which doth not in ſome ſort and degree conferr to the manifeſtation of his glorious wiſdom, power, and goodneſs. *O Lord*, (ſaith the devout Pſalmiſt, after particular conſideration of them) *how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches. He created all things that they might have their being, and the generations of the world were healthfull; and there is no poiſon of deſtruction in them*; ſaith the *Hebrew* Wiſe-man. Pſal. 104. 24. Sap. 1. 14.

As for thoſe real imperfections and evils (moral evils; habitual diſtempers, irregular actions, with all the miſchiefs conſequent on them) we need not ſeek any one eternal cauſe for them: [though order and uniformity do, diſorder and confuſion do not argue any unity of cauſe, whence they ſhould proceed:] the true cauſes of them are notorious enough; Men (or other intellectual agents) their voluntary declining from the way God doth preſcribe them; diſobeying his laws and precepts; tranſgreſſing the dictates of their own reaſons; abuſing their own faculties; perverting themſelves and others (by their bad example, perſuaſion, allurement, or violence,) theſe cauſes of ſuch evils are moſt viſible and palpable, they are called our ways, our works, our inventions; they are imputed altogether to us; we are blamed, we are puniſhed for them. Nor need we to inquire any other principle of them; no (*Arimanius*, no uncreated *Cacodæmon*, no eternal fate to father them upon.)

As for other evils of grief and pain incident to the nature, or conſequent upon the actions of any being, they are ſuch as God himſelf (without any derogation to his goodneſs) may in his wiſdom or juſtice be author of; for ends ſometimes apparent to our underſtanding, ſometimes ſurpaſſing its reach; It may ſuffice that God challengeth to himſelf the being cauſe of them: * *Shall there be any evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* † *Doth not evil and Good proceed out of the mouth of the moſt High?* ‖ *I am the Lord and there is none elſe, I form the light and create darkneſs, I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all theſe things.* For theſe evils therefore is it in vain to ſearch for any other cauſe, than God's juſt providence. But I will not trouble you farther in conſidering the miſtakes of thoſe blind Philoſophers or blaſphemous Hereticks. Mali nulla natura eſt, ſed amiſſio boni mali nomen accepit. *Aug. de Civ. D. XI. 9.* Rom. 11. 33. * Amos 3. 6. † Lam. 3. 38. ‖ Iſa. 45. 57.

I will only briefly touch upon a conſideration or two (concerning the manner how and the reaſon why God did make the world) which will commend it to us and ground ſomewhat of our duty, and direct our practice in reſpect thereto. The manner of God's producing the World was altogether voluntary, abſolutely free: It did not proceed from him as heat doth from the fire, or light from the ſun by a natural or neceſſary emanation (as ſome Philoſophers have conceited, ſome later *Platoniſts*, and ſome *Stoicks*) but from his wiſe counſel, and free choice. (He could have Non poteſt aliter facere qui non facit niſi optima. Ipſe eſt neceſſitas ſua. *Sen. Nat. Qu. præf.* Vid. Baſil. pag. 10.

have abſtained from making the World, he could have made it otherwiſe.)
Rev. 4. 11. *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honour, and power, for thou haſt created all things, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημα σου, and for,* or *by thy will* (or *pleaſure*) *they are and were created,* ſay the Elders in the Revelation. 'Tis
Eph. 1. 11. the property of God (St. *Paul* tells us) *to perform all things according to the counſel of his will.* He could not be fatally determined, there being no ſuperiour cauſe to conſtrain him. He could not be obliged to impart any perfection being maſter of all, and debtour to none: it would deſtroy all ground of our thankfulneſs and devotion if God was not a free agent. And 'tis plain if the world had been produced by neceſſary emanation, that it ſhould have been eternal; as if the ſun had been eternal, the light had been ſo. But that the world was produced in time and that not long ſince (within five or ſix thouſand years,) not only faith and divine Chronology aſſure us, but reaſon alſo ſhews, and all hiſtory conſpires to make us believe; there being no monuments, or probable memory of actions beyond that time, and by what progreſſions mankind was propagated and diſperſed over the world; how and when, and where nations were planted, and empires raiſed, and cities built, and arts invented or improved it is eaſie enough to trace near the original times and places. The world therefore in reſpect of time conceivable by us is very young and not many ſucceſſions of men's lives have paſt between its beginning and ours. Whence 'tis evident that it was freely produced by God. And how he produced it the Scripture farther teaches us; not with any laborious care or toil; not with help of any engines or inſtruments ſubſervient; not by inducing any preparatory diſpoſitions, but ψιλῷ τῷ βέλεσθαι (as *Clem. Alexand.* ſpeaks) by
Adv. Herm. 45. his meer will and word (theſe were the hands (as *Tertullian* expounds it
Pſal. 102. 25. by which 'tis ſaid *God made the heavens*) at his call they did all immediately ſpring up out of nothing; at his command they obediently ranged themſelves into order. It was not only a high ſtrain of Rhetorick in *Moſes*
Sect. 7. (as *Longinus* ſuppoſed) but a moſt proper expreſſion of that incomprehenſible efficacy, which attends the divine will and decree.

But (ſince God did not only make the world freely but wiſely, and all wiſe agents act to ſome purpoſe, aim at ſome end) why did God make the world, it may be asked, what reaſon induced him thereto? I anſwer with
Sen. Epiſt. 65. *Plato,* ἀγαθὸς ἦν, (*Quæris quid propoſitum ſit Deo? Bonitas: ità certè Plato ait: Quæ Deo faciendi mundum cauſa fuit? Bonus eſt, nulla cujuſquam boni invidia eſt:*) He was good: His natural benignity and munificence was the only motive that incited (or invited) him to this great action of imparting exiſtence, and ſuitable perfection to his creatures reſpectively. No benefit or emolument could hence accrue to him; no acceſſion of beatitude: he did not need any profit or pleaſure from without himſelf; being full within, rich in all perfection, completely happy in the contemplation
Pſal. 16. 2. and enjoyment of himſelf. Our goodneſs doth not extend to God, we
Job 22. 2. cannot any wiſe advance or amplify him thereby: *Can a man* (ſaith *Eliphaz*, can any creature) *be profitable to God?* no: goodneſs is freely diffuſive and communicative of it ſelf; love is active and fruitfull; higheſt excellence is void of all envy, and ſelfiſhneſs and tenacity: theſe being intrin-
1 Joh. 4. 8, 16. ſecal to God's nature (*for God is love*; that is, eſſentially loving and good, did diſpoſe him to beſtow ſo much of being, beauty, delight, and comfort
Pſal. 33. 5. upon his creatures. Hence, *the earth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *is full of the good-*
119. 64. *neſs of the Lord*; that is, every creature therein is an effect thereof; par-
Pſal. 145. 9. takes thereof in its being and enjoyments. *The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works* (his tender mercies, *rachamavi*, his bowels of affection) Good and tender over all his works, as well in producing

ducing them as preſerving them; in rendring them at firſt capable to receive Good, as in providing for and diſpenſing good unto them. *That thou giveſt them, they gather* ('tis ſpoken in reſpect to the whole univerſity of creatures:) *Thou openeſt thy hand, they are all filled with good*; 'tis from God's open hand (his immenſe bounty and liberality) all creatures do receive all that good, which fills and ſatiates them. A glimpſe of which truth the ancient heathens ſeemed to have, when they delivered (as *Ariſtotle* tells us,) that love was the original principle of things: [πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μεδίσασθο πάντων, is a verſe he cites out of *Parmenides*.] Pſal. 104. 28. Ariſt. Metaph. l. 4.

But I will not inſiſt longer upon this point; only I ſhall briefly touch ſome Uſes the belief and conſideration thereof will afford to us.

The belief thereof muſt neceſſarily beget in us the higheſt eſteem, admiration, and adoration of God and his excellencies: what a power muſt that be (how unconceivably great both intenſively and extenſively?) that could erect ſo ſpeedily, ſo eaſily, ſuch a ſtupendiouſly vaſt frame (vaſt beyond the reach of our ſenſe, of our imagination, of any rational collection we can make) the earth we dwell upon, divided into ſo many great empires, full of ſo many inhabitants, bearing ſuch variety of creatures different in kind, having in reſpect to the whole but the like proportion as a little ſand to the earth it ſelf, or a drop to the great Ocean? What a wiſdom muſt that be, (how incomprehenſibly large and penetrant,) that could contrive ſuch an innumerable number of creatures (the artifice that appears in one in the leaſt of which doth ſo far tranſcend our conceit) could digeſt them ſo fitly, and connect them ſo firmly in ſuch order? what a goodneſs and benignity muſt it be (how immenſe and boundleſs) that did extend it ſelf in affection and care, for ſo many creatures, providing abundantly for the needs and comfort of them all? how tranſcendently glorious is the Majeſty of him that was author of all thoſe beauties and ſtrengths; thoſe ſplendours and magnificencies we with ſo much pleaſure and ſo much aſtoniſhment behold? Well might the devout Pſalmiſt and the divine prophets hence ſo often take occaſion to excite us to praiſe and celebrate the perfections of God. Well might even heathen philoſophers from the contemplation of the World be raiſed unto the compoſing of Hymns and Elogies of the Great Maker of the World.

It alſo will conferr to the begetting of humble love and affection and gratitude toward God: what can be more efficacious to this purpoſe than to conſider, that all we have, all we with ſo much content and pleaſure enjoy (our ſelves firſt, then all the accommodations and comforts we find) did proceed from him; did proceed with particular intention from ſpecial good-will toward us; a moſt free good-will, moved with no merit of ours, no profit to himſelf: *when I conſider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and ſtars, which thou haſt ordained, what is man that thou art mindfull of him?* was the Pſalmiſt's contemplation; that the author of ſo great and glorious a work ſhould vouchſafe to regard ſo mean a thing as we, to viſit us with a provident care of our welfare, what a demonſtration of admirable condeſcenſion, grace, and goodneſs is this? what an argument of love and thankfulneſs toward him? What is man? what in compariſon of him that made the world? what is our ſtrength in reſpect of his, what our wit, what our goodneſs, what any quality of ours? how weak, vain, narrow, poor and wretched creatures muſt we needs ſeem to our ſelves, when we ſeriouſly conſider thoſe excellencies diſplayed in the creation? how ſhould this humble and depreſs us in our conceits concerning our ſelves? eſpecially if we reflect upon our ingratitude, our unprofitableneſs,

Cogitavit res ante natura, quas fecit. *Sen. de benef.* 2. 23.

Pſal. 8. 3.

Sen. de Ira 27. Nimis nos ſuſpicimus ſi digni nobis videmus propter quos tanta moveantur.

fitableneſs, our unjuſtice toward the author thereof: how none, or how ſcant returns we have made to him, who gave to us and all things their being, their all; how faint in our acknowledgments, how negligent in our ſervice we have been; how frequently we have oppoſed his will and abuſed his goodneſs. Farther, it is an inducement to truſt and hope in God, and a great conſolation in all needs and diſtreſſes. He that was able to do ſo great things, and was willing to do ſo much for us; he that becauſe
Dan. 4. 35. he made all things can diſpoſe of all and doth whatever pleaſeth him in heaven and earth; ſhall we diſtruſt or doubt of his protection and ſuccour
Pſal. 121. 2. 124. 8. in our need? *My help* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth:* well might he be aſſured, having recourſe to ſo potent and faithfull an aid: and again: *Happy is he that hath the God of*
Pſal. 146. 5. *Jacob for his help, whoſe hope is in the Lord his God, which made heaven and earth, the ſea and all that therein is.* The prophet *Jeremy* begins his prayer
Jer. 32. 17. thus: *O Lord God behold thou haſt made heaven and earth by thy great power and ſtretched-out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee.* The creation of the world is ſuch an experiment of God's power and goodneſs, as may well ſupport our faith in the greateſt difficulties and diſtreſſes, it is finally a general incitement to all obedience: which from God's production of all things doth appear due and reaſonable. All other things obey the law
Iſa. 48. 13. 40. 26. impoſed on them; inſiſt in the Courſe preſcribed to them. And ſhall
Job 9. 5. 26. 11. we be only diſobedient and refractary; irregular and exorbitant? ſhall all the hoſts of heaven readily and punctually obey God's ſummons? ſhall the
Job 38. 11. Jer. 5. 21. pillars of heaven tremble and be aſtoniſhed at his reproof? ſhall the ſea,
Pſal. 48. 8. with its proud waves, be confined by his decree? ſhall fire and hail, ſnow and vapour, and ſtormy winds (ſuch rude and boiſterous things) fulfill his word? and ſhall we be unruly and rebellious? But I leave the farther improvement of this doctrine to your meditation: Concluding with that
Rev. 14. 7. exhortation of the angel in the Revelation: *Fear God, and give glory to him: worſhip him that made heaven and earth, and the ſea, and the fountains of water:* Even to him be all obedience, adoration, and praiſe for ever and ever. *Amen.*

THE Firſt part of the Creed, concerning *God the Father*, we have largely inſiſted upon; the next in order (as is fit) ſucceeds that part thereof, which relates to *his ever Bleſſed Son, our Lord and Saviour:* the faith in whom; that is, the believing him to be, what he profeſſed himſelf, what he and his firſt Diſciples did teach concerning him, is the principal and peculiar duty of our Religion as Chriſtian, and diſtinct from all other Religions; the ſum of which doctrine is contained in what follows; wherein our Saviour, the object of this faith, is deſcribed and determined unto us, firſt by his proper name *Jeſus*; next by his moſt notable and comprehenſive title *Chriſt*; then by his relations, unto *God* firſt, *His only Son*; then unto us, *Our Lord*; laſtly by ſeveral illuſtrious accidents, and circumſtances appertaining to him, (his *conception, nativity, paſſion, crucifixion, death, burial deſcent into hell, reſurrection, aſcenſion, ſeſſion at God's right hand:*) which particulars I ſhall endeavour to proſecute ſomewhat more briefly.

JESUS.

Eccl. 46. 1. THIS Name (not unuſual among the *Jews*; for we read of divers in Scripture, that bear it) who, according to his Name (ſaith *Sira-*
Coloſſ. 4. 11. *cides*) was great for the ſaving of God's elect; *Jeſus the ſon of Juſtus. Jeſus the ſon of Sirach, Bar-Jeſus*; and eſpecially the famous *Jeſus the ſo-*

of Num; and many others ſo named occurr in *Joſephus :)* this name I ſay, was, by God's direction, impoſed upon our Saviour, at his *Circumciſion*, for the ſignificancy of it, as importing the performance of that great deſign, for which he was ſent into the world, the ſalvation of mankind from ſin and miſery : (for it is ſaid : *The Son of man came to ſave the ſouls of men ; and to ſave that which was loſt : that God ſent him into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world by him ſhould be ſaved : that he came into the world to ſave ſinners :)* that is the reaſon rendred by the Angel of this name being aſſigned to him : *She ſhall bear a ſon, and thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus ; for he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins :* from their ſins, taking in all the cauſes and conſequences of them : from all thoſe ſpiritual enemies, which draw or drive us into them : from the guilt and obnoxiouſneſs to puniſhment ; the terrour and anguiſh of conſcience ; the wrath and diſpleaſure of God following upon them ; the ſlavery under their dominion ; the final condemnation and ſufferance of grievous pains for them : from all theſe miſchiefs he came to free and ſave us from, and did actually perform his part in accompliſhing that ſalvation ; and was therefore properly called *Jeſus*, or *the Saviour.* *To ſave us from our enemies* (I ſay) *and from the hands of all that hate us*, (ſo *Zachary* in his *Benedictus)* from the Devil firſt ; *For this purpoſe*, (ſaith St. *John*) *the Son of God did appear, that he might diſſolve the works of the Devil*, thoſe works of tempting, and impelling us to ſin. *He went about* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *doing benefits, and healing all that were * over powered* (or over-ruled) *by the Devil*, (poſſeſſed by him whether in body or mind :) *By his death* (the Author to the *Hebrews* tells us) *he did defeat him who had the power of death* ; that is, *the Devil :* He combated and conquered this ſtrong one (this dreadfull and mighty foe of ours) and bound him, and diſarmed him of his † panoply ; and ‖ ſpoiled all his baggage ; leaving him unable (without our own fault, our baſeneſs or negligence) to do us miſchief, as is inſinuated in *Matth.* 12. and *Luk.* 11.) Our own fleſhly deſire, inclining us to vicious exceſs, in ſenſual enjoyments, (another powerfull and miſchievous enemy of ours) he by his grace (enlightning and ſtrengthening us) doth ſave us from : *The law of the ſpirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus* (ſaith St. *Paul) hath freed me from the law of ſin and death* : and the world (which often ſollicits, and ſometimes would force us to wickedneſs) he delivers us from, vanquiſhing it in our behalf : *Be of good courage* (ſaith he) *for I have overcome the world : In all theſe things* (in the temptations and perſecutions of all our enemies) *we do more than conquer, through Chriſt that loved us.* As for our conſcience, 'tis the bloud of Chriſt that cleanſes it from the ſtain of guilt ; that delivers it from the fear of puniſhment ; as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* doth aſſure us. And the wrath of God toward us he hath appeaſed ; ſo that *being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt :* and, *If being enemies, we were reconciled by the death of his Son ; much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life :* We ſhall be ſaved from all condemnation and vengeance due to us : for *there is now no condemnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus :* ---*Jeſus, * that delivers us from the wrath to come.* In ſo many * ὁ ῥυόμενος ἡμᾶς reſpects is this bleſſed Perſon *our Jeſus* ; ſaving us from all our enemies, our ſins, our miſeries ; which he performs ſeveral ways ; and in ſeveral reſpects may therefore be ſtyled *our Saviour.*

Luk. 2. 21. Luk. 9. 56. Matt. 18. 11. Joh. 3. 17. 12. 47. 1 Tim. 1. 15. Mat. 1. 21. Luk. 1. 71. 1 Joh. 3. 8. Act. 10. 38. * καταδυναστευομένους. Heb. 2. 14. Matt. 12. 42. Luk. 11. 21, 22. † παυοπλίαν αὐτοῦ. ‖ σκεύη διαρπάσαι. Rom. 8. 2. Joh. 16. 33. 1 Joh. 5. 4. Rom. 8. 37. Heb. 9. 14. Heb. 2. 15. Rom. 5. 9, 10. Rom. 8. 1. 1 Theſſ. 1. 10.

1. By his conduct of us into, and in the way of ſalvation : It is a very proper title, and moſt due to thoſe brave Captains, who by their wiſdom and valour have freed their people from ſtreights and oppreſſions. So generally were thoſe Judges and Captains, who anciently delivered

Israel, called: *In the time of their trouble* (said the *Levites* in their prayer in *Nehemiah*) *when they cried unto thee, thou heardest them from heaven, and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them Saviours, who saved them out of the hand of the enemy:* so particularly are *Othniel* and *Ehud* called; and *Moses* signally: *The same* (saith St. *Stephen*) *did God send to be* (ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν) *a Commander and a Saviour* (or *Redeemer*;) as he who by his happy conduct did free them from *Egyptian* slavery. So is *Jesus* called ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, (*the Captain of our Salvation*, Heb. 2. 10.) ἀρχηγὸς ζωῆς, (*the Captain of life, the chief leader of us into the way of eternal life and salvation*, Acts 3. 15.) ἀρχηγὸς πίστεως (*the Captain of our faith*, he that brought us into the belief of that saving doctrine, which is *the power of God to salvation*, Heb. 12. 2. Rom. 1. 16.) and these titles we find together attributed to him, (*Acts* 5. 31.) *Him hath God exalted,* ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα, *as a Captain and Saviour.* And thus hath he conducted us first by instruction, shewing and teaching us the way of salvation, (the doing of which we see often called *Saving*; because it hath so much efficacy towards the effecting Salvation) God's gracious intentions of mercy toward us; the conditions of duty required by God from us; the great encouragements to saving obedience, and determents from destructive disobedience; the whole will of God, and concernment of man respecting salvation, he hath revealed unto us: *No man hath ever seen God,* (not his face or nature; not his purpose and pleasure) *the only begotten Son, being in the bosom of the Father,* (ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο) *he hath reported and expounded him unto us:* all that excellent doctrine, which he that heartily believes, and faithfully practises according to, shall infallibly be saved, he was the first author and doctor of: *God saved and called us* (as St. *Paul* tells us) *with a holy call* (called us out of the way of error and wickedness and misery, into the way of truth, and righteousness and happiness) *according to his purpose and grace* (his gracious design *that was bestowed upon us in Christ Jesus before the world began*; but being now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who hath abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel. By him the σωτήριος χάρις (*the grace of God that bringeth salvation*) *did appear to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, and righteously, and piously in this world.* Neither by his doctrine only, but by his example and real performance he hath conducted us in the same blessed path: He hath resolutely marched before us through all the most difficult and dangerous passages charging, beating back and breaking through all the forces of our enemies; enduring painfully the most furious assaults of the world; and powerfully subduing the most malicious rage of hell. *O death, where is thy sting? O hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God who hath given us the victory by our Lord Jesus Christ.* Victory and salvation (from death and hell) we shall be certain of, if we *pursue his steps,* and do not basely or falsly desert so good a leader---*If with patience we run the race that is set before us, looking unto the captain and perfecter of our faith Jesus, who for the joy proposed unto him, endured the cross, despised the shame, and hath set down at the right hand of the throne of God.* Would it not raise and enflame any courage to see his Commander adventure so boldly upon all dangers, to endure so willingly all hardships?

Neh. 9. 27.

Judg. 3. 9, 15.
Acts 7. 35.

Thus *Demetrius*, by the *Athenians*, was entitled ἐυεργέτης καὶ σωτὴρ; for delivering them from the *Macedonian* subjection, and restoring to them their liberty.

Rom. 11. 14.
1 Cor. 9. 22.
1 Tim. 4. 16.
Jam. 5. 20.

Joh. 1. 18.

2 Tim. 1. 9.

Ἵνα γένηται πρωτότοκος ἐν νεκροῖς, καὶ δόδοποιήσῃ τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ φύσει εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν ὁδόν. Cyr. Alex.

Tit. 2. 11, 12.

1 Cor. 15. 55, 57.

1 Pet. 2. 21.
Heb. 12. 2.

2. But he was also farther (in a more excellent and peculiar manner) our Saviour, in that he purchased for us salvation; freeing us from the captivity we were detained in; from the obnoxiousness to punishmen-

we were ſubjected to; by yielding himſelf a ranſom for us, offering his life a ſacrifice for our ſins; procuring by his merit and ſuffering, in our ſtead and behalf, the pardon of our ſins, and reconciliation with God. *Him* (ſay *Peter* and the Apoſtles) *hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Iſrael and remiſſion of ſins.* Acts 5. 31. He gave himſelf, ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων (a ranſom inſtead of all.) 1 Tim. 2. 6. We have redemption through his bloud, the forgiveneſs of ſins, according to the riches of his grace. Matt. 20. 28. Ephes. 1. 7. He bare himſelf our ſins in his own body upon the tree. Col. 1. 14. He by the eternal ſpirit offered up himſelf a ſpotleſs (ſacrifice) to God; being thereby a propitiation for our ſins and the ſins of the whole world. Vid. 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. God by him did reconcile the world unto himſelf, not imputing unto them their tranſgreſſions. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Heb. 9. 14. 1 Joh. 2. 2. 4. 10. Thus doth the Scripture declare *Jeſus* to have been our Saviour: For he not only leads us in the way, but (as a gracious reward of our faithfull and conſtant adherence to him) has given us the promiſe of eternal joy and happineſs. ἱλασμὸς. ἱλαστήριον. Rom. 3. 25.

3. He is thirdly our Saviour by communication of ſpiritual ſtrength and power, whereby we are inabled to reſiſt and overcome the enemies of our ſoul and our ſalvation; freeing us from the dominion of ſin and Satan. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Col. 1. 20. Our own reaſon, however aided by exteriour inſtruction, and excitement, being unable to deal with thoſe powerfull temptations, oppoſitions and diſcouragements we are to encounter with, he hath given us a wiſe and powerfull ſpirit, to guide and adviſe us; to excite, and encourage us; to relieve and ſuccour us in all our religious practiſe and welfare; ſo that all deliverance from the prevalency of temptation and ſin, we owe to his grace and aſſiſtance: By our faithfull embracing Chriſt's doctrine and yoke---*Our old man is crucified with him, that the body of ſin may be deſtroyed, ſo that we henceforth ſhould not ſerve ſin:* Sin ſhall no longer lord it over us, becauſe we *are not under the law, but under grace; being freed from ſin, we are ſubjected to righteouſneſs: and made ſervants to God; having our fruit unto holineſs; and the end everlaſting life: The law of the ſpirit of life in chriſt Jeſus hath freed us from the law of ſin and of death:* Thus is Jeſus our Saviour. Rom. 6. 6, 14, 18, 22. Rom. 8. 2.

4. He is ſo, laſtly, by final conferring upon us, and crowning us with ſalvation: He not only lead us in the way, and hath purchaſed for us the means, and helps us in the proſecution, and hath promiſed unto us, but will actually beſtow upon us (as a gracious reward of our faithfull and conſtant adherence to him) eternal joy and happineſs. *I have fought the good fight, I have finiſhed the race, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous judge ſhall give me at that day; and not to me only but to all them alſo that ſhall have loved his appearance. He is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt, that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them. Thou haſt given him* (thou, O father, to thy Son Jeſus haſt given) *the power of all fleſh, that he ſhould give eternal life to all that thou haſt given him* (that is to all, who by God's grace have perſiſted in faithfull obedience to him.) *The glory which thou haſt given me, I have given unto them.* 2 Tim. 4. 8. Heb. 7. 25. Joh. 17. 2, 22. Heb. 12. 2. Thus is he the ἀρχηγὸς καὶ τελειωτὴς, the *beginner, carrier on,* and *accompliſher* of our ſalvation: and therefore moſt appoſitely was named *Jeſus*; the name, which anciently that moſt valiant and ſucceſsful Captain did bear, who did of all moſt livelily repreſent and prefignifie him, and had therefore queſtionleſs by God's ſecret Providence his name aſſigned him.

I need not now much to mind you, what reſpect, what love, what gratitude the very mention of this name, the conſideration of theſe benefits

towards us implyed thereby, ſhould beget in us. He that ſhould freely, with great inconvenience to himſelf come out of his own way, to ſhew us ours, bringing us out of a road tending unto certain deſtruction, into a moſt pleaſant and ſafe way, ſurely leading unto the end of our deſires, we ſhould think our ſelves much obliged unto: He that ſhould draw us out of a wretched ſlavery, deſtitute of all eaſe, comfort or hope, by frankly yielding up himſelf a ranſom for us, we could not know how ſufficiently to value his kindneſs toward us: He that, when we were ſentenced to death, (a death of torment endleſs and remedileſs) ſhould not only expoſe his life for our delivery, but undergo
Joh. 15. 13. willingly a painfull and diſgracefull execution in our ſtead; what ſhould we think of his friendſhip? what expreſſion could reach it? He laſtly, that from a ſtate of extreme penury, baſeneſs, and diſconſolacy, ſhould raiſe us to the higheſt pitch of wealth, dignity, and happineſs, how could we worthily thank him? how love or honour him enough? This and much more; much more than we can conceive or expreſs hath Jeſus done for us: well therefore ought our hearts to melt with affection in thinking of him, our knees to bend with reverence at the mention of his Name. It concerns us alſo to take care, that his ſo excellent endeavours for our ſalvation be not fruſtrated, that he be as well in effect, as deſign,
Heb. 2. 3. and vertue, our Saviour: what a folly were it, what a crime *to neglect* (to render uſeleſs and ineffectual) *ſo great ſalvation*?

CHRIST.

1 King. 19. 15. 'TIs a title, or name importing office and dignity; the ſame with *Meſſias*; this in Greek, that in Hebrew ſignifying *The Anointed*. Of ancient times in the Eaſtern countries (abounding as with good oil ſo with many delicate odoriferous ſpices) it ſeems, by *Hazael* his inunction, to have been the manner (it was ſo however among the Jews) to ſeparate (or conſecrate) perſons (and things too, I might add) deſigned to great and extraordinary employments, by anointing them with
Vid. Exod. 30. 23, &c. ointments compoſed of thoſe ingredients; ſymbolizing (or devoting) it ſeems thereby both a plentifull effuſion upon them of gifts, qualifying them for their employment, and a comfortable and pleaſant diffuſion of good and gratefull effects expected from them; from the uſe of things
Cant. 1. 2. and the performances of perſons ſo ſanctified. *Thy Name* (ſaith the Spouſe
Vid. Pſal. 133. in the *Canticles*) *is an ointment powered forth*? that is, very delightfull and acceptable; and ſo were thoſe offices hoped to be, to which men by ſuch unction were conſecrated. We find eſpecially three ſorts of perſons, to whom this conſecration did belong, by divine appointment: Kings, and Prieſts, and Prophets; who are therefore (all of them) ſtyled *God's anointed*, Kings and Prieſts more frequently; but ſometimes alſo Prophets: *Touch*
1 Chro. 16. 22. *not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm*; where *prophets* and *anointed* do ſeem to denote the ſame thing, and to expound one the other; for *Abraham* (whom with the other Patriarchs thoſe words do concern) is
* Gen. 20. 7. called a * *Prophet*, and becauſe ſo, ſeems here ſtiled *God's anointed*.) Of *Prieſts*, (though at firſt all the ſons of *Aaron* were thus conſecrated, ac-
Exod. 40. 15. Exod. 30. 30. cording to that law) Exod. 30. 30. *Thou ſhalt anoint Aaron and his ſons that they may miniſter unto me in the Prieſts office*; yet they tell us, that afterward in all courſe of times only the High-prieſt was ſo conſecrated
Levit. 4. 3, 5, 16. whence *the Anointed*, or the Prieſt that is anointed did ſignify *the High-prieſt* (in diſtinction to other inferiour Prieſts.) Of *Kings*, all that ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Iſrael* in a legal and orderly courſe; and thoſe whom

whom God did himſelf by extraordinary deſignation conferr that dignity upon, were ſo ſeparated; (as *Hazael*, and *Jehu**.) *Prophets*, we do not find that they were commonly or according to any rule *anointed*: but one plain inſtance we have of *Eliſha*, ſubſtituted to *Elijah* in this manner; it ſeems as being a prophet more than ordinary, endued with higher gifts, and deſigned to greater performances than common prophets were. Now whereas the people of the Jews were by prophetical admonitions brought into an opinion and hope, that in times to come God would ſend an extraordinary prophet: *I will raiſe them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and I will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him*; a prophet, who ſhould eſtabliſh a new covenant with the houſe of *Iſrael*; and is therefore called *the meſſenger of the covenant*, Mal. 1. 3. who ſhould propagate the knowledge and worſhip of God; ſhould enlighten and convert the Gentiles; who ſhould inſtruct the ignorant, ſtrengthen the faint, comfort the afflicted according to many paſſages concerning him in the prophets: as for inſtance, that in *Iſaiah* LXI. 1. cited by St. *Luke*, Luk. IV. 18. *The ſpirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe the Lord hath anointed me to preach Good tidings unto the meek; he hath ſent me to bind up the broken-hearted*, &c. And that in the ſame prophet, chap. XLII. 1. alledged by St. *Matthew*, Matt. XII. 18. *Behold my ſervant, whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my ſoul delighteth; I have put my ſpirit upon him, he ſhall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He ſhall not cry*, &c. Which being inſpired, is the qualification of a prophet; and ſuch promulgation of God's will; ſuch miniſtration of comfort and counſel from God are the proper offices of a prophet, (that is, of an eſpecial miniſter and agent ſent by God to tranſact his affairs with men and ſhew them his pleaſure.) This perſon alſo the Jews did from the ſame inſtructions expect to be a Prince, who ſhould govern them in righteouſneſs and in proſperity; endued with power to deliver them from all oppreſſion and ſlavery; to ſubdue their enemies; and reduce all nations under ſubjection to their laws; according to thoſe predictions; Iſa. 32. 1. *Behold a King ſhall reign in righteouſneſs*, &c. Pſal. 110. 2. *The Lord ſhall ſend the rod of thy ſtrength out of Sion, rule thou in the midſt of thine enemies.* Jer. 23. 5. and 33. 15. *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto David a righteous branch; and a King ſhall reign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth; in his days Judah ſhall be ſaved, and Iſrael ſhall dwell ſafely*: and Jer. 30. 8. *It ſhall come to paſs in that day, ſaith the Lord, I will break his yoke from off thy neck, and will burſt thy bonds, and ſtrangers ſhall no more ſerve themſelves of him: But they ſhall ſerve the Lord their God, and David their King, whom I will raiſe up unto them.* Iſa. 11. 1, 10. *And there ſhall come forth a rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch ſhall grow out of his roots: And the ſpirit of the Lord ſhall be upon him*, &c.---*he ſhall ſtand for an Enſign of the people, to it ſhall the Gentiles ſeek, and his reſt ſhall be glorious*: and many more places clearly ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe. That this Great perſon alſo ſhould be a Prieſt, they did or might have learned from the ſame Prophets: for of him *Zechariah* thus foretold: *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts; Behold the man whoſe name is the Branch*, (a name in ſo many places appropriated to the Meſſias) *and he ſhall grow up out of his place, and he ſhall build the temple of the Lord; even he ſhall build the Temple of the Lord, and he ſhall bear the glory; and ſhall ſit and rule upon his throne; And he ſhall be a prieſt upon his throne, and the counſel of peace ſhall be between them both.* Of him alſo *David* ſpake: *The Lord hath ſworn and will not repent; Thou art a prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck*: From divers paſſages alſo concerning his perfor-

*1 King. 19. 15.

1 King. 19. 16.

Deut. 18. 15, 18.

Vid. Ezek. 34. 23, &c. 37. 24. Hoſ. 3. 5.

Vid. Iſa. 9. 7. 16. 5.

Zech. 6. 12.

Pſal. 110. 4.

performances of propitiation and benediction they might have collected the ſame. It is no wonder then, that the ancient Jews (although the text of Scripture does not, except once in the 9th. of *Daniel*, apply this name of *Chriſt* or *Meſſias* to this perſon, ſo promiſed and propheſied of) did attribute eſpecially this title to him, it ſeeming moſt proper of any, and moſt comprehenſive; implying all the privileges, endowments, and performances belonging to him: 'tis obſerved that the *Chaldee* Paraphraſe (compoſed by the Prieſts, as an interpretation of the leſs exactly underſtood ancient Hebrew Scripture, for the benefit and inſtruction of the
Vid. Neh. 8. 8. people) doth expreſsly mention the *Meſſias* in above ſeventy places; and according to their Expoſitions we ſee that the People did confidently ex-
Joh. 4. 25. pect a perſon (under this name and notion) ſhould come: *I know* (ſaid the Woman of *Samaria*, ſo far had this belief extended) *that the Meſſias comes; and when he ſhall come, he will tell us all things:* (Obſerve, that they did promiſe to themſelves a full declaration of all truth by the *Meſſias*.) And when St. *John* the Baptiſt did live and teach in a manner extraordi-
Luk. 3. 15. nary, 'tis ſaid, *That the people did expect, and all men muſed in their hearts concerning him whether he were the Chriſt, or not:* And when our Saviour's
Joh. 7. 31. admirable works and diſcourſes had convinced divers, they ſaid: *When Chriſt cometh, ſhall he do greater miracles than this man hath done?* So that 'tis evident, the belief and expectation of a *Meſſias* to come was general among them. And that indeed *Jeſus* was ſuch, in correſpondency to all thoſe prophecies, and the characters in them deſcribed and preſignified, that he was ſignally choſen and conſecrated by God, in a manner ſupereminent, to all theſe offices Prophetical, Regal, and Sacerdotal
Act. 10. 38. the New Teſtament doth abundantly ſhew us. *Him* (ſaith St. *Peter* in general) *God anointed with the holy Spirit, and Power:* not with external affuſion of material oil (that did only ſignifie, as *Cyrus* alſo was not, who yet is called *God's Meſſias*) but with real infuſion of divine grace and power, enabling him to execute all thoſe great and extraordinary functions: with this gladſome oil he was thoroughly perfumed and replenished, without meaſure: with this he was ſanctified from the womb
Pſal. 45. 5. when the *power of the higheſt did overſhadow him*, at or in his conception
Luk. 4. 1. with this, at his Baptiſm, he was ſolemnly and viſibly inaugurated; when
Joh. 3. 34. the Heavens were opened unto him, and the Spirit of God *deſcended upon*
Matt. 3. 16. *him as a Dove, and came upon him:* with this in all the courſe of his life
Acts 10. 38. and miniſtery he was continually accompanied; the vertue of it being in moſt ſenſible effects of wiſe and gracious diſcourſe; holy and blameleſs converſation; miraculous and glorious performances, for the good and benefit of mankind, to the delight and conſolation of all well-diſpoſed minds, diſcovered and diffuſed. He was by this made (in right and in effect) a *Prophet*, a *King*, a *Prieſt*. 1. A *Prophet*; for they were not mi-
Luk. 7. 16. ſtaken, who (upon our Saviour's admirable raiſing the Widow's child) were *amazed, and glorified God, ſaying, That a great Prophet was raiſed up among them*, and that *God had viſited his people:* nor the diſciples, who
Luk. 24. 19. called him *a Prophet, mighty in deed and ſpeech before God and all the peo-*
Joh. 6. 14. *ple:* nor they, who confeſſed (in St. *John's* Goſpel) *This is in truth the Prophet, that is to come into the world:* an extraordinary commiſſion he had from God, declared by vocal atteſtation of God himſelf from Heven, by the expreſs teſtimony of St. *John Baptiſt*, by the performance of innumerable great ſigns and miraculous works (arguments in the higheſt degree, to utmoſt poſſibility ſufficient to aſſert and confirm it) he was in greateſt perfection qualified for the exerciſe of that function; by inſpiration complete and unlimited; by diſpoſition of mind altogether pu-

pure and holy, declared in a continual practice of life void of all ſin and guile; by an inſuperable courage and conſtancy, an incomparable meekneſs and patience; a moſt winning goodneſs and ſweetneſs; a tranſcendent wiſdom and diſcretion; a moſt powerfull awfulneſs and majeſty, expreſſed in all his demeanour and actions. And ſuitable to the authority of his commiſſion and the qualifications of his perſon was the weight and the extent of his doctrine, concerning no leſs than the ſalvation of mankind; the reconciliation of God to the world; the entire will of God, and whole duty of man, with all the covenants and conditions, the promiſes and threatnings relating to our future ſtate; myſteries never before revealed, decrees never to be reverſed. He did not (as other Prophets have done) propheſie about the conſtitution of one particular law or religion; the reproof or reformation of one ſtate; the judgment and fate determined to this or that nation; but to the inſtruction and converſion of all people; the ſettling of a law univerſal and perpetual; the final doom of all the world, did his prophetical revelations extend. So was he a Prophet. 2. And a *King* alſo he is; ſuch as the Prophets foretold he ſhould be; who ſhould *raiſe the tabernacle of David that was fallen*; and *reſtore the Kingdom to Iſrael*, (Acts 1. 6.) that ſhould enact laws, and reduce the nations into ſubjection to them; ſhould erect a Kingdom, and govern it in righteouſneſs, peace, and proſperity; ſubduing and extirpating all the enemies thereof: [A King not of this world, though over it; ruling not in external pomp and ſtate; but by ſecret providence and power; not ſo much over the bodies and temporal eſtates, as in the hearts and conſciences of men; not chiefly by outward compulſion and violence; but by inward allurement and perſuaſion:] A King he is indeed over all the world; to * the lamb is to be *deſcribed all power and authority by every creature*; he is truly ſtyled *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*. God hath advanced him (ὑπερύψωσε) and hath *given him a name* (that is, a title of dignity and authority) *above every name*; *that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bend, whether of things in heaven, or upon the earth, or under the ground*. Of him in a higher and exacter ſenſe it was ſaid, than of *Solomon*: *All Kings fall down before him, all Nations do ſerve him*: All men whatever (all creatures) are his vaſſals, ſubject and tributary to him: *All power is given unto him in heaven and earth*. But in eſpecial manner he is King over his Church; over that People, whom by the ſword of his word and prevalent operation of his ſpirit he hath ſubdued to himſelf, (that myſtical *Sion*, built upon the rock of his heavenly grace and truth; in which 'tis ſaid God will place his reſidence and reign for ever; from whence the law ſhall go forth; and to which all nations ſhall flow.) Over this he reigns; having eſtabliſhed moſt righteous and wholſome laws, which his ſubjects are obliged and enabled by him to obey; protecting them by legiſlation, by defence and protection, &c. from the invaſions and inſurrections of their enemies inteſtine enemies, their own luſts; outward enemies, the Devil and the World,) ſupporting them in their diſtreſſes and afflictions: Alſo exerciſing judgment over all; diſtributing fit rewards and puniſhments, with exquiſite juſtice and equity; moſt juſt, though very ſevere puniſhments upon obſtinate offenders; moſt royal and liberal rewards to the faithfull and obedient; laſtly, reſtraining, defeating, and deſtroying all the enemies to his royal dignity, and to the welfare of his good ſubjects; both viſible and inviſible; temporal and ſpiritual. *Out of his mouth* (Apoc. 19. 15.) *there goeth a ſharp ſword, that with it he ſhould ſmite the nations, and he ſhall rule them with a rod of iron: Theſe mine enemies* (he ſhall one day ſay) *which would not that I ſhould reign over them, bring them hither and ſlay*

1 Pet. 2. 22.

Amos 9. 11.

* Rev. 5. 13. 19. 16.
Rev. 1. 5.
Phil. 2. 9.
Eph. 1. 21.
Col. 2. 10.

Pſal. 72. 11.

Mat. 28. 18. 11. 27.
Joh. 3. 35. 13. 3. 17. 2.
Pſal. 132. 13.
Mic. 4. 7, &c.
Iſa. 2. 2, &c.

Apoc. 19. 15.
Pſal. 2. 9.
Mat. 25. 31, &c.
Luk. 19. 27.
1 Cor. 15. 25, 26.

slay them before me: He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his
Vid. Col. 2. 15. *feet.* Thus is he a King, endued with soveraign Power, and crowned with glorious Majesty; enjoying all pre-eminencies, and exercising all functions suitable to regal dignity. 3. He is also a *Priest*; and that no ordinary
Heb. 8. 6. one: διαφορωτέρας τέτευχε λειτουργίας; he hath *obtained a more excellent function*, than any other Priest ever had. An oblation he once offered, in worth and efficacy surpassing all the sacrifices and oblations that ever were or could be made (all the fattest hecatombs that were ever sacrificed;
1 Pet. 1. 18. all the gold and precious stones that were ever offered; all the spices and perfumes that ever were kindled upon the altar, were but vile and sordid;
Heb. 9. 9. ineffectual and unacceptable, in comparison thereto) a willing oblation of his own most glorious body (the temple of the divinity;) of his most
Heb. 10. 5. Joh. 10. 16. precious blood; of his dear life; of himself; his most innocent, most pure,
Eph. 5. 2. most spotless and unblemished self; for the propitiation of our sins, and
Heb. 7. 27. reconciling us to God; an oblation that only could appease God's wrath
Heb. 7. 26. and merit his favour.

He doth also (which is another sacerdotal performance) intercede for
1 Joh. 2. 1. the pardon of our sins: *If any man sin, we have an advocate with* (or *to*) *the father, Jesus Christ the righteous*; for the acceptance of our services
Vid. Heb. 5. 7. for the granting our requests; for grace and assistance, comfort and reward, and all spiritual advantages to be conferr'd upon us; thus pursuing the work of salvation by his propitiatory sacrifice begun for us.
Heb. 7. 25. Whence (as the Apostle saith) *he is able to save to the uttermost those that*
Numb. 6. 23. *by him come unto God, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us.*
1 Tim. 2. 5. is the duty also of a Priest to mediate between God and man by atonement and intercession; so is he.

* 1 Chr. 23. 13. Levit. 9. 22, 23. He doth farther, as a * Priest, perform the office of blessing; blessing the people in God's name: blessing God in the people's behalf; as did that
Gen. 14. 19, 20. illustrious type of him, *Melchizedeck. (Blessed be Abram of the most High God, possessour of heaven and earth: and blessed be the most High God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand.)* So hath Jesus effectually pronounced all joy and happiness to his faithfull people; he pronounced Blessedness in his Sermons; he blessed his Disciples at his parting; *And Go*
Luk. 24. 50. Act. 3. 26. (as St. *Peter* tells us) *having raised up his Son Jesus, sent him to bless us*
Vid. Eph. 1. 3. *in turning away every one of us from his iniquity*; and at the last day he will
Matt. 25. 34. utter that comfortable benediction; *Come ye blessed of my father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world*; as the great Prophet and Doctor; as the soveraign King and Prince, as the High-Priest and Advocate of his Church. So in all respects is Jesus a true and perfect Priest; and so finally in all respects is he God's *anointed*; the *Christ* of God: and indeed that he is so, is the fundamental point of our Religion; which the Apostles did testifie, and preach, and labour to persuade the world of, the sincere belief of which doth constitute and denominate us Christians: the consideration of which may serve to beget in us practice answerable to our relations grounded thereupon: If he be such a Prophet, we must with attention and a docile mind hearken to his admonitions and instructions; we must yield a steady belief to his doctrine; we must readily practise what he teaches us: if he be our King, we must perform all due allegiance to him; pay him honour and reverence, submit to his laws and commandments; repose trust and confidence in him; fly to his protection and assistance in all our difficulties and needs. If he be our Priest, we must apply our selves to him for, and rely upon his spiritual ministeries in our behalf; sue for and expect propitiation of our sins by his sacrifice; the collation of all spiritual gifts from his intercession

ercession; all spiritual comfort, joy, and felicity in consequence upon is efficacious benediction; *Having* ('tis the Apostle to the *Hebrews* his admonition) *a great Priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith.* In a word; if Jesus be Christ, let us be Christians; Christians not in name only, in outward profession, in our opinion; but in very deed and reality; in our heart, in our affection, in our practice. *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ* (that confesseth him to be so) *depart from iniquity.* Heb. 10. 21, 22. 2 Tim. 2. 19.

His only Son.

THat the *Messias* designed by God to come for the restoring of the Church and reformation of the World, was in especial manner to be the Son of God, seems to have been the common persuasion of the ancient Jews before our Saviour's appearance; as may be collected from divers expressions then used, wherein being the Christ, and being the Son of God, are conjoined as inseparable adjuncts of the same person: as in the confessions of *Nathanael.* * *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel:* Of *Martha*, † *I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world:* Of St. *Peter*, ‖ *We have believed, and have known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;* and especially by that examination of the High-Priest: * *I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us, whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God.* And that our Saviour was indeed so, the New Testament doth every-where teach us: calling him not only at large *the Son of God*, but his μονογενὴς (his *only begotten Son,*) his ἀγαπητὸς, (his *darling Son;*) his πρωτότοκος, (his *first-born,*) his ἴδιος υἱὸς (his *proper* and *peculiar Son;*) those epithets all implying somewhat of peculiar eminency in the kind and ground of this relation. *Adam* is called *the Son of God*; and the Angels are so entitled; and Princes are some-where styled *the children of the most High:* and all men; especially all good men; yea all things have God, in some sense, their father: But all these in a manner (if we compare them with Christ's relation) are improper and inferiour; for he is the *only Son*, (or the *only begotten Son*) of God. Now we find indeed several reasons and respects, for which he is called the Son of God: he is so in regard of his temporal generation, by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin *Mary*; so the Angel doth expressly tell us: *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that Holy thing, which is begotten, shall be called the Son of God:* A generation, so wonderfull, and peculiar, without intervention of any father, but God, is one ground of his relation and title. He is also capable of this title, by reason of that high Office, the which by God's special designation and appointment he was instated in: if ordinary Princes and Judges (as being deputed by God to represent himself in dispensation of justice, as resembling him in exercise of power and authority) have been called *Gods*, and *the children of the most High*, in the Holy Scripture it self; with how much greater reason and truth may he (whom God hath sanctified and sent into the world; hath consecrated and commissionated to the most eminent and extraordinary office) be so called? 'tis our Saviour's own argumentation. He is also in regard of his Resurrection by the divine power (which is a kind of generation, or a regeneration to another immortal life) so styled: others are the Children of God, being the Children of the Resurrection, how much more he, who is *the first-born from the dead*? and that of the Psalmist, concerning Christ, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, according to St. *Paul*'s exposition, was fulfilled by God's raising Jesus

* Joh. 1. 49. † Joh. 11. 27. ‖ Joh. 6. 69. * Matt. 26. 63. Mar. 14. 61. Luk. 3. ult. Psal. 82. 6. Luk. 1. 35. Vid. Gal. 4. 4. Psal. 82. 6. Joh. 10. 36. Luk. 20. 36. Col. 1. 18. Rev. 1. 5. Act. 13. 32, 33.

(*Acts* 13. 33.) again; whereas it is ſaid, that God did appoint or make
Heb. 1. 2. our Saviour *heir of all things*; did *put all things under his feet*; did *give*
Eph. 1. 22. *him power over all fleſh*; did *commit to him all authority in heaven and upon*
Joh. 17. 1, 2. *the earth*; *having ſet him at his right hand*; hath exalted him to the next
Matt. 28. 18. place of authority and dignity to himſelf, (*the right hand of the Majeſty*
Act. 2. 33. *in the higheſt,*) and given him *a name above every name*: Well may he in
Heb. 1. 3. this reſpect be entitled *the Son of God*, as having obtained the rank and
Phil. 2. 9. privilege proper to this relation: (*If a ſon, then an heir*, St. *Paul* argues:
Eph. 1. 20, 21. and reciprocally, if conſtituted *heir of all*, then in that regard *a ſon*, Rom.
8. 17.) in ſuch reſpects is our Saviour properly or may be fitly ſtyled the
Son of God: but his being ſo expreſsly called God's *only begotten Son*, doth
imply a ground more peculiar and more excellent (than any of theſe) of
this relation (as do alſo thoſe eſpecial prerogatives of affection and favour
from God appropriated to him; with all the glorious preferment conſe-
quent thence argue the ſame.) For the firſt *Adam* alſo derived his Being
immediately from God's power and divine inſpiration; *Iſaac*, *Samuel*, and
John the Baptiſt, had a generation extraordinary and miraculous (as being
born of aged fathers, or barren mothers,) by the interpoſition of divine
power;) and we cannot eaſily conceive how the production of Angels
ſhould be ſo much inferiour to our Saviour's temporal generation (ſuppo-
ſing he had no other.) And our Saviour, though he were the firſt, and
chief, yet was not the only Son of the Reſurrection; nor doth the arbi-
trary collation of power and dignity, how eminent ſoever, ſeem to ſuffice
for we ſee others in regard to their deſignment and deputation to offices
of power and truſt (though ſubordinate and inferiour to him) entitled to
Sons of God: (beſide, that this is ground of a metaphorical rather than
natural and proper Sonſhip;) And though our Saviour be *the heir of all*
Rom. 8. 17. *things*, yet hath he *co-heirs*; whom (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *God hath togeth-*
Eph. 2. 5, 6. *enlivened, and together raiſed, and together ſeated with him in thrones*
Heb. 2. 10. *glory and bliſs*. In theſe reſpects God hath *many Sons* (as the author to the
Rom. 8. 29. *Hebrews* tells us) and our Saviour *many brethren* (as it is in *Romans* the 8th.)
We ſhould therefore ſeek a more excellent and proper foundation of the
only Sonſhip; and ſuch we may deduce from the teſtimony of divine Writ.
Joh. 3. 13. It is evident thence, that our Saviour had an exiſtence before his tempo-
6. 62. rary generation; for he did deſcend from heaven, and was there before he did
deſcend: (his aſcenſion was but a returning thither, whence he had de-
ſcended at his incarnation) he was before St. *John* the Baptiſt; and there-
Joh. 1. 15. fore (as St. *John* confeſſes) was worthily preferred before him. Before
Joh. 8. 58. *Abraham* was born, he did ſubſiſt (and therefore might without any ab-
ſurdity affirm, that *Abraham* and he did ſee each other, might have en-
tercourſe together, as his own diſcourſe with the *Jews* doth declare:) nay
farther, 'tis plain he was of ſtanding, and had a glory before the world had
Joh. 17. 5. a being: for he prays thus; *And now father glorify me with thy ſelf with*
the glory which I had before the world was with thee: (Glory; that is, a more
honourable ſtate of being, and excellent perfection, was not only deſigned
him, but he really had it, before the World was) and needs muſt it be ſo;
Heb. 1. for *by him God made the World*: and himſelf made it: *By him* (ſaith
Col. 1. 15, &c. St. *Paul*) *were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth,*
Eph. 3. 9. *viſible and inviſible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities*
or powers, all things were created by him and for him: And he is before all
things, and by him all things conſiſt: (He did not only create anew and
reform mankind; but he created all things; and among them all degrees
of Angels; all things in heaven; ſuch things as the new metaphorical
Joh. 1. 3, 10. Creation did not extend unto:) *All things were made by him* (or did exiſt

y

by him) *and without him there was not any thing made, which was made* (saith St. *John*; and what could be said more expressly or clearly?) In fine, he did exist from all eternity: πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως; that is, born before all the Creation: as, *In the beginning was the Word:* In the beginning; that is, before any point of time designable or conceivable; that is, from eternity; whence he is truly styled *the first and the last* (ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος;) and *Alpha* and *Omega*, several times in St. *John*'s Revelation: (a phrase by which God's eternity and immortality are usually expressed.) He had therefore a Being before his temporal generation; and that before all creatures; even from eternity; therefore that Being was divine; if no creature; if author of all creatures; if eternally subsistent, then God: that action is proper, that attribute is peculiar to God; only God can be the Creator of all things; (He that built all things is God; none but God can be eternal; *He only hath immortality*, and only therefore hath eternity:) He is consequently said, before he did assume the *form of a servant, and became like unto men*, to have subsisted in *the form of God, and not to have deemed it robbery to be equal* (or in equality) *to God*; (so that as he was after his incarnation truly Man, partaker of man's nature and properties; so before it he was truly God, partaker of the divine essence and attributes;) and therefore he is frequently in the Scriptures called *God* (in the most proper and highest sense:) *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.* God is said to have been *manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of Angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed upon in the World, assumed into Glory*, (of which positions 'tis evident that the subject is *Christ*, he is therefore called *God*:) God is also said (by St. *Paul*) to *have purchased his Church with his own bloud*; who else did that but Christ? *My Lord and my God*; so St. *Thomas* expressed his faith in Christ (upon his conviction) which our Saviour accepts and approves, as a proper testimony thereof. Also: *We are* (saith St. *John*) *in the true One* (the God of truth) *in his Son Jesus Christ*: This he, is the true God, and life eternal, (no false, no metaphorical God, but the very true supreme ever-living God:) *Out of whom* (saith St. *Paul*) *as concerning the flesh* (according to his humanity) *Christ came, who is over all God blessed for ever*, (ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς) *the God over all, the supreme God; the most High: God, blessed for ever*; the ὁ εὐλογητὸς, *the Blessed one*, (which is a special and characteristical attribute or title of God.) Now this proper appellation, with the Majesty and Worship due thereto, as also the title of Lord and King; *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*; with the reverence and authority attending them: likewise the most divine works of creation and providence, and judging the world; immediate working of miracles, remitting of sins: the divine attributes of wise, good, powerfull, absolutely and perfectly: in a word, all things that the father hath (according to what our Saviour affirmed: *All things that the father hath are mine*;) we cannot imagine that God, who is so jealous of his honour, (who *will not give his glory to another*) would communicate to any creature, how eminent soever in nature (for the highest creature possible must however be infinitely distant from, infinitely inferiour to himself in perfection and dignity; nor can any be capable of it in nature, or in reason and justice accept such names, such characters, such prerogatives.) Now our Saviour being thus God; and the whole tenour of our Religion (with testimonies of Scripture frequent and obvious) asserting but one God; therefore our Saviour hath the same essence with God; and it must be necessarily true what himself affirms: *I and the father am one*, Joh. 10.30. Yet hath he not this essence of himself, but by communication: For *as*

Heb. 3. 4. 1 Tim. 6. 16. Phil. 2. 6, 7. Vid. Rom. 8. 33. Joh. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Acts 20. 28. Joh. 20. 28. 1 Joh. 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. Mar. 1. 61. Psal. 42. 8. Joh. 16. 15.

the father hath life in himself, so hath he given the son to have life in himself. Joh. 5. 26. He is the *image of the invisible God* (an image most perfectly like, because having the very same nature) an effulgency of his glory, and a character (or perfect impression) of his substance; and this eternal communication of the same divine essence is that generation, in respect of which he is most properly and truly, The only begotten Son of God: If to produce a Being like (in any kind or degree) be to generate; to impart a Being without any dissimilitude or disparity at all, perfectly the same, is the most proper generation: And that none other (beside our Saviour) was so begotten, in any manner like or comparable to this, is evident enough; for that as no reason could have taught us that our Saviour himself was thus begotten, so no revelation hath shewed us that any other was: By creation things receive a Being from God infinitely different, unlike, and unequal to the Being of God, and that filiation which is grounded upon adoption and grace is wholly divers from this: and the communication of the divine essence to the Holy Ghost, doth so differ in manner from this (though the manner be incomprehensible to us) that it is never called *generation* in Scripture, and therefore we must not presume it to be so.) But so much for explication of the point: For application briefly: The consideration of this point will serve to instruct and confirm our faith concerning the mystery of our redemption; to direct and heighten our devotion; to raise in us a due gratitude toward God; to beget hope and comfort in us.

Col. 1. 15. Heb. 1. 3.

1. We may first hence learn whence the undertaking of Christ (his performances and his sufferings for us) become of so great worth and efficacy: it is no wonder that God's only Son his mediation should be so acceptable and effectual with God; that his bloud should be so precious in God's sight, and his intercession so prevalent with him. What could God deny his own Son, *the Son of his love*, so earnestly entreating in our behalf? what debts might not so rich a price discharge? what anger could not so dear a sacrifice appease? what justice should so full a compensation not satisfy? We were *not redeemed with gold*; all the *Indies* had not been able to ransom a soul; all the hecatombs in the world cannot satisfy for a peccadillo: Well might a person so infinitely worthy and excellent be a sufficient ransom for whole World's of miserable offenders and captives well might his voluntary suffering a bitter and disgracefull death countervail the deserved punishment of all mankind, if our displeasing, and dishonouring a person so great, so good, doth aggravate our offence; the equal excellency and dignity of the person submitting in our behalf to justice and performance of satisfaction, may proportionably advance the reparation, and countervail the injury done: Well therefore may we believe and say with the Apostle: *Who shall criminate against the elect of God? 'tis God that justifieth* (the Son of God, as himself God, that satisfies justice for us) *who is there that condemns? 'tis Christ that hath died for us.*

1 Joh. 1. 7. Heb. 9. 14. Col. 1. 13. υἱὸς τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ. 1 Pet. 1. 18. Psal. 49. 7. Rom. 8. 33.

2. We learn what reverence and adoration is due to our Saviour; and why we must *honour the son, even as we honour the father*, (as himself hath taught us to do.) Whence it is, that (in St. *John*'s Revelation) every creature, which is in heaven, and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, did (and ought to) say *Blessing, honour, glory and power be unto him, that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the lamb for ever and ever*, (ascribing the same pre-eminency, and paying the same veneration jointly to God Almighty and to the Lamb his blessed Son;) why, not we men only (whom he hath particularly purchased and redeemed) but even *all things in heaven and earth, and beneath*

Joh. 5. 23. Phil. 2. 9.

the earth must bend the knee (yield worship and observance) to him; when the *first-begotten is brought into the world*, it is said, *Let all the Angels of God worship him.* We are (we see) obliged to ascribe divine glory; to yield divine adoration to Christ; why? because he is the *only Son of God*, equal in Majesty, One in essence with him: were he not so, it were injury to God and sacrilege to do it: God would not *impart his glory*, we should not *yield it to another.* Heb. 1. 6. Isa. 42. 8.

3. We hence may perceive the infinite goodness of God unto us, and our obligation to love, and answerable thankfulness toward him. *God commendeth his love toward us*, saith St. *Paul*, *in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us: In this* (saith St. *John*) *was manifested the love of God toward us, because God sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. In this is love* (love indeed, admirable, and inconceivable) *not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his only begotten Son to be a propitiation for our sins.* Can there be imagined any equal, any like expression of kindness, of mercy, of condescension, of goodness, as for a Prince (himself perfectly glorious and happy) freely to deliver up his own only, most dearly beloved Son (out from his bosom of glory and bliss) to suffer most base contumelies, most grievous torments for the welfare of his declared enemies, traitours, and rebels? Such hath been God's goodness to us, suitable thereto should our gratitude be toward him. Rom. 5. 8. 1 Joh. 4. 8.

4. This consideration fitly serves to beget in us hope in God upon all occasions of our need or distress; as also comfort in all our afflictions. *He hath so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son* for its salvation and happiness; how can he be supposed unwilling to bestow whatever else shall appear needfull or beneficial for us? He that parted with a jewel so inestimable in charity and pity toward us, to him no other thing can seem much to give us: 'tis St. *Paul*'s consolatory discourse: *He that did not spare his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him freely give us all things?* [All things that we need, that we can reasonably desire, that will be good and fit for us.] Joh. 3. 16. Rom. 8. 32.

5. I might add the use, which St. *John* (1. 4, 12.) makes of this consideration: *Beloved* (saith he) *if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another:* If God so lovingly gave up his only Son for us; what (in respect, in gratitude, in imitation of him;) what expressions, I say, of charity and good-will ought we to yield toward our brethren? what endeavours, what goods, what life of ours should be too dear for us to impart for their good? So much for this point. It follows,

Our Lord.

AS the name of *God* is by a mysterious kind of peculiarity attributed to the *father*, so is the name of *Lord* to the *son*; who is sometimes called absolutely *the Lord* (or *the Lord Jesus*) sometimes *our Lord*; to acknowledge and call him so being the special duty and character of a Christian: *There be* (saith St. *Paul*; there be according to popular or worldly use) *Gods many, and Lords many, but to us there is one God the father, and one Lord Jesus Christ.* And *One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God, and father of all things* (are by us Christians professed) and: *No man can call Jesus Lord* (that is cordially embrace Christianity) *but by the Holy Ghost.* The reason of which peculiar appellation may be, because beside that natural dominion over us appertaining to Christ as our God and Maker, that title is in several other respects, and upon other grounds 1 Cor. 8. 6. Eph. 4. 5, 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. Phil. 2. 11.

due

due to him. In what notion ſoever we take Lord, as a Governour over ſubjects, as a Maſter over ſervants, as an Owner of Goods, as a Maſter of Diſciples, as a Leader of Followers, he is according to all ſuch notions *our Lord:* conſider him in whatever reſpect or capacity, as God, as Man, as Θεάνθρωπος (God and Man united; as Jeſus, as Chriſt) he is our Lord: Examine all foundations imaginable of juſt dominion: Eminence of nature; of power; derivation of being, with the preſervation and maintenance thereof; donation, acquiſition, deſert, purchaſe, redemption, conqueſt, compact and reſignation of our ſelves; upon them all his right of Lordſhip over us is juſtly grounded. As God he is our Lord; endued with ſupreme authority and irreſiſtible power, alſo hath made all things, and upholds all things; and therefore all things are ſubject to his diſpoſal (to be governed, and poſſeſſed, and uſed according to his pleaſure) hence that moſt peculiar and auguſt name of God *Jehovah* (denoting either independency and indefectibility in ſubſiſtence; or uncontrollable and infallible efficacy in action; both together; and therefore fitly rendred κύριος by the Seventy interpreters, and *Lord* by our tranſlatours*) is attributed to him, *This is his name* (ſaith the prophet) *whereby he ſhall be called, Jehovah our Righteouſneſs*; and what is in the Old Teſtament ſpoken of *Jehovah*, is in the New Teſtament by infallible expoſition applied to him: as, for inſtance, what *Malachy* did foretell concerning *Elias*, *that he ſhould prepare the way of Jehovah*, was verified in St. *John* Baptiſt's preparing the way to our Saviour. As man alſo God did conferr upon him Lordſhip a power and authority of ruling and judging; of remitting offences and puniſhing and rewarding: The father hath given him authority ever to execute judgment, ὅτι υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν, *becauſe* (or whereas) *he is the ſon of man*; and, *Let all the houſe of Iſrael* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *know aſſuredly that God hath made him Lord and Chriſt*, (even) *this Jeſus, whom you did crucify:* And, *The ſon of man ſhall come in the glory of his father with his angels, and reward every man according to his works.* And, *Being found in ſhape as a man, he humbled himſelf* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *becoming obedient unto death, the death of the croſs; therefore alſo did God exalt him----that at the name of Jeſus every knee ſhould bend----and that every tongue ſhould confeſs that Jeſus is the Lord:* And again: *To this end Chriſt both died, roſe, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living*; And; *God raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his right hand in the heavenly places far above all principality and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the Church. Thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* Thus hath God in him performed more ſignally and eminently, what the *Pſalmiſt* thankfully acknowledges, and praiſes him for in regard to man. *Thou crownedſt him with glory and honour; and didſt ſet him over the works of thy hands; thou haſt put all things in ſubjection under his feet:* As God-man he is alſo Lord, and Lord of Lords; what-ever naturally did belong to God, what-ever freely was conferr'd on man (by way of gift, or reward) did accrue to the perſon, and was conſequent upon the union hypoſtatical: ſo that in this reſpect Chriſt is eternally Lord: *Lord* indeed *of all* (as St. *Peter* ſtyles him) *having all things* (excepting God himſelf, as St. *Paul* teaches us) *put under his feet*; but particularly (which moſt concerns us to acknowledge and conſider) *our Lord*; and that upon ſeveral grounds, which it will be convenient briefly to touch. An entire power over us, and a perfect ability to govern us he hath; in which reſpects it is both neceſſary to ſubmit to him, and reaſonable willingly to admit him as our Lord:

* For κύριον doth ſignify *to ſubſiſt*; and κύριος *efficacy, ratification, power* or *authority.*

Jer. 23. 6.

Mal. 3. 1. Matt. 3. 3. Luk. 1. 76.

Joh. 5. 27.

Act. 2. 36.

Matt. 16. 27.

Phil. 2. 8.

Vid. Matt. 9. 2, 6.

Vid. Act. 10. 42.

Rom. 14. 9.

Joh. 17. 2.

Eph. 1. 20.

Pſal. 8. 7.

Heb. 2. 7, 8.

Act. 10. 36.

1 Cor. 15. 27.

Lord: (perſons ſo qualified, *Ariſtotle* himſelf in his *Politicks* tells us, have a natural title to dominion; as on the contrary perſons weak, or unwiſe; unable to protect themſelves, and unfit to manage things to their own good, are naturally ſubjects and ſervants:) Alſo; He hath made us; and he preſerves us; all we are or have is wholly derived from and depends upon him; whence he hath an abſolute right to diſpoſe of and uſe us, according to his diſcretion and pleaſure. He is the Son of God, is heir apparent, and natural Lord of all things; and ſo our Lord, by birth and privilege of nature. But farther: He hath alſo acquired us to himſelf adding a legal to a natural right,) we are called περιποίησις (an acquiſt made by him) and λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν (a people appertaining to (or by) acquiſition.) Divers ways hath Chriſt acquired us: by donation from God; *Whom thou haſt given me*, ſaith he to his father, *I have kept*: and, *This is the will of the father that ſent me, that of all which he hath given me, I ſhould loſe nothing.* So we fall under by conqueſt; conqueſt over his enemies; conqueſt over us our ſelves, being his enemies: We were (partly by violence, partly by conſent) enſlaved to his enemies; and lived in obedience to them: them hath Chriſt quite vanquiſhed and ſubdued, (having **ſpoiled thoſe principalities and powers, and made a ſhew of them, openly triumphing over them,*) and ſo we rightfully fall under ſubjection to him; as acceſſions to his victory, and formerly belonging to his enemies: Yea our ſelves, being (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) ἐχθροὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ, enemies in our mind and diſcourſe (diſcovering our enmity by wicked, diſobedient and rebellious practices) did he ſubdue by the power of his word and ſpirit: whence (as 'tis in the *Benedictus*) *being delivered out of the hand of our enemies* (his enemies, and ours in truth and effect,) *we* may, we *ſhould ſerve him without fear*: being *ſervati*, we become *ſervi*; being *ſubacti*, we are *ſubditi*. He might have juſtly deſtroyed us, deprived us of liberty and life as dependents upon and partizans of his enemies; as our ſelves being in actual hoſtility againſt him; but ſeeing he hath ſaved us, we thereby become his vaſſals. But farther he hath purchaſed us; he hath delivered up himſelf a ranſom and a price for us; and ſo hath acquired us, hath redeemed us, hath bought us with his own bloud: we having forfeited our lives to God's law, and being ſentenced to a miſerable death; he procured our redemption by himſelf, undergoing equivalent puniſhment, diſcharging our debt, and ſatisfying the divine juſtice for us: Whence (as St. *Paul* argues) *we are not our own*; *for we were bought with a price*; we are his, who ſaved our lives, freed us from captivity, drew us out of extreme and endleſs miſery; ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες, *that we (now) living ſhould not henceforth live to our ſelves, but to him that died for us, and roſe again*: In requital for mercies and favours ſo unexpreſſibly great, we cannot (not in gratitude only, but in juſtice) owe leſs than our ſelves; our ſelves to be rendred wholly into his dominion and diſpoſal. He hath alſo acquired Lordſhip over us, by deſert and as a reward agreeable to his performances, of obedience and patience highly ſatisfactory and acceptable to God;---*he humbled himſelf, becoming obedient to the croſs: therefore alſo did God exalt him, and gave him a name above every name. To this end Chriſt both died, roſe and revived,* ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ; *that he might exerciſe Lordſhip over both the dead and living. He drank of the brook in the way, therefore he hath lift up his head: therefore did God divide him a portion with the great, and he did divide the ſpoil with the ſtrong, becauſe he poured out his ſoul to death: and we ſee Jeſus* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *for his ſufferance of death, crowned with glory and honour.* I may add, that he hath acquired a right and title over us, as our continual benefactour by the benefits

Eph. 1. 14.
Joh. 17. 12.
Joh. 6. 39. 17. 6.
Eph. 2, 2, 3, &c.
Col. 2. 15.
* ἀπεκδυσάμενος.
Col. 1. 21.
Luk. 1. 74.
Act. 20. 28.
1 Pet. 1. 18.
1 Cor. 6. 20.
1 Cor. 6. 20.
2 Cor. 5. 15.
Eph. 1. 20.
Philip. 2. 8.
Rom. 14. 9.
Vid. Joh. 10. 17.
Pſal. 110. 7.
Iſ. 53. 12.
Heb. 2. 9.

benefits he beſtows, and the hire he pays us: He affords us ſure protection, liberal maintenance, ample wages; (great privileges under, rich
Coloſ. 3. 24. rewards for) our ſervice: *Knowing* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that ye ſhall* (in regard to your obedience) *receive τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν κληρονομίας, (the recompence of an inheritance) for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* 'Tis no Egyptian bondage that he detains us under; requiring hard labour, and yielding no comfort
Job 1. 9. or recompence; but a moſt beneficial and fruitfull ſervice. *Doth Job fear*
Vid. 1 Cor. 3. 8. *God for nought?* the Devil could not but obſerve and envy the benefits and bleſſings, the pious man received in regard of his faithfull ſervice.
Pſal. 84. 11. Chriſt hath promiſed to with-hold no good thing from his ſervants; no-
Matt. 6. 33. thing neceſſary for the ſupport or comfort even of this temporal life; but eſpecially moſt ineſtimably precious recompences he will beſtow in ſpiri-
Rom. 2. 6. tual and eternal bleſſings: *He will render to every man according to his*
Coloſ. 3. 24. *works*; *To them who by patient continuance in well-doing ſeek glory and ho-*
Rom. 6. 22, 23. *nour and immortality, eternal life*: And, *Being freed from ſin, and made ſervants to God, ye have your fruit unto ſanctification; and in the end everlaſting life*: [A fruit to ſanctification (all benefits conducing to our ſpiritual welfare here) and hereafter a life in perpetual joy and happineſs:] To them who have been diligent and faithfull in performing their tasks, and improving the talents committed to them for his intereſt, he will
Matt. 25. 21, ὄτε Μίσθος τοῖς δούλοις σου. one day ſay, *Euge bone ſerve, Well done good and faithfull ſervant, enter into thy Maſter's joy. Bleſſed are ye, when men ſhall revile you, and perſecute you, and ſpeak all manner of evil againſt you falſly for my ſake: Rejoyce, and*
Apoc. 11. 18. *be exceeding glad; for great ſhall your reward be in heaven.* And he that
Matt. 5. 12. is at ſuch care and charges for us; who feeds and furniſhes us ſo plentifully; who rewards our ſmall pains, our poor works, our improfitable ſervices with ſo high and bountifull wages; him ſure moſt juſtly we ſhould eſteem, moſt willingly call our good Lord and Maſter.

But yet farther, he is not only our Lord by nature, by acquiſition, by manifold deſerts and performances of his; but by our deeds alſo; by moſt formal and ſolemn; moſt free and voluntary; and therefore moſt obligatory acts of ours: He is our Lord and King by election; finding our ſelves oppreſſed by our cruel enemies; (groaning under intolerable ſlaveries to Sin and Satan) we had recourſe to him, upon his gracious invitation; offering us eaſe and refreſhment under his moſt gentle and equal
Matt. 11. 28. government: *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt: Take my yoke upon you----for my yoke is eaſie, and my burthen light.* So he inviteth us; and ſo we did (or did at leaſt pretend to) undergo his yoke, and freely ſubmit to his government: We vowed allegiance and fealty to him as our lawfull Prince; promiſed ſubjection to his will, and obedience to his laws; engaged (forſaking all things) to follow him, and fight under his banners againſt the common enemies of his
* Συμφωνήσας μετὰ τοῦ ἐργατῶν. glory and our ſalvation: * We contracted with him upon certain conditions and conſiderations (moſt advantageous to our ſelves) to be his obe-
Matt. 20. 2. dient and faithfull ſervants; not only renouncing all other Maſters, but reſigning up all pretence to liberty, or power over our ſelves; becoming abſolutely ſubject to his will and command: This we did at our baptiſm, in moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner; and in every religious performance we confirm our obligation; by acknowledging his right over us, and our duty toward him; by imploring his princely protection and ſuccour, and mercy upon us; and by promiſing our humble reſpect and obedience toward him. Upon ſo many grounds is Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God our Lord. The general influence of which doctrine, upon our practice, is very obvious and palpable.

1. If we do truly believe Chriſt our Lord, we muſt conceive our ſelves bliged to obſerve and ſubmit to his will; to attend unto and obey his w, *Why call you me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I ſay?* 'Tis Luk. 6. 46. vain and abſurd profeſſion (an irrational and illuſive pretence) we make hen we confeſs and invoke him as our Lord, and diſavow his authority n our practice. *Not every one that ſaith, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the* Matt. 7. 21. *ingdom of heaven* (ſhall obtain the reward aſſigned to a faithfull ſervant; ut he that really performs the duty of one; that does the will of God.) *Do ye not know* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *that to whom you yield your ſelves ſervants* Rom. 6. 16. *obey, his ſervants ye are, whom ye obey?* We forfeit all pretence to the ery name (as well as to the rewards and privileges) of Chriſt's ſervants, we diſobey his commands; being really ſervants to the luſts which ſway s; to the devil, whoſe ſuggeſtions and pleaſure we comply with. We o but uſurp the name of Chriſtians, if our practice be not conformable o the laws of Chriſt.

2. If Chriſt be our Lord, then are we not our own Lords, not our own nen: and therefore muſt not think to have our own will, and do our own uſineſs; pleaſe our own appetites, or gratify our deſires: except in ſub- rdination and reference to his ſervice. *We are not our own*, ſaith St. *Paul*; 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20. *or we are bought with a price:* (We are by nature, by manifold acquiſi- ion, by free choice and compact his:) *For this end Chriſt died* (and per- 1 Cor. 5. 15. ormed all for us) *that they which live, may not henceforth live to them- elves, but to him that died and roſe again for them; whether we live or whe- her we die* (whatever actions we undertake relating either to life or death) *e are the Lords*, and ſhould direct all to his glory, his profit, his Rom. 14. 8. rvice.

3. If Chriſt be our Lord, (abſolutely our Lord) then can we have no Vid. Joh. 13. ther Lords; none in oppoſition to; none in competition with him; none 13. ut in ſubſerviency and reſpect to him: *No man* (our Saviour tells us) Matt. 6. 24. *an ſerve two Lords* (with collateral, and equal obſervance.) Serving ri- hes, or honours, or pleaſures is inconſiſtent with our duty to Chriſt. *He that doth not forſake all that he hath, cannot be his diſciple, or ſervant*, Luk. 14. 33.) Nor can we therefore pleaſe and humour men; obeying ny command or complying with any deſire, or following any cuſtom f theirs, contrary to Chriſt's will and precept, *If I did yet pleaſe* (or Gal. 1. 10. both *men*) ſaith St. *Paul*, *I were not the ſervant of Chriſt. Ye are bought* 1 Cor. 7. 23. *ith a price*; *be not* (or you are not) *the ſervants of men.* That is do not or ye ought not to) perform ſervice, with ultimate relation to men, but ut of conſcience to Chriſt, as his ſervants. We may, we are bound to bey men humbly and willingly, and diligently, and faithfully, in our ſta- ions, and according to our conditions, as ſubjects, or ſervants; but this n ſubordination to our ſupreme and principal Lord: *Servants* (ſaith t. *Paul*) *obey your Maſters according to the fleſh with fear and trembling*, Eph. 6. 5, 6. that is humbly and reſpectfully) *in ſingleneſs of heart, as to Chriſt: Not* Vid. 1 Pet. 2. *n eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will* 16. *f God from the ſoul*; *ſerving with Good-will as to the Lord, and not to men---* *ea, whatſoever* (ſaith the ſame wiſe inſtructor) *ye do, do it heartily as to* Col. 3. 23, 24. *he Lord, and not to men*; *knowing that of the Lord ye ſhall receive back the ecompence of inheritance*; *for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.*

4. It is we ſee (which may be another uſe of this point) not only an ngagement, but an encouragement to the performance of all duty, par- icularly to thoſe hard duties of cheerful obedience and ſubmiſſion to men who are ſometimes as St. *Peter* intimates to us, σκολιοὶ, ſomewhat unto- 1 Pet. 2. 18. vard, and harſh in their dealings with their ſervants) that therein do Vid. 16.

we ſerve a moſt equal and gentle Maſter, who will graciouſly accept ou ſervice, and abundantly requite it; a Lord that will not ſuffer his ſervant to want any needfull ſuſtenance, any fit encouragement, any juſt prote ction or aſſiſtance; who will not only faithfully pay them their promiſe allowance, but raiſe them to the higheſt preferment imaginable. 'Tis great comfort alſo for a Chriſtian (how mean ſoever he be in this world to conſider this relation of his; how great, how good a Maſter he dotl ſerve; that the greateſt Princes, that the higheſt Angels are his fellow ſervants; yet that his gracious Lord will not deſpiſe, or neglect him

Rom. 14. 4. St. *Paul* alſo makes uſe of this conſideration to preſs upon ſuperiours thei duties toward their inferiours; their duties of equity, meekneſs, kindneſ

Col. 4. 1. mercy, pity, and all humanity. *Maſters*, (ſaith he) *yield unto your ſer*

Eph. 6. 9. *vants that which is juſt and equal, knowing that you alſo have a Maſter in hea ven:* And ye maſters do the ſame things to them (to your ſervants) for bearing threatning, knowing that your Maſter alſo is in heaven, and ther

Pſal. 135. 14. is *no reſpect of perſons* with him: *Thou haſt not deſpiſed the lowlineſs of th*

5. 4. *handmaid.* And we ſee how our Saviour, as he doth commend and bleſ

Luk. 6. Mat. 24. 45. thoſe faithfull and wiſe ſervants, who being appointed over his houſhol (placed in any ſuperiour rank and office) do behave themſelves juſtly an

Matt. 18. 28, &c. kindly to their fellow-ſervants, diſpenſing them their food in due ſeaſon ſo thoſe which beat and abuſe their fellow-ſervants; that are rigorous, an unmerciſull in their exactions of debt, or other dealing toward their fe low-ſervants he denounces ſevere puniſhment and vengeance upon.

The farther conſideration of this point our Saviour improves as an en gagement to imitate him; eſpecially in charity, in humility, in patience it is proper for a ſervant to follow, to attend upon in all places and pe formances, to compoſe himſelf to the example, to conform to the gar and condition of his maſter. Were it not abſurd that the ſervant ſhoul be more ſtately, or more delicate than his maſter: that he ſhould deſpi thoſe, whom his maſter vouchſafes to regard; that he ſhould refuſe t undertake thoſe employments, ſhould diſdain to undergo thoſe hardſhi his maſter doth condeſcend to? To ſuch purpoſe our Saviour diſcourſes

Joh. 13. 13. *Ye call me Maſter and Lord: and ye ſay well, for ſo I am: If I then you Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, ye alſo ought to waſh one another feet: for I have given you an example that ye ſhould do as I have done to you* And having directed his diſciples to the patient enduring of reproache affronts and injuries put upon them, he enforces his precept by ſubjoin

Matt. 10. 24. Luk. 6. 40. Joh. 15. 20. ing, *The diſciple is not above his Maſter, nor the ſervant is not above h Lord: 'tis enough for the diſciple to be as his Maſter, and the ſervant as h Lord:* (He ought in reaſon to be very well content, if he find ſuch uſage as his Lord hath willingly and patiently undergone.)

Full of many ſuch practical uſes is this excellent doctrine; the which leave to be deduced by your private meditation.

Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary.

THE proper name, ſpecial title, principal relations of Jeſus Chriſt, th only Son of God our Lord (the peculiar grand object of our Chri ſtian faith, wherein was included or implied what did eſpecially reſpec his divinity, ſo far as it is revealed unto, or may be comprehended by us being hitherto expreſſed and in ſome manner explained and applied b us: We proceed to that which follows; thoſe illuſtrious accidents, o paſſages and circumſtances, chiefly agreeing to his humanity (what h undertook and underwent, performed and enjoyed in our nature and i ou

our behalf) being here orderly ſet down, partly for the full and clear deſcription or determination of his perſon; partly upon deſign to inſinuate thoſe principal doctrines (depending upon or involved in thoſe paſſages) wherein the myſtery of our Religion doth conſiſt; which we are chiefly obliged to believe, and which have great influence upon our practiſe. In the firſt place (as good order did require) is delivered the manner of his Nativity (that is, of his incarnation, or aſſuming humane nature) which in the ancient Creeds (as we ſee in the texts of ancient Expoſitors) was expreſſed more ſimply thus: *Qui natus eſt de Spiritu ſancto ex Maria virgine*; who was born by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin *Mary*. The alteration ſeems to have been made more diſtinctly to expreſs the operation of the Holy Ghoſt in the generation of our Saviour, and what the Bleſſed Virgin his Mother did conferr thereto. We know in ordinary procreation the influence of the father doth not extend beyond the quickning of the mothers womb (whatever that influence be; (for 'tis a deep and inſcrutable myſtery of nature, (exceeding perhaps the reach of all humane philoſophy) whether it contain an imparting of ſomewhat material, or be only the inſerting an active vital principle) the effect of which influence is called conception; the word agreeing in ſome propriety both to the mother which is ſaid to conceive; and to the child which is conceived: the father perfecting the work of generation (by forming the *fœtus* from its initial rudiments into a due integrity and fit diſpoſition of parts, nouriſhing, encreaſing, and excluding thereof) no farther immediately depending upon the father, but being carried on by the concurrence of what was firſt imparted by him and what is thenceforth communicated by the mother. In regard to which performances, the mother is ſaid τίκτειν; that is, both *gignere*, and *parere*; to *conceive*, *bear*, and *to bring forth*: (For τίκτειν doth import as much as γεννᾶν, all that a parent doth conferr to generation; whence both parents are called τοκεῖς; and τέκνον *a child*, is uſed indifferently as relating to both.) Now to expreſs that influence or efficacy the divine ſpirit had in the generation of our Saviour as man, by which God himſelf did in a manner ſupply the place of a father, it was ſet down *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*; and when 'tis ſaid *born of the Virgin Mary*, what the Bleſſed Virgin, as Mother, did conferr thereto, is to be underſtood; and the occaſion perhaps of thus expreſſing the thing was that ſaying of the Angel to the Virgin (in the 1ſt. of St. *Luke*) *Behold thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth* (συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ τέξῃ) *a ſon, and ſhalt call his name Jeſus*. But whatever was the reaſon or occaſion of this expreſſion, 'tis evident, that the propoſition and aſſertion of theſe truths was intended. 1. That our Saviour was conceived and born. 2ly. That his conception was effected without any influence of man, only by the power of God and operation of the Holy Ghoſt. 3ly. That the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, did by the Holy Ghoſt, conceive, and bear, and bring him forth. Let us reflect and obſerve ſomewhat upon each of theſe propoſitions.

Luk. 1. 31. Matt. 1. 20. Τὸ γεννηθὲν is tranſlated *conceived*.

1. Our Saviour was conceived and born: He, (the perſon before mentioned) Jeſus Chriſt, the only Son of God, our Lord; the ſame who was in the beginning; and did from all eternity exiſt with God; the eternal Son of God, by whom all things were made; was in the fulneſs of time conceived and born; that is, had a production agreeable to the nature of man, and became thereby truly and entirely man; which wonderfull myſtery is in Scripture variouſly expreſſed or implied by, The *Word's being made*, or *becoming fleſh*; God being *manifeſted in the fleſh*; *taking the form of a ſervant*, *being made in the likeneſs of men, and being found*

Joh. 1. 14. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Phil. 2. 7, 8.

Heb. 2. 16. Heb. 2. 14. Rom. 8. 3. Joh. 13. 13, 31. 6. 33, 38, 50, 51, 58. Joh. 3. 17. 10. 36. 17. 18. 1 Joh. 4. 9. 1 Joh. 4. 2, 3. Heb. 2. 17. 4. 15.

in faſhion as man; aſſuming the ſeed of Abraham; partaking of fleſh and blood; deſcending from heaven: God ſending his Son into the world, in likeneſs of ſinfull fleſh, coming in the fleſh. The reſult of what is ſignified by theſe and the like expreſſions, being this, that, He which before, from all eternity did ſubſiſt in the form or nature of God; being the Son of God; did by a temporal generation truly become man; aſſuming humane nature into the unity of his perſon, by a conjunction and union thereof with the divine nature incomprehenſible and ineffable: He truly became man, I ſay, *like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted*; conſiſting of body and ſoul; endued with all faculties, and ſubject to all paſſions, infirmities, neceſſities conſequent upon or incident to our nature. He did not only ſeem in ſhape and outward appearance, (as a ſpectre, deluding men's ſight and fancy) but was in perfect truth a man; having a real body; circumſcribed and figured like ours, compacted of fleſh and bloud; that might be ſeen and felt; that was nouriſhed and grew; that needed and received ſuſtenance; that was frail and tender; paſſible and ſenſible; was bruiſed with blows; torn with ſcourges; pricked with thorns; pierced with nails; transfixed with an injurious ſpear. He had a ſoul too, endued with ſuitable faculties; an underſtanding capable of improvement (for he grew in wiſdom, in ſtature) a will ſubject and ſubmiſſive; he was ignorant (as man) of ſomething he might know; to the divine will; *(Let this cup paſs from me, if it be thy will: but however, not my will, but thine be done*; and, *I ſeek not my own will, but the will of the father, which hath ſent me.)* Appetites of meat, drink, ſleep and reſt: Several paſſions and affections. φυσικὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη, natural, irreprehenſible paſſions, and thoſe o the moſt troubleſome and afflictive ſort, anger, grief, and pity; and theſe ſometimes expreſſed by moſt pathetical ſignifications, in groans and tears Upon occaſion of his friend *Lazarus* his death, 'tis ſaid, * *He groaned in ſpirit, and was troubled and wept*; and ye know what heavineſs, agonies exceſſes of ſorrow, diſturbances, and amazements (they are terms uſed b the Evangeliſts) he underwent before his paſſion: ſo that as the Apoſtl to the *Hebrews* ſpeaketh; *We have not an High-prieſt that could not ſo compaſſionate*, or ſympathize with, *our infirmities, but who was in all point tempted* (or proved and exerciſed) *as we are*; (yet without ſin.)

Luk. 22. 64. Matt. 26. 67. Matt. 27. 26. Joh. 19. 1. Luk. 22. 42. Joh. 5. 30. Mar. 3. 5. * Ἡ ψυχή μου τετάραχται. Joh. 12. 27. Joh. 11. 33. Luk. 22. 44. Matt. 26. 37. Matt. 26. 38. Mar. 14. 33. † συμπαθῆσαι. Luk. 22. 28.

Thus did the Son of God (co-eternal and co-eſſential to his Father) be come the Son of man (truly and entirely of the nature and ſubſtance c man; deficient in no eſſential part; devoid of no humane property; ex empt from no imperfection or inconvenience conſequent upon our nature (except only ſin.)

If you demand the manner how, and the reaſon why God thus becam man; as to the firſt (the manner) we muſt anſwer, that we can hardl otherwiſe than by negation determine, not otherwiſe than by compariſo explain it: No words perhaps we uſe to ſignify our conceptions abou theſe lower things can perfectly and adequately ſuit to a myſtery ſo fa different from common objects of our knowledge, ſo far tranſcendin our capacity; yet we muſt affirm that whatever manner of conceivin or expreſſing it doth derogate from the divine perfections; or is repug nant to the nature of things; diſagrees from the tenour of divine truth (connected unto or depending upon this myſtery) or contradicts (direct or obliquely; immediately or by plain conſequence) the language an doctrine of the Scriptures, is to be rejected by us; we may therefore ſa with the Council of *Chalcedon*, That in this incarnation of our Lord th divine and humane nature were in his perſon united ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως.

Cujuſmodi ſit hæc communicatio, quâ natura humana communicatur verbo, non eſt hominis definire. *Alenſis.*

Ἀσυγχύτως,

Ἀσυγχύτως, without commixtion or confuſion, (for that would induce a third nature different from both) ſuch as reſults from the compoſition or contemperation of the elements into a mixed body; ſo that he ſhould be neither God nor Man; but I know not what other kind of being, without any ground or authority to be ſuppoſed, that would deſtroy, diminiſh, or alter the properties belonging to each; neither can we conceive the divine nature capable of any ſuch diminution or alteration.

Ἀτρέπτως; without converſion, or tranſmutation of one nature into the other, not of the divinity into humanity; for how could God, as God, be changed, or made; become infirm, and paſſible, conſiſt of body and ſoul; ſuffer and die? Not of the humanity into divinity; for how could that before it did exiſt at all, be turned into another thing? why ſhould our Saviour be called Man, when his humanity was tranſmuted into the divinity? why is it ſaid the word was made fleſh, if the fleſh was changed into the word? To omit how unimaginable it is that one ſubſtance ſhould be turned into another, eſpecially that a finite ſubſtance ſhould be turned into an infinite one; alſo to omit many dangerous conſequences of this opinion; and its inconſiſtency with many great and plain doctrines of our Religion.

Ἀδιαιρέτως, undividedly: So that the two natures have not diſtinct ſubſiſtences, nor do conſtitute two Perſons; for there is but one Chriſt; one Perſon, to whom, being God and Man, are truly and properly attributed.

Ἀχωρίστως, inſeparably; the natures being never ſeparated; the union never diſſolved; the ſame perſon never ceaſing to be both God and Man; no not, when as Man he ſuffered and died; for he raiſed himſelf from the dead; he reared the temple of his own body, being fallen: As continuing God, he was able to raiſe himſelf as Man: as being Man, he was capable of being raiſed by himſelf as God; the union between God and Man perſiſting, when the union between the humane body and ſoul were diſſolved. Joh. 2. 19.

I might add farther excluſively, that this union of the two natures was not made καὶὰ συνάφειαν, (by aſſiſtance or cloſe preſence) only; nor κατ' ἐνοίκησιν (by way of inhabitation,) nor καθ' ὁμοίωσιν (by relation,) κατ' ἀξιάν (by dignity or eſteem,) καὶὰ ταυτοβουλίαν, or κατ' ἁρμονίαν, (by conſent or conformity of will and counſel,) as *Neſtorius* and ſuch ancient heterodox dogmatiſts, in oppoſition to the Catholick expoſitions of this myſtery, did conceit: but it is ſcarce worth mentioning thoſe antiquated opinions: I cannot longer dwell here; I ſhall only ſubjoin (omitting others more wide and improper; as thoſe of *Bellarmine*, the union of a man's arm to his body; the inſition of a bough into a tree, and ſuch like) that nature doth afford us one compariſon fit to explain or illuſtrate the manner of this myſterious union; which is the union of man's ſoul and body, by which he becomes one perſon: the ſoul and body are two ſubſtances, very different in kind, properties and dignity, (the one material, extended, diviſible, corruptible, paſſive, lifeleſs and ſenſleſs; the other immaterial, indiviſible, incorruptible, ſelf-moving, indued with life, knowledge, paſſion) capable alſo both of ſeparate exiſtence and ſubſiſtence by themſelves; yet are theſe (though in a manner difficult for us to imagine or comprehend) united together and concurr to the conſtitution of a man, (and that ſo as to remain ſtill in ſubſtance diſtinct, retaining each its natural properties, without any confuſion, or converſion of one into the other; ſo alſo that a man is truly from them denominated both corporeal and ſpiritual, mortal and immortal;) in like manner (though more admirably

Vid. Salmeron. apud Gerard. in exeg. loc. pag. 441.

rably and incomprehensibly) are the divine and humane nature united in the Son of God: for (as we read in *Athanasius* his Creed)---As the reasonable soul and flesh is one Man, so God and Man is one Christ.

So much for the manner how; as for the reason why the Son of God did thus condescend to assume our nature, if we inquire the impulsive cause that moved him thereto, it was only God's infinite goodness, mercy and pity towards us: *(So God loved the world, that he thus sent his only begotten Son:)* it was the χρηστότης and φιλανθρωπία; the beneficence and philanthropy (if I may so speak) of God, that induced him by such a debasement, as it were, and an exinanition of himself to save us. If we desire to contemplate the wisdom of God in this admirable proceeding, and to know why God among other means and method (alike perhaps for all we can know possible to him) did choose by this to procure our redemption and salvation: I answer (though it becomes us rather to adore the depth of his counsels, than to search or hope to sound it, yet) some congruities of this method to the wisdom of God and the reason of the thing are intimated to us, and in some manner are apparent. It became God, as his goodness toward us was infinite, so that the demonstrations thereof to his glory, and our good, should be answerably so, which perhaps could not otherwise be than by such a condescension; as a Prince could not make any other so great attestation of his favour to his vassal, than by descending from his throne, laying aside his majesty, and putting himself in a like condition, conversing with him freely, subjecting himself to the same laws and duties; enduring the like hardships and inconveniencies with him: It was expedient our Redeemer should be God, that he might be able by his power to save us; to remove such great obstacles, to subdue so potent enemies, (to command and contravene nature; to vanquish hell; to abolish death in our behalf,) that by the nearness of his relation, the dignity of his person, and the value of his merit, he might fully appease God's wrath, and perfectly satisfie his justice for us: that his doctrine might carry with it the highest certainty and strongest efficacy; his example might challenge greatest regard and imitation; his laws might have supreme authority, and perfectly oblige: the redemption and salvation of man was an honour too high for any creature to arise to; a work too hard for any but God himself to perform: It was not fit that any creature should intercede or intermeddle in an affair of such importance and eminency: It was also requisite he should be man; that he might procure favour toward man, by perfectly obeying God's commands, and submitting patiently to God's will, as man; that as man had deeply offended and wronged God, so man should highly please and content him; that (in St. *Paul's* language) *as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners*, (condemned and exposed to death; God being displeased with mankind for that man's transgression,) *so by the obedience of one man many should be made righteous*, (absolved from guilt, and exempted from punishment; God being well-pleased with and reconciled to mankind in regard to that man's dutifull observance.) 'Twas decent, that as man did approve, so man should condemn sin in the flesh: as man by wilfull self-pleasing was brought to misery; so by voluntary suffering he should be restored to happiness; ἔπρεπε, *it became him* (saith the Apostle) *for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the captain of their salvation perfect through suffering:* It was also fit, that he who was designed to intercede for our welfare, and propitiate for our faults, to succour and relieve us in our distresses, should be tender of our good, and sensible of our needs; (should by nature and experience

Joh. 3. 16. 1 Joh. 4. 9. Tit. 3. 4.

Rom. 5. 19, &c.

Rom. 8. 3.

Heb. 2. 10.

Heb. 4. 15. 5. 2.

perience be diſpoſed συμπαθῆν, to compaſſionate our infirmities, and μετριοπαθῆν, to be gently affected towards us in reſpect of our ignorances and errours:) Whence (ſaith the ſame divine Apoſtle) *it behoved him* (ὤφειλε, he ought according to the deſign appointed and undertaken by him) *to be in all things made like unto his brethren, that he might be a mercifull and faithfull High-prieſt toward God, in things pertaining to God, that he might propitiate for the ſins of the people: for in that he hath himſelf ſuffered, being tempted, he is able to ſuccour thoſe that are tempted.* I might add, that by appearing in humane ſhape (viſible and audible; familiar and agreeable to us;) he was qualified for that great deſign of declaring God's will and intention toward us, in a leſs amazing and a more obliging way, than could otherwiſe have been, that thus with more advantage he could deſcribe an exact copy of righteonſneſs for us to follow; ſhewing us how we ſhould as men behave our ſelves, how moderate our appetites, how govern our paſſions; how uſe and order all the powers of our ſoul and members of our body: neither was it poſſible otherwiſe that ſo lively a pattern of tranſcendent charity, meekneſs, patience, and humility could have been exhibited. Heb. 2. 17.

In fine, it was moſt congruous, that he who was intended to recapitulate and reconcile (ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, and ἀποκαταλλάξαι) all things in heaven and earth; ſhould be the great mediatour and peace-maker between God and Man; ſhould repair God's honour, and diſpenſe his grace; purchaſe man's peace and procure his ſalvation; that he ſhould be the moſt nearly related to both parties; even if poſſible (and what is to God impoſſible?) be himſelf both God and man; the Son of God, and our brother; the ſame in nature with God, in kind with us. ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι. Eph. 1. 10. Col. 1. 20.

The proper uſe and influence of which great doctrine upon our ſouls ſhould be to cauſe us with higheſt degrees of love and thankfulneſs to adore the infinite goodneſs of that God, who hath been pleaſed himſelf to ſtoop ſo low, that he might raiſe us up from the loweſt depth of meanneſs and wretchedneſs to the higheſt pitch of honour and happineſs we are capable of. What words can expreſs, what thought can reach a favour ſo ineffable and inconceivable. Well might St. *Paul* call it ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην, love tranſcending all knowledge. Well may heaven and earth be aſtoniſhed, and hell tremble at ſuch a miracle of mercy. The ſoveraign Majeſty of heaven; the Lord of glory; the World's Maker; the only Son of God and heir of all things, to become a poor, ſmall, weak, and frail man; to dwell in a tabernacle of fleſh; to converſe with vile, ſilly, wretched mortals; to be ſubject to want, reproach, and pain: ὦ Βάθος! O depth of love and goodneſs unſearchable! if this will not, what conſideration can raiſe us? what benefit affect or oblige us? what prodigious ingratitude will it be to be inſenſible or neglectfull of ſuch kindneſs? Eph. 3. 19. Vid. Lu. 1. 78. 1 Joh. 14.

Another great uſe of this doctrine is, to engage us as to univerſal obedience and ſubmiſſion to God's will, ſo particularly to humility, and patience, and charity. Did God thus ſubmit, thus abaſe himſelf; and ſhall we be refractary, ſhall we exalt our ſelves, ſhall we repine at any diſpenſation or proceeding of God? To theſe purpoſes St. *Paul* applies it: *Let the ſame mind be in you, which was in Chriſt Jeſus----who being in the form of God, emptied himſelf, and took upon him the form of a ſervant, and was made in the likeneſs of men: and being found in the faſhion of man, humbled himſelf, and became obedient unto death---And know* (or conſider) *the grace* (or graciouſneſs) *of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that for your ſake* (ἐπτώχευσε) *he became poor* (a beggar) *being himſelf rich; that ye by his poverty might become rich:* ('Tis a conſideration by which he incites them to charity.) Phil. 2. 2 Cor. 8. 9.

Thus

Thus and to ſuch purpoſe are we to believe our Saviour's conception and nativity. Of which, ſecondly, it is affirmed, and we are to conſider that he was *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*; that is, by the vertue and operation of the Holy Ghoſt the Bleſſed Virgin became impregnated, and did conceive him, without intervention of any man or father: *Joſeph* was (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) in outward eſteem and carriage, but God only was in truth his father; which is ſo perſpicuouſly and fully aſſerted in the Goſpels, that thoſe who dare (upon weak pretences of diſcourſe) to contradict it, deſerve not to be conſidered otherwiſe, than as perverters of the Scripture and ſubverters of its authority and uſe: nothing can be certainly known thence, if this truth be not.

Luk. 3. 23. Vid. Epiſcopium de Joſephilis.

The manner of this operation as by St. *Luke* expreſſed, is by the ſupervention of the Holy Ghoſt, and the divine power's overſhading the bleſſed Virgin: words of ſo general ſignification, and ſo little, as to their full extent, intelligible by us, that they well ſerve to bound our curioſity and forbid farther inquiry. Some indeed have been ſo bold as to determine, that the Holy Ghoſt did bring from heaven and inſtill a body into the Virgin *; that our Saviour's fleſh was made of a divine ſeed; and of the ſubſtance of God; that the Holy Ghoſt did in his conception create and impart ſomewhat of matter; 'tis enough to ſay that theſe are raſh and groundleſs conceits: the fathers more ſoberly (to prevent dangerous and unbecoming thoughts and ſpeeches in this matter) ſay, that our Saviour was *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, not σπερμαλικῶς (ſeminally,) but δημιεργικῶς (operatively) ἐ διὰ συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως; not by copulation, but by power; *Non de ſubſtantia Spiritûs Sancti, ſed de potentia*; Not out of the ſubſtance, but by the vertue of the Holy Ghoſt. Farther than ſo, *Generationem ejus quis enarrabit*? Who can declare the τὸ πῶς, the perfect manner of a generation ſo ſublime and wonderfull? The reaſons of his being thus conceived are more obvious: *Conceived by the Holy Ghoſt.*

Luk. 1. 35.

* *Valentinus* and his Sect of old. *Menno*, *Servetus*, &c. *Smalcius*, &c. *Socinus*, his followers. Damaſc. III. 2. Juſt. Mart. Apol. 2. Aug 9. ſerm. de tempore, 53. *Iſa.*

In my endeavour to ſhew the reaſons why our Saviour was thus conceived, I was interrupted the laſt time: I ſhall therefore, reſuming a little what was ſaid, proceed.

1. It was the moſt fit way of effecting that ſo neceſſary conjunction of the divine and humane nature; a work of ſuch glory and grandeur; of ſuch grace and goodneſs was not to be atchieved by any other agent than him, who is the ſubſtantial virtue and love of God; by whom we ſee all extraordinary and moſt eminent works managed and attributed to him. In the creation of the World he moved upon the waters, forming and actuating the World; by him thoſe ſignal works of providence, revelation of divine truth, prediction of future events, performance of miracles, renovation of men's minds, and reformation of their manners, are in a particular manner aſcribed; and ſo to him this moſt high and glorious performance was proper and due.

2dly. It being neceſſary that our Saviour ſhould be conſecrated to his great offices, and perfectly ſanctified in his perſon; and thoſe performances being appropriated to the Holy Ghoſt, (the natural ſpring and author of all derived Sanctity) his efficacy therefore muſt needs intervene, if *Jeremy*, St. *Paul*, St. *John Baptiſt* (perſons deſigned to offices and employments, in dignity and importance ſo far interiour) were ſanctified, and ſeparated, and filled with the Holy Ghoſt from their mother's womb; in how more excellent a kind and degree was it requiſite that he ſhould be ſanctified, who was ſent to redeem and purifie the world from all filth and fault? It was neceſſary that his humane nature, which God vouchſafed ſo highly to advance (to aſſume into ſo near a conjunction and union with

Jer. 1. 5. Gal. 1. 15. Luk. 1. 15.

with himſelf) ſhould be free from all ſtain and pollution, (ſuch as adheres to our ſinfull fleſh and corrupt nature in ordinary propagation,) that he whom God ſhould ſo dearly love and be ſo entirely pleaſed with, ſhould be void of the leaſt inclination to iniquity or impurity; *for God*, as the *Pſalmiſt* tells us, *is not a God that hath pleaſure in wickedneſs; neither ſhall evil dwell with him: He is of purer eyes than* (ſo much as) *to behold evil, and cannot look upon iniquity*, much leſs would he receive any defiled thing into ſo near an union, ſo dear a reſpect and complacence with himſelf. It was alſo neceſſary, that he who was appointed to appeaſe God's diſpleaſure, and reconcile him fully toward us; to redeem mankind from the guilt and power of ſin; to ſatisfie and expiate for all our offences; with full authority to teach, command and exemplifie all righteouſneſs; ſhould himſelf know no ſin: *Such a High-prieſt became us, who was holy, harmleſs, undefiled, ſeparate from ſinners---Who had no need firſt to offer up ſacrifices for his own ſins:* The ſacrifice expiatory of our ſins was and ought to be a *lamb* (ἄμωμος καὶ ἄσπιλος) *without blemiſh and without ſpot*; therefore was he fully ſanctified, and became τὸ ἅγιον, that *holy thing*, as he is called by the Angel; *(therefore that holy thing, which ſhall be born of thee, ſhall be called the Son of God*; therefore from the fountain of holineſs, the Holy Ghoſt (whoſe proper name doth import holineſs, whoſe proper work it is to ſanctifie) did he derive a perfect ſanctity and purity in his ſacred conception.

Rom. 8. 3. Pſal. 5. 4. Heb. 1. 13. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 2. 26, 27. 1 Pet. 1. 19. Luk. 1. 35.

3. I might add as obſervable, the analogy (or reſemblance) that is between the conception of our Saviour for us, and his formation in us; his generation and our regeneration; his becoming our brother in the fleſh; our becoming his brethren in the ſpirit; both being performed by the ſame agent; as Chriſt was made true man, and partaker of our nature, ſo we become true Chriſtians and (θείας φύσεως κοινωνοὶ) *partakers of the divine nature* by the operation of the ſame divine ſpirit: As he by nature, ſo we by grace are born *not by bloud, nor of the will of the fleſh, nor of the will of man, but of God:* Hence accrues a new relation, and we become his brethren, not only as he was *made like us*, but as we become like him; and are begot of God, by the ſame heavenly vertue, by the ſame incorruptible ſeed.

Gal. 4. 19. 2 Pet. 1. 14. Joh. 1. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 23. 1 Joh. 3. 9.

The proper uſe of this doctrine is to cauſe us farther ſtill to adore the goodneſs and wiſdom of God ſo fully, ſo fitly carrying on that infinitely mercifull and gracious work of our redemption; all the divine perſons, in a particular manner conſpiring as in the deſign, ſo in the execution thereof: The Father ſending his Son; the Son condeſcending to come; the Holy Ghoſt bringing him into the world: To which Bleſſed Trinity therefore rendring all praiſe and thanks; We proceed to that which is farther contained in theſe words: *Born of the Virgin* Mary.

Born of her. Being *born*, doth not barely denote his nativity, but includes his whole humane generation, (with the parts and progreſs thereof;) implying all that ſhe, as a Mother, did conferr thereto; and comprehending, 1. His conception of her ſubſtance; whence he is called *the fruit of her womb, rod* (or *branch*) *ſprouting from the ſtem of Jeſſe*; and *behold* (ſaith the Angel) συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, *thou ſhalt conceive in thy womb.* 2. The nutrition, augmentation, and entire conformation of his body, alſo of her blood and ſubſtance; whence her womb is ſaid to bear him, *(Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee,)* that ſhe was ἔγκυος *(gravidated*, or*) great with child* of him; and εὑρέθη, *ſhe was found* (ſhe was obſerved by apparent ſigns) ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, *to be of child* with him. 3. His nativity it ſelf; thus expreſſed by the Evangeliſt: *The days were accompliſhed that ſhe ſhould be*

Luk. 1. 41. 31. Iſa. 10. 1. Luk. 11. 27. 2. 5. Matt. 1. 18. Luk. 2.

delivered, and she brought forth her first-born Son. Whatever therefore any Mother doth conferr to the entire production of a child, is attributed plainly to the Virgin; whence she is truly and properly (and is accordingly frequently called in the Gospels) *the Mother of our Saviour*; *the Mother of our Lord*; and hath been (may be in some propriety of speech) styled Θεοτόκος, *Deipara*; *Dei genetrix & Dei mater*; the Bearer and Mother of God, (that is, of him who is God; though not of him, as God.)

Luk. 1. 43.

But let us farther observe what the words afford to us considerable: *Born of the Virgin* Mary: They imply our Saviour born of a Woman; born of a Virgin; born of *Mary*. Of a Woman that was necessary or requisite to be; of a Virgin, that was convenient, decent and wonderfull of *Mary*, that determines the Person, and involves many circumstances of importance.

1. I say, *born of a Woman*, ἐκ σοῦ (as it is in the best copies of St. *Luke chap.* 1. 35.) and ἐκ γυναικὸς (as it is in St. *Paul, Gal.* 4. 4.) not *in* a woman only (ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν, *Matt.* 1. 20.) or *through* a woman, but *of* a woman that is, of the matter and substance of a woman; so as thereby to bear the relation of a kinsman, to become consanguineous to all mankind (whom God did *make of one bloud.*) We may easily conceive that God could have immediately created (as he did our first parents) a nature in kind and properties like to ours, and assumed it; but that would not have so fitly served his design of reconciling himself to us and redeeming us to the effecting that, not only a resemblance in nature, but a cognation and proximity of bloud was requisite, or at least more convenient and suitable. Our bloud being tainted, our whole stock degraded by the disloyalty and rebellion of our common ancestours, it was fit it should be purged and restored by the satisfactory merit and fidelity of one, who was of our race and kindred. We being to be adopted and received into God's family, it was fit it should be by intervention of a common relation: Such is St. *Paul's* discourse: *God sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that he might redeem those that were under the law; that by performing the obedience due to the law, he might redeem those, who being obliged to obey the law, did yet transgress it,* (ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν; that we might be constituted sons; receive the state and quality of sons to God. It was congruous that the Devil, who by the weakness of a Woman, had seduced Man from his duty to God, (had overthrown and triumphed over God's creature) should, in just revenge, and for reparation of God's honour, by the strength and constancy of one proceeding from a Woman, be himself defeated, and debased; according to the prophetical promise: *The seed of the Woman shall break the Serpent's head:* Of the woman; the man not mentioned, for (that which is next to be considered) he was *born of the Virgin Mary*. So it was of old pre-signified and propheſied: *A Virgin shall conceive and bear a son:* A Virgin: *Alma*, (so *Aquila* renders it) ἀπόκρυφος, a recluse; that perhaps seldom had seen, had never however known a man.

Gal. 4. 4, 5.

Gen. 3. 15.

Es. 7. 14. Matt. 1. 23. * Luk. 1. 34.

2. *Born of a Virgin.* So it was; and so it was fit it should be: It was decent that the Tabernacle in which God himself would dwell should be wholly proper, and enclosed; that the temple of the divinity should be holy and separate; that the soil whence holiness it self would germinate, should be clear and free from all sordid mixtures; that none should touch the *border of that mountain*, where God would *manifest himself*; nor the lust of man approach that place, whence the glory of God should so illustriously shine forth. It was also more than convenient to excite admiration; to beget faith, to procure reverence in us, that our Saviour should

Ex. 19. 11, &c.

be born in a manner ſo peculiar and miraculous; it could not otherwiſe appear plainly that he was the Son of God: Who that hears of ſuch a paſſage can forbear to wonder and conſider? who can doubt him to be the Son of God, whom by ſufficient and certain atteſtation he learns to have been conceived without any concurrence of man? who can do otherwiſe than adore him, that was born in a manner ſo glorious and ſupernatural? This, it ſeems, was that new thing (ſo ſtrange and admirable) which in the Prophet *Jeremy* God did foreſhew he would create in the earth, (than when he would reſtore *Sion* and make a new covenant with *Iſrael*) *a woman ſhall compaſs a man?* that is, a woman (in a manner extraordinary, without man's concourſe) ſhall conceive and contain a man: a man, who ſhall accompliſh thoſe great things there propheſied of and promiſed. Jer. 31. 22.

But farther; born of *Mary*; of that particular perſon determined and deſcribed in the Goſpel; her that was eſpouſed to, and lived with *Joſeph*; (*Joſeph* the Carpenter, that was born in the Town of *Bethlehem*, lived in *Nazareth*; was deſcended in a direct lineage from King * *David*, (according to both a natural and legal deſcent,) and conſequently from *Abraham*; ſhe being alſo of the ſame ſtock and family (as may be collected from ſome circumſtances intimated in the ſtory, but more certainly deduced from the prophecies concerning our Saviour's ſtock, and the aſſertions implying their accompliſhment.) *Mary* (I ſay) a Princeſs by bloud and progeny; and extracted from the moſt illuſtrious ſtem upon earth, not only famous among men, but (which is infinitely more) moſt dear to God; yet ſhe, ſuch as was very mean and poor in condition; humble and meek in ſpirit; religious and devout toward God; ſuch the paſſages occurring in the Goſpel concerning her do ſhew her; ſuch that moſt excellent hymn of hers in St. *Luke* (dictated by a ſpirit raviſhed with the moſt ſprightly devotion imaginable; devotion full of ardent love, paſſionate thankfulneſs, hearty joy tempered with ſubmiſs reverence) do demonſtrate her to have been. Of a mother ſo related and ſo qualified was our Saviour born. So related that was neceſſary, for the declaration of God's truth and fidelity, performing thoſe ancient predictions and promiſes made to the fathers; to * *Abraham (that in his ſeed all the families of the earth ſhould be bleſſed)* to † *David*; to whom God had ſworn (as || St. *Peter* tells us) that of *the fruit of his loins, according to the fleſh, he would raiſe up Chriſt, to ſet upon his throne*; who (as appears by many paſſages in the Goſpels) God's people did expect and believe that he ſhould be the *rod out of the ſtem of Jeſſe, and a branch growing out of his roots*; in whom the horn of *David* ſhould bud; who ſhould * *raiſe the tabernacle of David that was fallen*; and *rule over the Kingdom of Jacob for ever.* So was the Bleſſed Virgin related, and to ſuch purpoſe (that all God's predictions and promiſes concerning the circumſtances of our Saviour's birth might be verified) and ſo qualified; ſuch in outward condition; holy in diſpoſition of mind; homely in ſtate of life; to teach us, that God doth not ſo much regard the outward pomps and appearances of this world, as the inward frame and temper of ſpirit: 'Tis ſome diſparagement to thoſe vain glories, by men ſo greatly admired; and it may induce us but moderately to eſteem them, to conſider, that God did not chooſe for the Mother of his Son and Saviour of mankind any great Princeſs; any honourable or wealthy perſonage; but her that was eſpouſed to a mean artizan, rich only in grace, ſplendid in ſpiritual endowments; *adorned with that hidden man of the heart in the incorruptibility of a meek and quiet ſpirit, which is in the ſight of God of great price.* Such an one the Son of God choſe to bear himſelf,

* Luk. 2. 4. ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαβίδ. Vid. Luk. 2. 4.

* Gen. 26. 4. 12. 3. 18. 18. 22. 18. Gal. 3. 8. Act. 3. 25.
† Pſal. 132. 17.
|| Act. 2. 15.
Vid. Matt. 22. 42. 20. 30. 2. 5. 21. 15, 23. 9. 15. 27. Rom. 1. 3. Eſ. 11. 1, 10. Rom. 15. 12. Apoc. 22. 16. 5. 5.
* Amos 9. 11. Act. 15. 16.
Luk. 1. 32, 33.

1 Pet. 3. 4.

to bear duty unto; to conferr that great favour, that high honour upon (an honour among exteriour ones, the higheſt that ever was vouchſafed to any perſon, to any meer creature; for ſpiritual Bleſſings our Saviour himſelf doth preferr even above this great privilege: *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *ſhall do the will of my Father, which is in heaven, the ſame is my brother, and ſiſter, and mother:* the ſame is ſo according to a more excellent kind of relation. By the way we may obſerve, that although the Bleſſed Virgin was in that reſpect κεχαριτωμένη, *eſpecially favoured and bleſſed among women*; though *all nations* muſt needs therefore eſteem and *call her bleſſed*; though ſhe juſtly acknowledged *God had done* μεγαλεῖα, (*mighty* and magnificent *things for her,*) yet in reality to have Chriſt born in our ſouls, to partake of his divine grace and preſence in our hearts is a higher honour, a truer happineſs than that: for when the good woman, raviſhed by our Saviour's diſcourſe, did cry out: *Bleſſed is the womb that bare thee: yea rather*, ſaid he, *Bleſſed are they that hear the Word of God and keep it.*

Matt. 12. 50.

Luk. 1. 28. 48. 49.

Οὐδὲ τὸ κυοφορῆσαι ἢ χειρὸν ἢ θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον τόκον τεκεῖν ἔχει τι κέρδος.

Luk. 11. 27.

We muſt not alſo neglect to obſerve, that our Saviour choſe ſo mean a parentage, partly that he might taſt and undergo the hardſhips and inconveniences incident to our nature, (thereby more fully meriting and ſatisfying for us,) partly to give us example of the moſt difficult vertues and duties (of humility, meekneſs, and patience,) ſhewing us how we ſhould cheerfully endure wants, pains, diſgraces; contentedly want all the pleaſure, wealth, and ſplendour of the world.

The uſe of this point concerning our Saviour's birth of the Bleſſed Virgin is not to beget in us fond opinions, or to ground ſcandalous practice in reſpect to her; attributing to her (I cannot ſay leſs than ſacrilegiouſly and profanely) ſuch ſwelling, vain, falſe titles and elogies, *Regina Cœli ſalus Mundi, mater miſericordiarum, Domina noſtra, ſponſa Dei*, and the like; aſcribing to her the moſt ſublime attributes and actions of God, Providence and protection over us, yea redemption it ſelf; performing acts of religious veneration, (and thoſe in a very high manner and ſtrain,) and all this without any good reaſon, any plauſible authority, or conſiderable example; I ſay from ſuch groundleſs conceits and dangerous practices we ſhould beware; which as they derogate from God's honour and prejudice his ſervice, ſo they do rather injure, abuſe and diſcredit the Bleſſed Virgin than do any right or honour to her; whoſe greater honour indeed it was to be a meek and humble ſervant, than to be the mother of her Saviour and Lord; the greateſt and trueſt honour we can do her is to imitate her grace, and to obey him, who vouchſafed to be her Son. But I will not proſecute that matter; nor farther inſiſt upon this point; ſome practical uſes thereof I have in the precedent diſcourſe inſinuated; the reſt I leave to your meditation.

Next our Saviour's incarnation (his conception and nativity) with the cauſes and manner thereof (partly expreſſed, partly implyed) doth ſucceed his paſſion. It might be inquired, why ſomething concerning his life interceding, is not mentioned; ſince we ſee the Apoſtles in their preaching declaratory concerning the principal matters of our faith take eſpecial notice of thoſe things: *Ye know* (ſaith St. *Peter*, in his catechetical diſcourſe to *Cornelius* and his friends) *the thing that was done throughout all Judæa, beginning from Galilee, after the baptiſm, which John preached; Jeſus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Ghoſt and with power, who went about doing good and healing all that were oppreſſed of the devil, for God was with him.* And the ſame Apoſtle in his ſpeech to the Jews: *Ye men of Iſrael* (ſaith he) *hear theſe words, Jeſus of Nazareth a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and ſigns, which God did by him in*

Act. 10. 37, 38.

Act. 2. 22.

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the midst of you, as ye also know. Him being delivered, &c. Why therefore is not some such mention made here concerning the manner of our Saviour's life, the quality of his works and actions? I answer; that it did suffice to describe our Saviour (as the object of the faith we profess) by such characters as did most notoriously determine and distinguish his person; and withal did involve and intimate the most signal mysteries of our faith, the most important doctrines of our religion the main design of his undertaking, the fit method in which he prosecuted it, and the most effectual means by which he accomplished it. The belief of which doth virtually contain (or consequentially inferr) our belief of what ever beside it is necessary or expedient for us to believe concerning him; there was nothing about our Saviour's person more conspicuous and visible than his trial, condemnation and execution in the time, under the presidency of *Pontius Pilate*; nor was any passage of his life, any performance of his more conducible to the accomplishment of that design, which God was pleased he should undertake: It was therefore sufficient and fit to describe him by this and other such passages; (well attested, important and influential) and if we believe in him, who so suffered, we consequently believe all that he did or said; all that is in the Gospels (the most certain and authentical testimonies) delivered concerning him; and that he truly was whatever we see there he did pretend and teach himself to be; (the true *Messias* the only Son of God and Saviour of the world by this passage therefore (assuming his resurrection) the Apostles do characterize him: for instance; *Be it known to you all* (saith St. *Peter*) *that in the name of* Act. 4. 10. *Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you have crucified, whom God hath raised from the dead, in that doth this man stand before you whole: Neither to us only* Apoc. 13. 8. *is the Lamb slain*, a periphrasis fully and clearly denoting his person, but the Jews themselves (though out of hatred and in contempt) call him ordinarily *Talui* (*Suspensus*, him that was hanged) and ὁ ἀνασκολοπισθεὶς (you know) in the Pagan scoffers language doth signify him. But as to the thing it self. * Grot. de Ver. II. 2.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was crucified, dead----

THis part of our Saviour's humiliation, is in the ancient Creeds expressed more concisely by one word *crucifixus: Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato & sepultus:* Crucified under *Pontius Pilate* and buried; so it goes in the text of *Ruffinus*, and agreeably in other ancient expositors. But this alteration (or accession) it seems was made, (as for the express disclaiming of some heretical conceits that afterward sprung up, denying the real truth of our Saviour's death, so) for the more full and clear representation of the thing; by implying the manner, and main circumstances, and complete effect thereof: for by suffering (I conceive) was intended to express that what he underwent was in way of judicial process, and sentence of law, obtaining force and effect upon him, (that he was prosecuted, adjudged, and punished as a malefactor;) (for the word πάσχειν, applied as in this case, did, I suppose (as *to suffer* doth now in common use with us) by an εὐφημισμὸς (a mild and modest kind of speech) bear this emphasis, importing to be punished with death in a legal course;) then being *crucified* doth shew the kind and manner of that suffering, which was most painfull and disgracefull; and being dead, was added to declare the full effect and extreme complement of all; (he so suffered, was so crucified, as thereby to lose his life.) Let us somewhat ponder upon these particulars distinctly, then consider all together.

Suffered

Suffered under Pontius Pilate. *Suffered*: that is (I say in my apprehension) underwent judgment, and punishment as a malefactor. I deny not but the word may in signification extend to all the infirmities, inconveniencies, pains, and sorrows that our Saviour did undergo both in the course of his ministerial performances, and chiefly before his death; but I think those sufferings of his rather considerable upon other accounts (as consequents upon our nature assumed, adjuncts to his condition, and concomitants of his passion) than here directly intended; for to interpret ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, in *Pontius Pilate* his time, so as to respect any time before our Saviour's being accused and arraigned before him, seems a stretch and a strain. *Suffered* here, I therefore take for *punished*, in way of seeming justice as a malefactour. That he should thus suffer, God had determined, and it was foretold by the Prophet *Isaias*; *that he should be numbred among the transgressours*: and St. *Paul* tells us, *that God made him sin for us*; (that is, ordered that he should be dealt with as a sinfull or criminous person) *who knew no sin*, (was perfectly innocent and free from the least tendency to any fault:) And we see in the history that he was impeached of high crimes; as a blasphemer against God, (assuming to himself the title, power and properties and prerogatives of God) as a seditious and rebellious person, (perverting (or stirring up) the nation, and hindring to give tribute to *Cæsar*, and pretending that he was Christ a King) as a deluder and seducer of the people; in general, as a κακοποιὸς, a criminal person and malefactour; and that he was condemned (though by a sentence extorted, against the conscience of the judge, by malicious importunity of the accusers) and suffered in pretence as such, is clear, and confessed on all hands. And that we may the beter admire the wisdom and goodness of God in this dispensation, let us meditate upon the reasons why it was so ordered. To which purpose we may consider:

See Mat. 16. 21. Luk. 9. 22.

Luk. 22. 37. Mar. 15. 28. Isa. 53. 12. 2 Cor. 5. 21.

Joh. 5. 18. 10. 30. Matt. 26. 61, 65. Luk. 23. 2. Matt. 27. 63. Joh. 7. 12. Joh. 18. 30.

1. That as our Saviour did choose to live a life of greatest meanness and hardship, so for the same reasons he would die a death of all most bitter and uncomfortable: Such is to our nature the death of a malefactour; there is nothing to man's nature (and especially to honest, ingenious and well-disposed nature, wherein natural modesty is not extinguished or decayed) more abominable. God hath put into us, for good purposes, a lively sense of all disgrace; and of all disgraces, that which proceeds from imputation of odious crimes is most disgustfull and pungent; and being conscious of innocence, doth increase the smart; and to perceive our selves to die under it (to leave this world with such an irreparable stain upon our reputation and memory) is still more grievous: to languish by degrees, and endure the torments of a long and sharp disease, all ingenuous persons would much rather choose, than in this manner, being esteemed and dealt with as a villain, to find a present and easie dispatch: We see somewhat of this resentment breaking forth in our Saviour; and how man's nature discovered it self in that question: *Be ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves?* Yes; he loathed to be so treated, yet chose it as he did other the worst inconveniencies incident to our nature and to that low condition, which he put himself into (to endure want and fare hardly; to be contemned, envied, hated, scorned and reproached in all the course of his life; he had not been so complete and extreme a sufferer if he had died any other way. He was oftentimes in danger of death both from the secret machinations, and open violences of those which envied and hated him; but he industriously declined a death so easie, so honourable, (if I may so say: for it is not so great a disgrace to perish by private malice, or by sudden rage, as by the solemn and deliberate

Luk. 22. 52. Matt. 26. 55.

Joh. 5. 18. 10. 32, 38. 8. 40. 37. 7. 59. 19. 25.

liberate proceeding of men in publick place, credit and authority: He ſhewed his diſciples (ſay the Goſpels) that it was incumbent upon him (ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν) to ſuffer many things, *to be rejected* or reprobated (ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι, ἐξουδενῶθαι, to be vilified and made nothing of) *by the chief* Matt. 20. 18. *prieſts, and elders, and ſcribes; to be condemned to death, and delivered to* 16. 21. Luk. 9. 22. *the Gentiles,* εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι, *to be mocked and ſcourged and crucified.* Thus Mar. 9. 12. would our Saviour ſuffer not only in his body by bruiſes and wounds; in his ſoul by moſt bitter ſorrows; but in his name and reputation by the worſt of ignominies; undergoing as well all the infamy, as the infirmity that did belong to, or could befall us: thus by all means ſhewing his charity; and exerciſing his compaſſion, and advancing his merit for us.

2. Again, Death by publick judgment, as a malefactour, did agree to the nature of his undertaking, was congruous to his deſigns in dying; did aptly repreſent what he was doing, and ſignifie why he did it. We were guilty; we deſerved condemnation; extreme pain and ſhame were due to us for our ſins: he undertook to ſatisfie for us, and therefore underwent the like judgment and puniſhment; was reputed, was called, was dealt with as a malefactour in our ſtead. What we had really done, diſhonoured and uſurped upon God; diſordered and troubled the world; deceived and ſeduced our ſelves and others (by our negligent miſtakes and our wilfull miſcarriages; our evil practices and examples) that was imputed to him: *All we like ſheep have gone aſtray; we have turned every one to his own way;* Eſ. 53. 6. *and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all:* He not only bore an equivalent puniſhment, but in a manner an equal blame with us.

3. Add hereto: that ſince it was determined he ſhould die for us; and that not in a natural, but a violent manner; and that to ſatisfie divine juſtice; it was fit he ſhould do it in that way wherein God's right is moſt nearly concerned, and his providence moſt diſcernible; wherein it might moſt plainly appear that God did exact and take; Chriſt did yield unto and undergo puniſhment: *All judgment is God's* (as *Moſes* tells us) per- Deut. 1. 17. formed by authority derived from him; All Magiſtrates are his officers; by them he orders and governs the world; what therefore is done in a way of formal judgment by perſons of authority, God himſelf may be ſaid in an eſpecial manner to do, (as being done by his commiſſion, in his ſtead, in his behalf.) It was therefore an act of ſubmiſſion to God's juſtice, becoming the perſon he ſuſtained (of our Surety and our Saviour) to undergo ſuch a judgment and ſuch a puniſhment. Seaſonably therefore did our Saviour anſwer *Pilate*, vouching his authority: *Thou hadſt* Joh. 19. 11. *no power at all over* (or *againſt me*) *except it were given thee from above:* it was in regard to that ſupreme and original authority of God that our Saviour ſubjected himſelf to theſe inferiour and ſubordinate powers, as the proper inſtruments of God's juſtice. Had he ſuffered in any other way (by any private malice or paſſion of men) God's providence had been leſs viſible, Chriſt's obedience not ſo remarkable; and if he muſt die by publick hands, it muſt be as a criminal; upon pretence of guilt: there muſt be teſtimonies produced, however falſe; there muſt be a ſentence pronounced, though partial and unjuſt: no man is proſecuted or perſecuted by authority, without ſome colour of deſert.

4. Farther, in no other way perhaps could our Saviour diſplay (with ſuch advantage) all manner of vertue and goodneſs, to the honour of God, and our benefit: whether we conſider the occaſions to exerciſe his vertue, or the means of ſhewing it. The Judgment-hall (with all the ſtreets that lead him thither, and thence to execution, attended by guards of ſouldiers, and accompanied by clamours of the people) were ſo many theatres,

theatres, whereupon he had opportunity (convenience and leiſure) publickly to act the parts of the higheſt and hardeſt vertues; to declare his courage and conſtancy in defence of truth, and maintenance of a good conſcience; his meekneſs and patience in bearing the greateſt affronts and reproaches; injuries and calumnies the worſt imaginable; his entire reſignation to God's will; his ſubmiſſion and obedience to man's law and authority; his admirable charity in pitying, in excuſing, in praying for, yea in ſuffering all this for the good of thoſe, who in a manner ſo deſpitefull, injurious, and cruel did perſecute him: all theſe graces and vertues, by the matter being thus ordered, were in a degree moſt high, in a manner moſt conſpicuous demonſtrated to the praiſe of God's name and the advancement of his truth; for the confirmation of our faith; an inſtruction, encouragement, and inducement of good practice to us.

Neither muſt we omit to conſider the farther emphaſis that lies in the word *Suffer*, which implies our Saviour not only to have been dealt with as a malefactour, but to have really endured what a man in that caſe might or ſhould do: that he was ſenſible and affected (according to the frame of humane nature) with the pain, diſgrace, and ſhame, and all evils whatever did appear to attend his paſſion: as his complexion was moſt pure and delicate; his ſpirit moſt vivid and apprehenſive, accordingly were the pains that he felt, both in body and ſoul moſt ſharp and afflictive: Some men may fondly pretend to, or falſely glory in a ſtupid apathy; or a ſtubborn contempt of all thoſe evils, to which our nature is ſubject: Our Saviour did not ſo, but with a quiet ſubmiſſion and ſweet compoſedneſs of mind reſented them; as God intended we ſhould do when he implanted ſenſe and paſſion in our natural conſtitution, and ordered objects to affect and afflict them, for our uſe and advantage.

Thus and for ſuch reaſons and to ſuch purpoſes (as I conceive) did our Saviour ſuffer, or undergo judgment and puniſhment: It is added, *under Pontius Pilate*, ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου; where the prepoſition ὑπὸ may either denote the circumſtance of time, when our Saviour's paſſion did happen (in the time of *Pontius Pilate* his government or preſidency over *Judæa*; ſo ὑπὸ is very frequently uſed) or it may farther imply a reſpect to that perſon, as an inſtrument of our Saviour's paſſion (by, or under *Pontius Pilate* as preſident and judge; ſo the word is ſometimes uſed.) Neither of theſe ſenſes, I ſuppoſe, were diſtinctly, but both conjunctly intended here; in relation to the Goſpel-hiſtory; the which here (as to the main paſſages) we are ſuppoſed to know, and profeſs to believe: neither do I think any more of myſtery deſigned, beyond the full and clear determination of our Saviour's perſon, the declaration of whom we believe in, by circumſtances moſt apt and ſuitable to that purpoſe; the time when; the perſon under whom; and conſequently the place where, and ſomewhat of the manner how he ſuffered. However, all theſe circumſtances are in themſelves conſiderable, and afford ſome matter of edification to our faith, and practiſe: The time (in it ſelf moſt fit, and agreeable to divine predictions) doth illuſtrate the wiſdom of God in his providence, and confirm his veracity, conſtancy and fidelity: When the fulneſs of time was come; he grieved at preſent evils, even to a degree of exceſſive anguiſh, trouble and agony, (ἀδημονεῖν γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ, ἡ ψυχή μου περίλυπος, are words uſed to expreſs his ſorrowful reſentment) he feared future evils, to a degree of horrour and an amazement (to an ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι; that is, to be affrighted and aſtoniſhed:) ſuch height of paſſion did the ſenſe of preſent pangs, the fore-ſight of impending evils, the apprehenſion of his own, the conſideration of our ſtate raiſe him to: ſuch a burthen

burthen, all the ſins of mankind to lie upon his ſhoulders, no wonder if he groaned under it: God's diſpleaſure flaming out againſt ſin, no wonder it did terrifie him: ſuch a father (whom he ſo dearly loved) frowning upon, and hiding his face from him, it might well trouble him: ſuch a pity, ſuch a love contemplating man's ſinfulneſs, feeling his miſery, 'tis not ſtrange that it ſhould affect him. But I muſt paſs over this moſt large and fruitfull ſubject of meditation. When the World was in the moſt general peace and deepeſt calm; and conſequently men's attention more ready, and their minds more capable of inſtruction; when the greateſt (or the moſt conſiderable) part of the World was united under one Empire; and ſo more fit to be incorporated into a ſpiritual Common-wealth; (to communicate in offices of piety; to impart and receive inſtruction;) when mankind generally was better civilized, inquiſitive after knowledge, and receptive of truth; when the ſcepter of legiſlation and ſupreme authority was juſt departed from *Judah*; while the Jewiſh Temple yet ſtood, but not long before its deſtruction; when the Seventy hebdomades (of years) were near expiring, (the time when the Meſſias ſhould be cut off;) in ſhort, when all things were duly prepared and ſuited for the great effects deſigned by God to proceed from our Saviour's paſſion and other performances, then did he ſuffer and do what God had in his wiſdom and goodneſs pre-determined, pre-ſignified and predicted. Dan. 9. 26.

I might add, the time was fit to be ſet down, as a character apt to confirm the truth of the hiſtory; for direction to a fair inquiry and trial concerning it; to exclude all confuſion and uncertainty about it. As for the perſon whom; if we conſider him as a Roman ſtranger, as a Governour and Judge, according to his perſonal qualities; or according to his deportment in this affair, ſomething in all theſe reſpects may offer it ſelf obſervable. He was an Alien from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; ſo Jews and Gentiles conſpired in violence and injury againſt their common Saviour; that ſo (in type and myſtery) *every mouth might be ſtopped, and all the world might become guilty before God.* Neither was it for nothing decreed by God, that the Jews ſhould deliver our Saviour up to the Gentiles (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) *to mock, and ſcourge, and crucifie him.* The Jews out of envy and malice delivered up, accuſed, proſecuted, inſtigated and importuned againſt him: the Gentiles out of ignorance, profaneneſs, and injuſt partiality condemned, and executed him: whereby the ingratitude, iniquity, and impiety of all mankind in ſome ſort did appear and was aptly repreſented, and in conſequence thereof his infinite goodneſs is demonſtrated, who for ſo impious, unjuſt, flagitious a generation, for ſuch malicious enemies, and cruel perſecutours, did willingly ſuffer: he ſuffered for them, by whom he ſuffered. I might add, that a ſtranger was more likely to be a fair and indifferent judge; and to do what was deſigned and fit to be done in our Saviour's trial. Conſider *Pilate* as a Governour and Judge, for ſo he was: *Cæſar*'s Procurator, and Preſident of *Judæa*; (ἐπίτροπος and ἡγεμών,) and therein we may diſcern the wiſdom and ſpecial providence of God puniſhing our Saviour for us by his own Officer in a courſe of juſtice; the loyal obedience of our Saviour ſubmitting both to God and Man, (though in a caſe of plain outrage and higheſt injuſtice againſt himſelf,) the heinouſneſs of that wicked proceeding, wherein that ſacred power committed to him by God, and the venerable name of juſtice were ſo abuſed. So that if ever, then one might have ſaid with the Wiſe-man: *I ſaw the place of judgment, that wickedneſs was there; and the place of righteouſneſs, that iniquity was there.* As for this *Pilate* his perſonal qualities; he is reported by the hiſtorians near thoſe Matt. 20. 19. Matt. 27. 18. Rom. 3. 19. Rom. 5. 6. ἀσεβῶν. v. 8. ἁμαρτωλῶν. 1 Pet. 3. 18. ἀδίκων. Rom. 5. 10. Col. 1. 21. Mat. 27. 2, &c. Eccleſ. 3. 16. *Philo, Joſephus*, &c.

times to have been a man of a harſh and rough temper; wilfull and haughty in ſpirit; rapacious, violent and cruel in his proceedings; and was therefore a proper inſtrument of providence for the execution of ſuch a buſineſs, ſo holy and gracious in God's purpoſe, ſo villainous and barbarous according to man's intention: Such an one deſerved to bear the guilt of a fact ſo baſe and execrable; was worthy to be employed; might be ready to undertake therein: It had not been ſo plauſible in it ſelf, that ſuch an act ſhould, nor ſo credible that it could proceed from any perſon of
Joſeph. Antiq. 18. 5. good diſpoſition, or right intention. But of him it could not be improbable, who by his former violences (ſuch as upon their complaints did ſoon after remove him from his charge) had ſo incenſed the Jews, that
Mar. 15. 15. he ſhould not ſtick to gratifie them in a matter, that they ſo earneſtly concerned themſelves in, and which in ſemblance (ſetting apart conſiderations of juſtice and honeſty ſo little material in ſuch a perſons regard) ſo little touched his own intereſt; in yielding up ſo poor and inconſiderable (in outward ſhew) a perſon, however in his own conſcience moſt innocent, as a boon or ſacrifice to their importunate rage. Such he was, and yet it is obſervable, that he behaved himſelf, in compariſon of the furious Jews, with ſome moderation and ingenuity. He was ſo fair in examination of the caſe, as notwithſtanding their eager and clamorous
Joh. 19. 6. proſecution, to diſcern the right and declare our Saviour guiltleſs: He was ſo far conſtant and true to his conſcience, as to expoſtulate with the
Luk. 23. 14. *&c.* Act. 3. 13. Jews, and once, twice, a third time to challenge them, *Why, what evil hath he done?* As often did he diſcover his inclination and readineſs (yea his will and intention) to free the innocent perſon: yet had he not the heart or the honeſty thoroughly to reſiſt their importunity; they were more obſtinate in their wicked, than he reſolute in his good purpoſe; ſo out of fear to offend them, and favour to oblige them (thoſe uſual corrupters of right judgment) he yielded to them, ſuffering himſelf baſely to be over-born by their wicked ſolicitations, ſacrificing acknowledged innocence to his own private intereſt, and their implacable malice. Thus did this heathen Judge behave himſelf, ſerving divine providence not only in the publick and formal condemnation of our Saviour to the puniſhment due to us, but in the ſolemn and ſerious abſolution of him from all blame in himſelf, in outward ſhew he condemned our Saviour; in truth he condemned himſelf (his corrupt judge) and the Jews (his malicious accuſers:) though he took away his life, yet he cleared his reputation, and afforded a teſtimony moſt valid and convincing of his innocence; ſuch as was requiſite to confute all the Jewiſh calumnies and aſperſions; and to confirm our faith.

Farthermore; the name of *Pontius Pilate* intimates the place of our Saviour's paſſion; he being well known to have been Governour of *Judæa*, and to have his Tribunal of juſtice at the mother-city thereof *Hieruſalem*; at *Jeruſalem*, that *bloudy city*, (as the Prophet calls it) whoſe cha-
Ezek. 22. 2. 24. 6. racter it was to be *the killer of the prophets and ſtoner of them that were ſent unto her*; *out of which it was* (in a manner) *impoſſible that a prophet*
Luk. 13. 33, 34. *ſhould periſh*: yet the place of all the world moſt favoured and graced by
Pſal. 48. 2. 87. 3. God by ſpecial benefits and privileges: *his own proper ſeat* (the city of God; the city of the great King, ſo 'tis ſtyled) *which he had choſen out of all the tribes of Iſrael* (out of all the people upon earth) *to put his name*
Deut. 12. 5. Neh. 1. 9. (to place his eſpecial preſence) *there*; the holy, the beloved city: there at
1 King. 11. 30. his own doors, as it were, before his own ſacred palace, where moſt eſpe-
Eſt. 6. 12. Matt. 4. 5. 27. 53, &c. cial reſpect and veneration were due to him, was the King of heaven ac-
Apoc. 20. 9. judged and executed; by procurement of his own ſervants, peculiarly related to him, the chief Prieſts and Elders of his choſen people, perſon-

wholl

wholly devoted to his ſervice, and highly dignified by him (whoſe office and eſpecial duty it was to maintain truth and encourage righteouſneſs, to procure honour to God and obedience to his commandments) which as it greatly advances the goodneſs of him, who willingly ſuffered there and by ſuch, ſo it much aggravates man's ingratitude and iniquity.

It follows, *Crucified*; whereby is expreſſed the manner and kind of our Saviour's paſſion; which was by being affixed to a croſs, (that is, to a kind of gibbet or *patibulum*, mainly conſiſting of two beams (or pieces of wood) one erect, to which the length of his body was applied and faſtned by nails, the other tranſverſe, to which (his arms being ſtretched out) his hands were nailed; which kind of ſuffering we may briefly conſider as moſt bitter and painfull; as moſt ignominious and ſhamefull; as agreeable and advantageous to the deſigns of our Saviour's ſuffering; as ſignificant and emblematical; as completory of divine predictions and preſignifications; in fine, as inſtructive, admonitory of duty, and excitative of devotion, to us.

1. We may eaſily imagine what acerbity of pain muſt be endured in his limbs being ſtretched forth, racked and tentered: and continuing in that poſture; in the piercing his hands and his feet (parts moſt exquiſitely tender and ſenſible) with ſharp, hard iron nails; ſo that (as it is ſaid of *Joſeph*) the iron entred into his ſoul, or his ſoul entred into iron, in abiding expoſed to the injuries of Sun ſcorching, wind beating upon, weather ſearching his grievous ſores and wounds: ſuch a pain it was; and that no ſtupifying, no tranſient pain, but very acute and withall lingring: we ſee in the ſtory he and thoſe that ſuffered with him had both preſence of mind and time to diſcourſe; three long hours and more he continued under ſuch torment, ſuſtaining every minute beyond the pangs of an ordinary death. So that well may that in the *Lamentations* be applied to his ſuffering ſtate: *Behold and ſee if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger.* Such a kind of ſuffering did our Saviour chooſe to undergo, declaring the exceſs of his love (in being ready to endure the ſaddeſt afflictions and ſmarts for us) ſignifying the heinouſneſs of our ſins (deſerving ſo extreme puniſhment) exemplifying the hardeſt duties of obedience and patience to us.

Pſal. 105. 18. Heb. & Septuag.

Lam. 1. 12.

2. And as moſt ſharp and afflictive in pain, ſo moſt vile and ſhamefull was this kind of ſuffering. It was *ſervile ſupplicium (quod etiam homine libero, quamvis nocente videatur indignum,)* a puniſhment never by the *Romans* (under whom our Saviour ſuffered) legally inflicted upon freemen, but only upon ſlaves, (ſuch as were ſcarce regarded as men, or in life, having forfeited, as it were, made away, or quite loſt themſelves) and among the Jews that puniſhment which approached neareſt and in part agreed therewith (for they had no ſuch cruel or inhumane kind of puniſhment appointed by their law) hanging up the dead bodies of ſuch as had been executed, was accounted moſt infamous and abominable: *Curſed is every one that hangeth upon a tree*, upon a *patibulum*, ſays the law: Curſed, that is, addicted to reproach and malediction? Curſed of God (the Hebrew hath it) that is, doth ſeem to be deſerted and rejected and afflicted of God. In the very nature of the thing to be raiſed on high, and for a good continuance of time offered to the view of all that paſs by, doth beget ill ſuſpicion and provoke cenſure; invites obloquy, ſcorn, and contempt; draws forth language of deriſion, deſpight and deteſtation (eſpecially from the rude and hard-hearted multitude, who think and ſpeak according to event and appearance; who---*ſequitur fortunam*

Lactant. IV. P. 435.

Deut. 21. 23. Gal. 3. 13.

Luk. 23. 35, 36. Matt. 27. 38. Vid. Pſal. 22. *ſemper & odit Damnatos ---)* ſo we ſee that the people did mock, and jeer, and revile (ἐξεμυκτήριζον, ἐνέπαιζον, ἐβλασφήμουν) drawing up their noſes, ſhooting out their lips, and ſhaking their heads, and letting looſe their tongues againſt him; in this condition (the ſame men perhaps who had formerly admired his glorious works, and had been affected with his excellent diſcourſes; who had followed and favoured, and bleſſed, and glorified him.) *They look, and ſtare upon me*, is a part of the deſcription of his ſuffering; (anſwering to that in St. *Luke*, εἱστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν; the people ſtood gazing upon him; and θεατρίζεσθαι, to be made a gazing-ſtock (or object of reproach) we ſee is reckon'd by the Apoſtle as an aggravation of affliction. Hence became it ſuch a ſcandal, &c.

Luk. 14. 15. δοξάζομεν ὑπὸ πάντων. Matt. 21. 9. 9. 33. Pſal. 22. 17. Luk. 23. 35. Heb. 10. 33.

Heb. 12. 2. Thus did our Saviour endure the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame; (deſpiſing, that is, not ſimply eſteeming it as no evil, but not eſteeming it ſo great an evil, as for the avoiding it to neglect the accompliſhment of his great and glorious deſigns; there is in man's nature an averſation or abhorrency of diſgrace; perhaps more ſtrong than that of pain: mockings and ſcourgings we find joined together; nor doth pain more grievouſly affect the animal ſenſe, than being inſulted over and deſpiſed goes againſt the grain of men's fancy and natural conſtitution of ſoul; and generally men will more contentedly endure one than the other. We need not therefore doubt but our Saviour was ſenſible of this natural evil, and that ſuch indignity did add ſome degree of bitterneſs and loathſomeneſs to his cup of affliction; yet in conſideration of the glory that would accrue to God, the benefit to us, the reward to himſelf, he willingly underwent it. *He became a curſe for us* (was expoſed to all malediction and reviling from ſinfull men; (*deſpiſed and rejected and diſeſteemed of men*, in the Prophet's language) did alſo ſeem deſerted and rejected by God himſelf, (himſelf in a manner concurring in ſuch an opinion, as by his wofull out-cry *Lama-ſabacthani* doth appear.) [*We did eſteem him ſtricken, ſmitten of God and afflicted.*] So did he become a curſe for us, that we might be redeemed from the curſe of the law, (that is, from that exemplary puniſhment due to our tranſgreſſion of the law, with the diſgrace before men, and the diſpleaſure of God attending it;) He was contented to be dealt with as a ſlave (as a wretched miſcreant) *making himſelf of no reputation*, that we might be free not only from the pain, but from the ignominy we deſerved, and with our lives recover both our honour and liberty, which we had forfeited and loſt.

Heb. 11. 36. Gal. 3. 13. Heb. 12. 3. ἀντιλογία. Iſa. 53. 3, 4. Phil. 2. 7.

3. Farther, This kind of ſuffering had ſome advantages, and did conduce toward our Saviour's deſign in being notorious, and in continuing a competent time: If he had been privately made away, or ſuddenly diſpatched, no ſuch great notice had been taken of it, nor could the matter of fact it ſelf have been ſo fully proved (for the confirmation of faith and conviction of infidelity,) nor had that excellent deportment of his under ſuch affliction (his moſt divine patience, meekneſs, and charity) ſo illuſtriouſly ſhone forth. God's providence therefore did order it ſo, (to prevent all exceptions and excuſes of unbelief) that as the courſe of his life, ſo the manner of his death ſhould be moſt open and conſpicuous: *Theſe things* (as St. *Paul* told King *Agrippa*) *were not done in a corner*; [nor preſently huſhed up; but were done leiſurely in the face of the world:] *I ſpoke freely* (ſaith our Saviour) *to the world*; *I always taught in the ſynagogue and in the temple, where the Jews from all places reſort, and in ſecret have I done nothing:* His proceedings were not cloſe or clancular; but frank and open: and as he lived, ſo he died; publickly and viſibly; the world being witneſs of his death, and ſo prepared to believe his

Act. 26. 26. Joh. 18. 20.

his reſurrection, and to embrace his doctrine; according to what himſelf foretold: *I being lifted up from the earth, ſhall draw all men unto me*; (all men to take notice by the remarkableneſs of it, ſome to believe upon me by the wondrous conſequences of it:) and, *As Moſes did exalt the Serpent in the Wilderneſs, ſo muſt the ſon of man be exalted*; (that as by beholding the Serpent elevated upon a pole, men were cured of thoſe mortiferous ſtings they had received; ſo by believing on him crucified men ſhould be ſaved from thoſe deſtructive and deadly ſins they had committed.) Joh. 12. 32. Joh. 13. 14, 15.

4. This kind of ſuffering alſo ſeems in many reſpects ſignificant, and full of inſtructive emblems: His poſture repreſented that large and comprehenſive charity which he bare in his heart toward us, ſtretching forth his arms of kindneſs, pity and mercy; with them (as it were to embrace the whole world, and receive all mankind under the wings of his gracious protection; it ſhewed him earneſtly (as it were) wooing and intreating us to return to God, and embrace the reconciliation he had purchaſed, and did offer: *I have ſpread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people*; God did ſo of old by his Prophets mediately and figuratively; he did ſo in our Saviour immediately and properly by himſelf. The Croſs was as it were a Pulpit, from which our Saviour did exhort to repentance, and preach divine grace, and offer remiſſion of ſins unto us, with action moſt affecting and pathetical. Isa. 65. 2.

Vid. Lactant. IV. p. 437. Extendit in paſſione manus ſuas, orbemque dimenſus eſt, ut jam tunc oſtenderet ab ortu ſolis uſque ad occaſum, magnum populum ex omnibus linguis & tribubus congregatum, ſub alas ſuas eſſe venturum.

His being lifted up may ſignifie and mind us, that ſubmiſſion to God's will, ſuffering for truth and righteouſneſs (humility and patience) are conjoined with and do procure exaltation: that the lower we are in humility, the higher we riſe in favour, and the nearer approach to heaven: *Who ſo humbleth himſelf*, ſaith our Saviour, *ſhall be exalted: And be you humbled before the Lord* (under the mighty hand of God) *and he ſhall exalt you* (ſay with one voice St. *James* and St. *Peter*. And, becauſe *our Saviour was obedient unto death, even the death of the croſs, therefore did God* ὑπερύψωσεν, *ſuper-exalt him above all dignity and power in heaven and earth* (as St. *Paul* teaches us.) The croſs was a throne, where humility ſate in high majeſty, whence patience ſate encircled with rays of glory. The ſame conſideration may alſo mind us how and whence our ſalvation comes; that our help comes from above, and by looking upward; that as in beholding our Saviour upon the croſs we muſt lift up our eyes, ſo in believing on him we muſt raiſe up our hearts to heaven. In that ſublimity alſo did our Saviour ſhew himſelf ſtanding erect, not only as a conſtant ſufferer, but as a glorious conquerour, having (as St. *Paul* tells us) *ſpoiled principalities and powers* (all the principal powers of darkneſs, hell, ſin, and death) ἐδειγμάτισεν, *he made a ſolemn ſhew triumphing over them upon his croſs*. No conquerour loftily ſeated in his triumphant chariot did ever yield ſo illuſtrious a ſpectacle; no tree was ever cloathed and adorned with ſo glorious trophies. To the outward eye and carnal ſenſe our Saviour was expoſed to ſhame and ſcorn, but to ſpiritual diſcerning, all his and our enemies hung there, objects of contempt, undone and overthrown: The devil, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, (that ſtrong and ſturdy one) hung there bound and fettered, ſpoiled and diſarmed, quite baffled and confounded: death it ſelf there hung gaſping with its ſting plucked out, and all its terrours quelled. The world with its vain pomps, its counterfeit beauties, its bewitching pleaſures its fondly admired excellencies did there hang all defaced and diſparaged; *the world is thereby crucified to us, and* Luk. 18. 14. Matt. 23. 12. Jam. 4. 10. 1 Pet. 5. 5. Coloſſ. 2. 15. Heb. 2. 14. Matt. 12. 29. Luk. 11. 22. 1 Cor. 15. 54. 2 Tim. 1. 10. Gal. 6. 14.

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we unto the world; ſo that we cannot glory, or truly rejoice in any worldly thing. (For to be ſplendid in external ſtate can never henceforth be worthily deemed admirable; to be mean and low can never ſpeak a man miſerable, ſince the Lord of glory and fountain of happineſs did himſelf condeſcend to ſo low a condition, and became ſo deep a ſufferer: nor can pleaſure pretend to make men happy, nor ſorrow juſtly diſcourage us, ſince the Son of God by ſuch a ſtep of extreme grief hath aſcended into his throne of glory.) Our ſins (thoſe ſins which our Saviour did in his body ἀναφέρειν ὅτι τὸ ξύλον, carry up upon the Gibbet) hung there expoſed as trophies of his victories, objects of our hatred and horrour, by him condemned in the fleſh: Thoſe manifold enmities (between God and us; between man and himſelf; between one man and another,) did all there hang together, aboliſhed in his fleſh, and ſlain upon his croſs; *by the bloud of which he made peace, and reconciled all things in heaven and earth*; together with all thoſe yokes of bondage, thoſe enſigns and inſtruments of vexation to us; thoſe laws that burthened men ſo much, which ſet them at ſuch diſtance and variance, that ſubjected them to guilt and condemnation unavoidable: that hand-writing of ordinances, inducing our obligation to ſo grievous forfeitures and penalties, was there nailed to the croſs; our bonds thereby cancelled, our debts expunged.

1 Pet. 2. 24. Rom. 8. 3.

Coloſſ. 1. 20. Eph. 2. 15, 16. καταργήσας.

Coloſſ. 2. 14. ἐξαλείψας. Mos eſt quibuſdam in locis clavis transfigendi edicta antiquata. *Grot. ib.*

Our Saviour's crucifixion furthermore did ſignifie how our fleſh ſhould be dealt with, how we ſhould mortifie the luſts and affections thereof. We muſt not only imitate and follow our Saviour in his life, but in ſome ſort endeavour to reſemble him in his death, συμμορφοῦσθαι τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτοῦ (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *conformable to his death*; *become* σύμφυτοι, *planted together with him in the likeneſs of his death*, συσταυροῦσθαι τῷ Χριστῷ, *be crucified together with Chriſt*; *having our old man crucified together with him that the body of ſin may be deſtroyed, ſo that we no farther ſerve ſin*; *mortifying our earthly members, and putting to death the deeds of the body*; *for they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the fleſh with its paſſions and luſts.* His death may fitly repreſent our death to ſin; his croſs the thwarting our vitious deſires and inclinations; his grievous pain the bitterneſs of our repentance, (wherein our ſoul ſhould be pierced with ſharp compunction, as his ſacred fleſh was torn with nails) his diſgrace our ſhame and confuſion, with regard to our offences. In his perſon farther we may contemplate the ſtate of vertue and goodneſs in this world; expoſed to envy and hatred; to cenſure and obloquy; to contempt and ſcorn; to a kind of affliction and hardſhip: Every good man muſt hang upon ſome croſs or other; εἰς τοῦτο κείμεθα, 't is our lot and portion aſſigned us by divine decree; to conformity with this image and pattern of the Son of God we are predeſtinated; δεῖ ἡμᾶς, *we muſt* (it is both of neceſſity and duty incumbent on us) *by many tribulations enter into God's Kingdom*: *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall* (certainly one way or other) *ſuffer perſecution* (and partake of the croſs.) Many ſuch analogies and reſemblances not unprofitable might a devout meditation (in imitation of the ſacred Writers) draw out, for exciting good affection and quickning to duty. But farther,

Philip. 3. 10. Rom. 6. 5, 6, &c. Gal. 2. 20. 5. 24. Coloſſ. 3. 5. Rom. 8. 13.

Et quanquam paſſio ipſa per ſe acerba & amara, ſ. ecimen tamen bis futurorum tormentorum dabat quam morantibus in hoc ſeculo vitæ ſpes ipſa proponit, &c. *Lact. IV. p.* 434.

1 Theſſ. 3. 3. Act. 14. 22. Rom. 8. 29. 2 Tim. 3. 12.

5. We may alſo (for the fuller confirmation of our faith, and begetting in us a due adoration of the divine wiſdom and providence) obſerve the correſpondency of this our Saviour's manner of ſuffering to the ancient prophecies fore-telling, and the typical repreſentations fore-ſhewing it. That moſt full and clear and famous prophecy concerning our Saviours

viour's paſſion *(Iſa.* 53.) doth expreſs him ſuffering as a malefactour or with malefactours: He was to be reckoned among tranſgreſſours; ſuffering in a manner very painfull, and very deſpicable, *(He was to be wounded for our tranſgreſſions, and to be bruiſed for our iniquities*; he was to be *deſpiſed* and *rejected of men, as a man of ſorrows and acquainted with grief)* which circumſtances could not ſo punctually agree to any other kind of ſuffering (or puniſhment) in uſe as to this. In the 22d *Pſalm*, the royal prophet deſcribes an afflicted and forlorn condition (ſuch as by no paſſages of his hiſtory, in the full extent and according to the literal ſignification of his words doth appear ſuitable to his own perſon, and therefore more properly is to be applyed to the *Meſſias*, whom he did repreſent) and in that deſcription among other paſſages ſuiting to our Saviour, theſe words occurr: *Thou haſt brought me into the duſt of death*; *for dogs have compaſſed me, the aſſembly of the wicked have incloſed me, they pierced* (or digged, ὤρυξαν) *my hands and my feet*; (which words do moſt patly and livelily ſet out our Saviour's being nailed to the croſs.) And in the Prophet *Zachary* God fore-tells, ſpeaking in his own name, *They* (that is the Jews, ſenſible of what they had done, and penitently affected) *they ſhall look upon me, whom they have pierced:* Which place needs no violence to extort the right meaning from it; no comment to explain, or adapt it to the crucifixion of God, our Saviour, to which it is ſo literally congruous. The ſame was alſo fitly pre-figured by appoſite types: *Iſaac*, the immediate ſon and heir of the promiſe (in whom the faithfull ſeed was called, or conveyed down by him) and ſo a moſt apt type of our Saviour, he being devoted and offered to God in ſacrifice, did himſelf bear the wood, by which he was to be offered: So did our Saviour (the promiſed ſeed in which *all nations ſhould be bleſſed)* himſelf bear the croſs, by which he was to ſuffer, and to be offered up a ſacrifice to God. Thoſe which were bitten (dangerouſly) by fiery Serpents, were by looking up upon a brazen Serpent ſet upon a pole preſerved in life, which (in our Saviour's moſt authentical interpretation) did repreſent the ſalvation which ſhould proceed from our beholding and believing on him lifted up upon the croſs, to us, who had been ſtung and mortally ſtruck with that old Serpent's poiſonous temptations. The Paſchal lamb (that moſt proper emblem of Chriſt our Paſſover, that moſt meek and innocent; moſt unblemiſhed and ſpotleſs lamb *ſlain for the ſins of the world,)* it was to be killed by the whole aſſembly of the congregation of *Iſrael*; its bloud was to be daſhed on the ſide-poſts and croſs-beams of every door; its body was not to be eat raw, or ſodden at all with water, but roaſted whole, and dreſſed upon a ſpit; nor were any of its bones to be broken; which circumſtances (with ſuch caution and care preſcribed) how they ſuit, and fitly adumbrate the manner of our Saviour's paſſion, I need not farther than by the bare mention of them to declare.

Laſtly, The conſideration of our Saviour's thus ſuffering is apt to teach and affect us; to admoniſh us of our duty, and to excite devotion in us: No contemplation is more fruitfull, or efficacious toward the ſanctification of our hearts, and of our lives: The Goſpel it ſelf is, in St. *Paul's* language, ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ *(the word of the croſs;)* and he calls both this and that *the power of God to ſalvation.*

Iſa. 53. 12. 5. 3.

Pſal. 22. 15, 16.

Zach. 10. 12. Joh. 19. 37.

Gen. 22. Rom. 9. 8. Jam. 2. 21. Heb. 11. 17.

Vid. Tertull. adv. Jud. c. 10.

Numb. 21. Joh. 13. 14.

Exod. 12. 5, 6. 9. 46, &c.

1 Cor. 1. 18.

Rom. 1. 16.

1. What good affection therefore may not the meditation thereupon raiſe, what vertue not produce in us?

2. How can it otherwiſe than enflame our hearts with love, to think what acerbity of pain, what indignity of ſhame our Saviour there willingly undertook and endured for us? No imagination can deviſe a greater expreſſion

expreſſion of charity; and if love be productive of love, what effect ſhould the conſideration of ſuch a love have? Nor can we find a ſurer ground of truſt, and a greater encouragement to hope in God than this: He that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up to the ſuffering of ſuch pains and indignities for us: how can we diſtruſt his bounty, or, deſpair of his mercy, in any caſe? What higher favour could he do, how ſhew greater condeſcenſion, how more ſurely teſtifie his willingneſs, his delight to do us good? how conſequently lay ſtronger grounds of hope and confidence in us, than by his own free undertaking and undergoing all this for us?

3. What deteſtation of our ſins muſt it alſo raiſe in us that brought ſuch torture, ſuch reproach upon him? *Judas* the wretch who betrayed him, the Jewiſh Prieſts who accuſed and proſecuted him, *Pilate* the Judge who condemned him, the wicked people that abuſed and inſulted over him, the cruel hands that ſmote him, the pitileſs hearts that mocked him, the blaſphemous tongues that railed upon him, thoſe who were inſtruments of his affliction, how do we deteſt them and curſe their memories? But our ſins, which were the firſt and main cauſes of that wofull tragedy, how
Rom. 4. 25. much more reaſon have we to abhorr and abominate them? He was *delivered for our offences*, (they were the traitours indeed which by *Judas* his hands did deliver him;) 'twas they that cried *crucifie*, (*Crucifie him, crucifie him*) with a clamour more loud and more effectual, than did the Jews (it was they that did by their borrowed mouths accuſe and proſecute
2 Cor. 5. 21. him;) *He that knew no ſin, was made ſin for us*; (was condemned as ſinner for us: 'twas we that by our ſins did adjudge and ſentence him;
Gal. 3. 13. *Pilate* was but their agent and ſpokes-man in it, *He became a curſe for us* (all the mockery, deriſion, and contumely he endured proceeded from us the ſilly people were but properties, repreſenting and acting our parts, *He was wounded for our tranſgreſſions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities* 'twas they that by the fierce ſouldiers and rude rabble, as by ſenſleſs engines, did ſmite, and ſcourge him; by the nails and thorns did pierce his fleſh and rend his ſacred body.

4. What can in reaſon be more effectual to breed in us remorſe and penitent ſorrow, than reflection upon ſuch horrible effects proceeding from our ſins? how can we but vehemently grieve, when we remember our ſelves by them to have been the betrayers, the ſlanderers, the ſcorners the murderers of God's dear Son, of ſo innocent and lovely a perſon, our beſt friend, and moſt loving Saviour?

5. And if ingenuity will not work ſo much, and melt us into contrition hereby, yet ſure this thought muſt needs produce fear in us: Can we but tremble to think of the fierceneſs of God's diſpleaſure, the ſeverity of divine judgment, the heinous guilt of our ſins, all ſo plainly diſcovered ſo livelily ſet out in this diſmal ſpectacle: If the view of an ordinary execution is apt to beget ſome apprehenſions of terrour, dread of the law reverence to authority, what dreadfull impreſſions ſhould this extraordinary example of divine juſtice make upon us?

6. How can it alſo but deterr us from wilfull commiſſion of ſin, to conſider that by it we do ἀνασταυροῦν, re-crucifie (in a manner renew all the pain and ſhame; bring up again upon the ſtage all that direfull tragedy)
Heb. 6. 6. 10. 29. *Crucifie*, I ſay, *afreſh the Son of God, and again expoſe him to open ſhame: that by it we trample upon the Son of God, and prize the bloud of the covenant* (that moſt precious bloud ſo freely, yet ſo ſadly ſhed for us) *a common* (a trivial and worthleſs) *thing*; deſpiſing all his ſo kind and ſo painfull endeavours for our ſalvation, defeating his gracious purpoſe, re-

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dring all his so bitter and loathsom sufferings, as to their principal intent (our good and benefit) altogether, yea more than vain and fruitless?

7. What farther can be more operative in producing disesteem and disregard of this world, with all its deceitfull vanities and mischievous pleasures; in reconciling us to the worst condition it can bring us into; in comforting us under the heaviest pressures of affliction? Who can admire those splendid trifles, which he never regarded in his life, which only served to mock him at his death? Who can relish those delights, which he never living vouchsafed to taste of, and dying chose to feel their contraries? Who will dare to vilifie a state of sorrow and disgrace, which he by the voluntary susception thereof (in such extremity) hath so dignified and graced; by which we resemble, become conformable unto, partake with him, concurr with and (in a manner) complete his design? Who can much preferr, being admired, applauded, or made much of by men before derision, reproach, or persecution from them, (especially for adherence to truth and righteousness?) Who can be very ambitious of honour and repute, or covetous of wealth, or addicted to pleasure, who observes him (the Son of God, the heir of all things, the Lord of glory) choosing rather to ascend a Cross than a Throne; inviting the clamours of spite and scorn, instead of acclamations of praise; embracing the reputation of a malefactour and a slave before the dignity and respect of a Prince; that regards him hanging naked and forlorn upon a gibbet, besmeared with his own bloud, groaning under extremity of pain, yielding, as the Prophet foretold of him, *his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair*; (hiding not his face from shame and spitting,) will not the imagination of such a sight sully the lustre of all earthly pomps and beauties, damp the sense of all carnal delights and satisfactions; quash all the content we can take in our wild and extravagant merriments?

Apoc. 1. 9. 1 Pet. 4. 13. Rom. 8. 17. Phil. 3. 10. Colos. 1. 24. ἀνταναπληρῶν τὰ ὑστερήματα. Es. 50. 6.

8. If such affliction and hardship were to him a school of obedience (ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, he learnt from what he suffered, obedience,) a means of perfection, (*It became God*, saith the Apostle, *to perfect the captain of our salvation by suffering,*) a procurement of divine favour, (therefore, himself tells us, *the father loveth me, because I lay down my life*, and the manner sure did encrease that love,) a step to glory, (for, it is said, *was not Christ to suffer these things, and* (so) *to enter into his glory? therefore God exalted him: We see Jesus for the suffering of death crowned with glory and honour.*) If it yielded such advantages to him, and may by our conformity and compliance with him afford the like to us, what reason can there be that we should be any wise discomposed, discouraged or disconsolate under it? Much more sure there is, *that we should*, with St. *Paul*, *boast*, *rejoice*, *exult and skip* (ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι and σκιρτᾶν) *for joy in our tribulations*. *He that doth not carry his cross, and go after me, cannot be my disciple*; and, *He that doth not take up his cross, and follow me, is not worthy of me*; saith our Saviour: He that doth not take it up readily, when by providence it is presented; that doth not bear it contentedly when it is imposed, cannot be our Saviour's disciple (shewing such an incapacity to learn the lessons of humility and patience read by him; to transcribe the copies of submission to divine will, self-denial and self-resignation so fairly set him by Christ's instruction and example:) He is no wise worthy of him; (hath not the courage, the sincerity, the constancy required of a Christian; one pretending to such benefits, privileges and rewards from Christ, his Lord and Saviour.) The willing susception, the cheerfull sustaining of the Cross is the express condition and character of our Christianity (whence use

Heb. 5. 8. 2. 10. Joh. 10. 17. Luk. 24. 26. Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Rom. 5. 3. Colos. 1. 24. Matt. 5. 12. Luk. 6. 23. Luk. 14. 27. 9. 23. Matt. 10. 38. 16. 24.

hath been to ſign them who enter into it with the figure of the Croſs.) 'Tis the ſpecial enſign of our warfare under Chriſt againſt his and our common enemies; the diſtinct badge of our profeſſion; the chief object of our faith, our knowledge, our preaching (as St. *Paul* diſcourſes in the
1 Cor. 2. 2. firſt and ſecond Chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*) the main ground of our hope, the ſole matter of our glory, (ἐμοὶ μὴ γένοιτο καυ-
Gal. 6. 14. χᾶσθαι,) *Far be it from me to glory* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *ſave in the croſs of Chriſt.*
1 Cor. 1. 23. *Let it be to the Jews a ſcandal* (offenſive to their fancy, pre-poſſeſſed with expectations of a Meſſias flouriſhing in ſecular pomp and proſperity,) *let it be folly to the Gentile Greeks,* (ſeem abſurd to men imbued and puffed up with carnal conceits, and maxims of worldly wiſdom) that God ſhould
Vid. Orig. in Celſ. II. pag. 79, &c. put his own beloved Son into ſo ſad and deſpicable a condition; that ſalvation from death and miſery ſhould be procured by ſo miſerable a death; that eternal joy, happineſs and glory ſhould iſſue from ſuch ſprings of extreme ſorrow and ſhame; that a perſon in outward ſemblance ſo contemptible, expoſed to ſo infamous and ſlaviſh uſage, ſhould be the Son of God, the Lord and Redeemer of mankind, the King and Judge of all the world: Let this, I ſay, be ſcandalous and diſtaſtfull to ſome prejudiced perſons; let it ſeem ſtrange and incredible to other ſelf-conceited men, to us it muſt be gratefull and glorious; to us, who diſcern by a clearer light who are endued with a purer ſenſe, derived from the divine ſpirit, whence we may, with a comfortable ſatisfaction of mind, perceive that God could not in a higher meaſure, in a fitter method illuſtrate his glorious attributes of goodneſs and juſtice (his infinite mercy toward his poor creatures, his heavy indignation, and ſevere juſtice againſt iniquity;) that vertue could not be taught, nor exemplified, nor commended and inculcated any other
Plat 2. de rep. Sen. de Provid. way with ſo great advantage. It were eaſie to alledge the ſuffrages of *Plato*, *Seneca*, and other ſuch men (wiſe only by improvement of natural reaſon) acknowledging that perfection of vertue can neither be wrought or ſhewed, otherwiſe than by ſuffering the bittereſt afflictions; that God (as a wiſe Father) therefore uſeth to exerciſe them whom he moſt loves
Socrates, Phocion, Ariſtides, Seneca, Thraſeas Pætus, Helvidius Priſcus, &c. with them; nor hard were it to produce examples of men (even among the Pagans) moſt famous and honourable in the judgment of poſterity for their wiſdom and vertue, who have been tried in this furnace, and ſhone thereby more brightly, ſuffering by the iniquity, ingratitude, and envy of their times, both in their reputation, liberty and life, infamous puniſhments, ignominious deaths; though none of them of choice and upon deſign to advance the intereſt of goodneſs, but by an accidental force put upon them; none in a manner ſo ſignal, with circumſtances ſo rare, with an event ſo wonderfull; ſo that even according to the paſſable dictates of common wiſdom this diſpenſation was not ſo unaccountable, neither ought the Greeks in conſiſtency with themſelves and their own moſt admired Philoſophers, have deemed the doctrine *of the croſs to be fooliſh*, or unreaſonable; ſince thereby a charity and humanity ſo unparallel'd (far
Vicit amor patriæ laudumque immenſa cupido. exceeding theirs, who have been celebrated for love to their Country or a more prevalent love of praiſe devoting their lives) a meekneſs ſo incomparable, a reſolution ſo invincible, a patience ſo heroical were manifeſted for inſtruction and direction of men: Since never were the vices and vanities of the world (both ſo deſtructive to the quiet and welfare of mankind) ſo remarkably diſparaged and condemned: Since never vertue had ſo powerfull an effect (the expiation of the whole World's ſin and reconciliation of mankind to God, ſuch as no other performance, no ſacrifice could ever pretend to) nor ſo glorious a reward, ſoveraign dignity to him that exerciſed it, everlaſting happineſs to them that follow

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it: Since (I ſay) there be ſuch excellent uſes, fruits, and conſequences of the Croſs undergone by our Saviour, we have no reaſon to be offended, nor to be aſhamed thereof; but rather heartily to approve and humbly to adore as well the wiſdom of God, as other his glorious attributes, ſo conſpicuouſly demonſtrated and diſplayed therein. 1 Cor. 1. 18, &c.

But I have not been able to contain my ſelf, and have dwelt too long upon this moſt rich and fruitfull argument.

Dead and buried, &c.

OUR Saviour's paſſion (as we did obſerve formerly) was in the firſt draughts of this Creed expreſſed by one ſingle word, *Crucifixus*: but afterwards (whether to diſcountenance ſome heretical devices contradicting the real truth of our Saviour's death, or for the more full and clear repreſentation of the thing it ſelf) its deſcription was dilated and expreſſed by three words; ſignifying the quality thereof, (he ſuffered, that is, was dealt with as a malefactour,) another ſhewing the manner of it, (he underwent that moſt painfull and diſgracefull puniſhment of Crucifixion,) a third denoting the final completion thereof, (he loſt his life thereby.) The two former we have largely diſcourſed upon; the laſt remains, being the conſummation of his grievous paſſion, the bottom of that bitter cup he willingly drank off for us; fore-ſeeing the approach of which, he pronounced the τετέλεσται; *It is finiſhed.* Concerning which, we may conſider, 1. The nature of it, (wherein it did conſiſt.) 2. Some peculiar adjuncts and reſpects thereof, (which commend it to our regard, and render it conſiderable.) 3. The cauſes and ends (whence moved, and why he died.) 4. The fruits and effects of it (what did eſpecially ſpring from, what conſequences there were of his dying.) Laſtly, the practical influences, the belief and conſideration thereof may or ſhould have upon us. Joh. 19. 30.

I. As for the Nature of it; We muſt affirm and believe aſſuredly, that it was a true and proper death, not in kind different from that death, to which all we mortal men by the law and condition of our nature are ſubject, and muſt all ſometime undergo: *(For what man is he that liveth, and ſhall not ſee death, that ſhall deliver his ſoul from the hand of the grave?)* Pſal. 89. 48. That death, which is ſignified by the ceſſation of vital operations (of all motion, natural or voluntary; of all ſenſe and knowledge; appetite and paſſion;) that death which is cauſed by the violent diſunion, or diſlocation; by diſtempering; by whatſoever indiſpoſing the parts, humours, ſpirits of the body, ſo that the ſoul can no longer in and by them exerciſe thoſe functions, for which its conjunction thereto was intended, and cannot therefore fitly reſide therein: that death which is ſuppoſed to conſiſt in the diſſolution of that vital band (whatever it be) whereby the ſoul is linked and united to the body; or in that, which is thereupon conſequent, the departure, ſeparation, and abſence of the ſoul from the body; each of that couple, upon their divorce, returning home, to their original principles, as it were, *the body to the earth, whence it was taken; and the ſpirit unto God, who gave it,* as it is in the Preacher. Such cauſes antecedent are ſpecified in the ſtory; ſuch ſigns following are plainly implied; ſuch a ſtate is expreſſed, in the ſame terms, whereby our death is commonly ſignified. The ſame extremity of anguiſh, the ſame dilaceration of parts, the ſame effuſion of bloud (which would deſtroy our vital temper, quench our natural heat, ſtop our animal motion, exhauſt our ſpirits, extrude our breath) did work upon, and neceſſarily produce

—Ἐπεί κε πρῶτα λίπῃ λεῦκ' ὀστέα θυμὸς Ψυχὴ δ' ἠΰη ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται, Hom. Od. λ.

Eccl. 12. 7. Gen. 3. 19. Pſal. 104. 29.

the like effects upon him (as having aſſumed the common infirmities and imperfections of our nature) in regard to which violences inflicted upon him, he is ſaid to be *ſlain*, to be *diſpatched*, to be *cut off*, to be *taken away*, to be *deſtroyed*, to be *ſlaughtered*, to be *ſacrificed*, (ἀπολέσας, διαχειρίσας, ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ἀπολέσαι, σφάξας, θῦσαι,) which words fully import a real and proper death to have enſued upon thoſe violent uſages toward him. And by the ordinary ſigns of death, apparent to ſenſe, the ſouldiers judged him dead, and therefore, ὡς εἶδον ἤδη τεθνηκότα, *ſeeing him already dead*, they forbare to break his legs; by the ſame all the world being ſatisfied thereof, both his ſpitefull enemies, that ſtood with delight waiting for this utmoſt ſucceſs of their malicious endeavours to deſtroy him, and his loving friends, that with compaſſionate reſpect attended upon him through the courſe of his ſuffering; and thoſe, who were ready to perform their laſt offices of kindneſs in procuring the decent burial of his body. His tranſition alſo into, and his abiding in this ſtate are expreſſed by terms declaring the propriety of his death, and its agreement with our death, ſuch as was before deſcribed: St. *Mark* tells us, that ἐξέπνευσε (*animam efflavit*, he *breathed out his ſoul*, or *breathed out his laſt breath*; he *expired.*) St. *Matthew*, ἀφῆκε τὸ πνεῦμα; (he *let go his ſpirit*, or *gave up the ghoſt*, *animam egit.*) St. *John*, παρέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα (he *delivered up his ſpirit* into God's hands;) St. *Luke* mentions it done with a formal and expreſs reſignation; *Father, into thy hands I commend* (or depoſe, παρατίθεμαι) *my ſpirit.* Himſelf alſo frequently expreſſes his dying by *laying down his life*; by *beſtowing his life a ranſome*; which ſhews him really to have parted with it. His death likewiſe (as ours commonly by *excedere è vivis*; and like phraſes) is termed ἔξοδος, a going out of life, a leaving the ſociety of men, *Luk.* 9. 31. *Moſes* and *Elias* are ſaid to tell τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ, his deceaſe which he ſhould accompliſh at *Jeruſalem*; and μετάβασις, a paſſing over from this world: *When* (ſaith St. *John*) *Jeſus knew, that his time was come*, ἵνα μεταβῇ, *that he ſhould depart from this world.* His death alſo by himſelf is enigmatically deſcribed by the deſtruction (or demoliſhment of his bodily temple; anſwerable to thoſe circumlocutions concerning our common death, in St. *Paul*, *the diſſolution of our earthly houſe or tabernacle* (or tranſitory abode) in St. *Peter*, ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματος, the *laying down*, or *putting off our tabernacle.*

Matt. 3. 15. 8. 33. Dan. 9. 26. Iſa. 53. 8. Joh. 18. 14. 11. 50. Apoc. 5. 9. Joh. 19. 33. Mar. 14. 41. Luk. 23. 27. Joh. 19. 25. Mar. 15. 37. Matt. 27. 50. Joh. 19. 30. Luk. 23. 46. Joh. 15. 13. 10. 15, 18, &c. 13. 37. 1 Joh. 3. 16. Μετ' ἐμὲ ἔξοδον. 2 Pet. 1. 15. -δοιξιν. Acts 20. 29. Joh. 13. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 1. 2 Pet. 1. 14.

It were alſo not hard to ſhew how all other phraſes and circumlocutions by which humane death is expreſſed either in the Scripture, or in uſual language, or indeed among Philoſophers and more accurate ſpeakers, are either expreſsly applied or by conſequence from what is exprteſſed, appear applicable to our Saviour: Such for inſtance as theſe in Scripture; Ἀνάλυσις, being reſolved into our principles, or the returning of them thither, whence they came. Ἀπόλυσις, a being freed, licenſed, or diſmiſſed hence. Ἐκδημία ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, (a going abroad, or abiding abroad; a peregrination, or abſenting from the body;) an ἔκδυσις, putting off, or being deveſted of the body; an ἀφανισμὸς, diſappearing, ceaſing (in appearance) to be; going hence and not being ſeen: a falling on ſleep; reſting from labours; to ſleep with his fathers; a being added unto our fathers, gathered to our people; being taken or cut out of the land of the living: going down into the pit; lying down, reſting, ſleeping in the duſt, &c. making our bed in darkneſs.

1 Tim. 4. 6. Phil. 1. 23. Luk. 2. 29. 2 Cor. 5. 8. 2 Cor. 5. 4. Act. 13. 36. Gen. 25. 8. 49. 33, &c. Pſ. 31. ult. &c. Jer. 11. 19. Pſal. 52. 5. Pſal. 28. 1. 143. 7. 88. 4. Iſa. 38. 18. Ezek. 26. 20, &c. Job 7. 21. 17. 16. 20. 11. 21. 26. Dan. 12. 2. Iſa. 26. 19.

Theſe and ſuch like phraſes occurring in Scripture, (which might be parallelled out of common ſpeech and more learned diſcourſes) deſcribing either the entrance into, or the abiding in the ſtate of that death to which all men are obnoxious, might eaſily be ſhewed applicable to the

the death of our Saviour: But I will not farther insist upon confirmation of a point so clear, and never questioned but by the wild and presumptuous fancies of some hereticks.

Our Saviour's death then was a true, real, and proper death, suitable to that frail, passible, mortal nature, which he vouchsafed to undertake for us; to the condition of sinfull flesh, in the likeness of which he did appear; separating his soul and body, and remitting them to their original Sources. His Passion was indeed *ultimum supplicium*, an extreme capital punishment, the highest in the last result, which either the fiercest injustice, or the severest justice could in this world inflict; for to *kill the body* is (as our Saviour teaches us) the extreme limit of all humane power, and malice; the most and worst man can do; they have not περισσότερόν τι, any thing beyond that, which they can attempt upon us: and so far they proceeded with our Saviour: [The willing undergoing of which also is the highest expression of kindness (if it be done upon that account) for *greater love than this hath no man, than that one lay down his life for his friends:* the greatest attestation to the truth; the perfectest instance of obedience, submission, and patience respectively: To assert truth, to follow righteousness, to adhere to conscience, to resist sin, μέχρις αἵματος, as far as to bloud, (as it is in the 12th. to the *Hebrews*) not to love our life, ἄχρι θανάτου (unto the death, when death is threatned) is the utmost that man can do.] But,

Rom. 8. 3.
Matt. 10. 28. Luk. 12. 4.
Joh. 15. 13.
Heb. 12. 4. Rev. 12. 11.

II. We may consider those peculiar adjuncts and respects of our Saviour's death (annexing thereto hereafter in our discourse, for avoiding repetition, his whole passion generally taken, whereof his death was the chief part and final completion;) those adjuncts, I say, and those respects, which commend it to our regard, and amplify the worth thereof; its being a result of God's eternal deliberation and decree; a matter of free consent and compact between God the Father and his only Son; its being anciently prefigured and predicted; its being executed by God's hand and providence guiding; by man's action concurring: Its being the death of a person so holy and innocent; so high and excellent; of the Son of God, yea of God himself.

1. It was a result of God's eternal counsel and decree: No casual event, no expedient suddenly devised; but a design from all eternity, contrived by divine wisdom, resolved upon by divine goodness: As God did then foresee our lapse and misery, so he did as soon determine our remedy; as the whole of that mysterious dispensation concerning Christ, so did especially this main part thereof, proceed καὶα πρόθεσιν τῶν αἰώνων, according to an eternal purpose; For our Saviour was *a lamb slain from the foundation of the world: We were redeemed by the precious bloud of Christ, as a lamb without blemish and without spot*, προεγνωσμένου μὲν, fore-ordained indeed before the foundation of the world: Our Saviour went (he tells us) to suffer καὶα τὸ ὡρισμένον, according to what was determined: it was *by the determinate counsel, and fore-knowledge of God*, that he was delivered up to those wicked hands that slew him; Nor did the conspiracy of *Herod* and *Pilate* with the nations and people of the *Jews* effect any thing therein, beyond ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ θεὸς προώρισε γενέσθαι, whatever the hand and the counsel of God had predestinated to be performed. God's so great care and providence, so expressly commended to our observation, do argue the high worth and consequence of this death.

Eph. 3. 11. Apoc. 13. 8. 1 Pet. 1. 19.
Acts 2. 23. 4. 28.

2d. It was a matter of free consent and compact between God and our Saviour. God freely proffered, if he would undertake to redeem his creature, a comfortable and honourable success thereto; he willingly embraced

Isa. 53. 9, 10. braced the condition: *When thou shalt make thy soul an offering, thou shalt see thy seed and prolong thy days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper*
Heb. 10. 7, 8. *in thy hand: thou shalt see of the travail of thy soul, and be satisfied:* that
Luk. 22. 29. was God's proposition: *Lo, I come to do thy will, O God*, was our Saviour's answer in correspondence and consent thereto. God in consideration of his sufferings, did διατίθεσθαι βασιλείαν, covenant to him a Kingdom; commit to him a soveraign authority, assign him an universal dominion: in vertue of which transaction it was, that Jesus for the suffering of death
Heb. 2. 9. *was crowned with glory and honour; that he pouring out his soul unto death,*
Isa. 53. 12. *God divided him a portion with the great---that he being obedient to the death, God exalted him and gave him a name above all names.* In this regard are God's elect and faithfull people said to be given to him, as a retribution to him who gave himself for them; that we are said *to be*
Rom. 1. 4. *bought by him, and the Church purchased by his bloud.* There was there-
Gal. 3. 13.
1 Cor. 6. 20.
1 Pet. 1. 19.
Act. 20. 28. fore a covenant between God and his Son concerning this affair; and of great consideration surely must that affair be, wherein such persons (if I may so speak) so interest themselves, do traffick (as it were) and stand upon terms with each other.

3. Farther, that the excellency and efficacy of this death and passion might appear, it was by manifold types fore-shadowed, and in divers prophecies foretold. Indeed most famous passages of providence, (especially the signal afflictions of eminent persons representing our Saviour) seem to have been preludes unto, and prefigurations of his passion: the bloud
Luk. 11. 51. of the righteous Proto-martyr *Abel*, shed by envy, for acceptable obe-
Gen. 4. 10. dience to God's will, and crying for vengeance, seems to have prefigured
Heb. 12. 24. that bloud, which cried also, though with another voice, and *spake better*
11. 4. *things than the bloud of Abel*; not complaints and suits for vengeance, but intreaties and intercessions for mercy. *Isaac* (the only Son, the Son of promise) his oblation in purpose, and death in parable, (as the Apostle
Heb. 11. 17, 19. to the *Hebrews* speaks) did plainly represent our Saviour, the promised
ἐν παραβολῇ. seed, his being really offered, and afterward restored to life. *Joseph* his being sold and put into slavery by his envious brethren; being slander-
Psal. 105. 18. ously accused and shut in prison, *(whose feet they hurt with fetters, the iron entred into his soul:)* and this by God's disposal, in order to his exaltation
Gen. 45. 5. that he might be a means to preserve life and prepare convenient habi-
Luk. 24. 26. tation for the children of *Israel*, doth resemble him, who by suffering en-
Heb. 5. 9. tred into glory; who being thereby perfected, became author of salva-
tion to his brethren, all true *Israelites*; who went to prepare mansions
Joh. 14. 2. of rest and light, a heavenly *Goshen* for them. *David*'s persecutions pre-
ceding his royal dignity and prosperous state, (which he expresses in no
Psal. 18. 4. lower strain, than by saying: *The sorrows of death compassed me, and the floods of ungodly men made me afraid: the sorrows of hell compassed me about the snares of death prevented me;*) how they may adumbrate the more real extremities of our Saviour's affliction, previous to his glorious exaltation, I leave you to consider; as also the rest of such passages, of a like mysterious importance: However all the sacrifices of old, instituted by God, we may more confidently affirm to have been chiefly preparatory unto, and prefigurative of this most true and perfect sacrifice, by vertue
Heb. 9. 23. indeed of which those ὑποδείγματα and σκιαὶ, those umbratick represen-
8. 5. tations, obtained any validity or effect: if they did not signifie this in
Heb. 9. 22. design, they could signifie nothing in effect: For as *without shedding of bloud there was no remission*, (God's anger could not be appeased, his justice could not be satisfied without it; it being bloud that maketh atonement for the soul, God so requiring, as it is in the law, *Levit.* 17. 11.

which

which the inſtitution of thoſe ſacrifices did ſpeak and ſignifie; ſo it was impoſſible that the bloud of bulls and goats ſhould take away ſin: that thoſe legal gifts and ſacrifices ſhould perfect the conſcience of him that did the ſervice; that is, entirely aſſure him of pardon and impunity. The ſouls of beaſts were not in value ſuitable, could not fitly be ſurrogated in the ſtead of men's ſouls, which had offended, and were therefore liable to death: the effuſion of their bloud could not reaſonably ſatisfie a man's conſcience, ſenſible of guilt, and fearfull of God's diſpleaſure, that by it God was fully appeaſed; they muſt therefore referr unto a better ſacrifice, more ſufficient in it ſelf, more acceptable to God, in vertue of, in reſpect to which ſin might be thoroughly expiated, God's vengeance removed, man's mind comforted and contented. The High Prieſts ſolemn entrance, once a year, into the Holy of holies, not without bloud, to atone for his own and the people's ignorances, did imply that our great High Prieſt, ſhould make a bloudy atonement for the ſins of mankind, and paſſing through the veil of mortal fleſh, ſhould enter into the true *ſancta ſanctorum* of heaven, there to appear in the preſence of God for us. The Paſchal lamb eſpecially, in its ſubſtance (as a lamb meek and gentle) in its quality, without blemiſh or ſpot (holy and innocent) in its manner of preparation and dreſſing, (being killed by all the aſſembly, having its bloud ſprinkled upon the doors of every houſe; being roaſted with fire; having bitter herbs for its ſauce,) with other obſervable circumſtances was a moſt appoſite emblem of Chriſt our Paſſover, who not only by his death did ſignifie and mind us of, but really effect our deliverance from the myſtical *Egypt*, our ſtate of ſpiritual bondage. So did ancient types exhibit; and plain predictions alſo did expreſs the ſame death and ſuffering of our Saviour: *Thoſe things* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *which God before had ſhewed by the mouth of all his prophets, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer he hath ſo fulfilled:* Not one Prophet only, but all, (either plainly, or covertly; either directly, or by conſequence) have ſhewed it: it is our negligence or ſtupidity if we do not diſcern it: *O fools, and ſlow of heart* (ſaith our Saviour) *to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken: Ought not Chriſt* (according to their predictions) *to have ſuffered theſe things, and ſo to enter into his glory?* That *David*, an illuſtrious repreſentative of the *Meſſias*, doth often, as belonging to himſelf, deſcribe mortal agonies and ſuffering, not applicable *κατὰ λέξιν*, in direct hiſtorical meaning, to his own perſon, and therefore in reaſon, according to a higher and truer ſenſe to be underſtood of the *Meſſias*; that *Daniel* expreſsly fore-tells both the thing and the time that and when the *Meſſias* ſhould be cut off; that *Iſaias* in ſeveral places doth inſinuate, and in the famous 53d Chapter of *Iſaias* doth clearly deſcribe the manner, and kind of our Saviour's paſſion, is ſo evident, that the *Jews* themſelves have acknowledged there muſt be one *Meſſias* to ſuffer, as another to triumph and reign in glory; being ſo groſs as not to apprehend the conſiſtency between antecedent ſuffering, and conſequent glory; (between a night of darkneſs, and ſorrow, and a day of light and joy breaking out from it;) not to diſtinguiſh between an external pomp in this, and an eternal majeſty in the future ſtate. But to us God's ſo forward care, by the Spirit of Chriſt in his Prophets, *προμαρτύρεται* (as St. *Peter* ſpeaks) to *fore-witneſs* (to *teſtifie* before-hand) the ſufferings of our Saviour, and the glories ſucceeding, doth imply with what attention we ſhould regard, with what firmneſs of faith embrace this article.

Heb. 10. 4. 9. 9, 15. Heb. 9. 23. Heb. 9. 7. Heb. 10. 24. Exod. 12. Acts 3. 18. Lu. 24. 25, 26. Vid. Luk. 18. 31. Act. 26. 22. 13. 27. Vid. Pſal. 22. 109. &c. 72. Luk. 22. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 11.

4. We may conſider alſo that this death was executed by God's eſpecial providence directing and diſpoſing it; though not without man's active concurrence. The treacherous diſpoſition and covetous appetite

of

of *Judas*; the envious humour, and blind zeal of the Prieſts; the wanton fickleneſs, and wild rudeneſs of the people; the fearfull, and ſelfiſh temper of the Governour were but inſtruments, by which God's own hand did inflict this ſore chaſtiſement upon his own Son for us; 'twas the Lord that *laid upon him the iniquities of us all*; by God he *was ſtricken, ſmitten and afflicted.* The *Jews* with their Rulers proceeded raſhly and ignorantly, but God adviſedly did accompliſh it, (as St. *Peter* in the *Acts:*) He did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up for us: He ſuſpended his bowels of pity (as it were;) he withdrew his face of kindneſs from him, out of mercy and benignity to us; he uſed him ſeverely, that he might deal favourably with us. Yet did man alſo actively concurr herein; all mankind (by their repreſentatives as it were) was involved as in the guilt for which, ſo in the guilt by which he ſuffered: there was a general conſpiracy practiſed of Jew and Gentile againſt the life of their Saviour: *Of a truth* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *againſt thy holy child, whom thou haſt anointed, were gathered together, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and with the people of Iſrael.* In the *Jews* man's horrid ingratitude, in the *Gentiles* his wretched infirmity did appear; which by their active efficacy did ſignifie the meritorious influence they had; that it was man's iniquity and infirmity which did cauſe our Saviour's death: which thus as a work of divine providence (the moſt admirable work ever done by providence) as an act of humane pravity (the moſt heinous act ever committed by man) is conſiderable.

Acts 4. 28. Iſa. 53. 6, 4. Act. 13. 27. 1 Cor. 2. 8. Act. 3. 17. Luk. 23. 34. Rom. 8. 32.

Act. 4. 27.

5. But immediately the quality and condition of our Saviour's Perſon do moſt commend, and advance the worth of his death: *If*, as the Pſalmiſt ſings, *precious in the ſight of the Lord is the death of his Saints:* If the ſpotleſs candour, the unblemiſhed integrity of a lamb do make its bloud precious, render it a fit and acceptable ſacrifice; how valuable ſhall the death of a perſon ſo holy and innocent, *who did not ſo much as know ſin, in whoſe mouth no guile was ever found*; who was removed (at infinite diſtance) from ſinners? If the life of a King be (as *David's* people told him) worth ten thouſand lives; and it be high treaſon to imagine his death; how conſiderable muſt the death be of a perſon ſo tranſcendent in dignity, *the Lord of glory, the Prince of life? Ye denied the Holy and the Juſt one: ye ſlew the Prince of life; they crucified the Lord of glory:* So the Apoſtles aggravate the buſineſs: But an infinity of worth and efficacy muſt needs accrue to the death of our Saviour, from his being the Son of God, from his being God: that the immortal God ſhould die, the moſt High ſo debaſed, as it cannot be heard without wonder, ſo it could not be done without huge reaſon, and mighty effect: Well might one drop of that royal bloud of heaven ſuffice to purchaſe many Worlds, to ranſome innumerable lives of men, to expiate an infinity of ſins.

Pſal. 116. 15. 72. 14. 1 Joh. 3. 5. 2 Cor. 5. 21. 1 Pet. 2. 22. Heb. 7. 26. 2 Sam. 18. 3. 21. 17. Acts 3. 15. 1 Cor. 2. 8.

III. But let us conſider the cauſes moving to it; and the ends deſigned thereby; together with the effects conſequent thereupon, (thoſe in nature being either the ſame, or joined with the ends thereof.) The determining it by God, the undertaking of it by our Saviour were acts moſt abſolutely free and voluntary: On the Father's part: *It pleaſed the Lord to bruiſe him* (ſaith the Prophet:) *Behold I come to do thy will*; (that is, to offer, not the bloud of beaſts in ſacrifice, but my own body, *according to thy will* as it is expounded in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews.*) *This command* (ſaith our Saviour) *I received of my father, viz.* to lay down my life: And, *the cup which my father hath given me to drink, ſhall I not drink it?* On our Saviour's part: *None* (ſaith he) *taketh my life from me* ('tis by no neceſſity or compulſion,) *but I lay it down of my ſelf: I have power to lay it down*

Iſa. 53. 10. Pſal. 40. 7, 9. Heb. 10. Joh. 10. 18. 18. 11. Joh. 10. 18. 6. 51.

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nd have power to resume it: And, *the blood which I shall give is my flesh,* Gal. 1. 4.
which I will give for the life of the world: The Son of man came to give his Matt. 21. 28.
life a ransome for many. The yielding of his flesh to death was a gift absolutely free; who gave himself for our sins, according to the will of God nd our Father.

Thus did this death proceed from the joint wills of God and his Son; et as the volitions of every wise and understanding Agent are in a manner determined or directed by some cause, (and grounded upon some eason,) so the causes and reasons of these voluntary acts in Scripture are leclared to have been several. The main impulsive causes were two, (one nternally disposing; the other externally inviting,) God's goodness and nan's distress. Mankind lying in a sad and forlorn estate; enslaved to in, oppressed by Satan, subject to a rigorous law, exposed to the severity f justice; tormented by the sense of guilt; fearfull of divine wrath and engeance; in short, condemned by the sentence of heaven, and by the uffrage of his own conscience to punishment unavoidable, to misery inolerable; He, I say, lying in so desperately uncomfortable a condition, God's infinite goodness regarded his poor creature; his bowels of compassion yerned toward him; thence was he moved to provide such a remedy sufficient and suitable to his delivery, for the curing all those distempers; he removing all those mischiefs: The main spring of all this wonderfull erformance (as of all other providential dispensations and actions *ad extra)* was that most excellent perfection of God; which in respect to his matter is sometimes termed χρηστότης, benignity, or bounty (imply- Tit. 3. 4.
ng the great benefit we receive thence,) sometimes Favour or Grace signifying the pure freeness in dispensing it, without any desert on our art: *By the grace of God, he tasted death for every man,)* sometimes love Rom. 3. 24.
nd philanthropy (intimating the regard God had to us as his creatures, 2 Cor. 8. 9.
nd as capable of being benefited, and better'd by him: *Herein God com-* Hebr. 2. 9.
ends his love toward us; in that we being yet sinners, Christ died for us: Joh. 3. 16.
Christ loved us, and delivered up himself an offering and sacrifice to God.) Rom. 5. 8. Tit. 3. 4, 5, &c. Eph. 5. 2.
ometimes mercy (connoting our bad deserts, our obnoxiousness to justice and punishment;) sometimes pity (signifying the need we had thereof, our misery and distress.) Such were the impulsive causes disposing and ccasioning; to which we may add our sins as the meritorious cause: *He* 1 Cor. 15. 3.
ied for our sins: He was wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our ini- 1 Pet. 3. 18.
quities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him: He died for us, not as Heb. 10. 12. Isa. 53. 5, 6.
en only, not as miserable, but as sinners: Had we been guiltless, there Rom. 5. 8, 9, &c.
nd wanted sufficient cause, and just reason of his death: God would not ave been angry, justice could have had no pretence or hold; we should ot have suffered our selves, nor could he have suffered for us: *Death is* Rom. 6. 23.
the debt (the wages) *due to sin,* which he therefore payed, because we Isa. 53.
ved and could not discharge it: *All we like sheep have gone astray; we have rned every one to his own way, and* (therefore) *the Lord hath laid on him e iniquity of us all.*

As for the ends aimed at, and the effects produced hereby; they are the Scripture-accompt and expression reckoned various; principally ese.

1. The illustrations of God's glory (by demonstrating and displaying s most excellent attributes and perfections: *Whom God*, saith St. *Paul,* Rom. 3. 25.
th set forth a propitiation, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τ δικαιοσύνης αὐτ; *for a demonstration of his righteousness*; that is, of his goodness, his justice, his sincerity, s constancy, and all such laudable perfections which may be used in dealg with others, for so I take *righteousness* to signifie.)

2. The dignifying and exaltation of our Saviour himſelf; by acquiring unto him (as it were) a new right unto, and enſtating him in an univerſal dominion, in a tranſcendent glory, joy, and happineſs, accruing to him by deſert and reward: *For* to *this end* (St. *Paul* tells us) *Chriſt died, ἵνα νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ: that he might be Lord of the dead and living.* Rom. 14. 9. Heb. 2. 9, 10. Heb. 12. 2. for the ſuffering of death he was *crowned with glory and honour*: the Prince of our Salvation was *perfected by ſuffering*; *For the joy that was ſet before him he endured the Croſs*: He *was obedient unto death*; *therefore God exalted him*: it was agreed and deſigned, that he ſhould ſee the *travail of his ſoul and be ſatisfied.* Phil. 2. 8, 9. Iſa. 53. 11.

3. The Salvation of mankind *(thereby redeeming us* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks (or buying us out) *from the curſe of the law*, (procuring indemnity and impunity for us,) juſtifying us in God's ſight, and reconciling us to God's favour: *Being juſtified* (ſaith the ſame Apoſtle) *by his bloud we ſhall be ſaved by him from wrath: For if, being enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son*: bearing, taking away, expiating, aboliſhing, procuring pardon for, *purging the conſcience from*, cleanſing us from the ſtain and freeing us from the power of ſin, and *dead works*: *But now* (ſaith the Author to the *Hebrews) once in the end of the world hath he appeared, εἰς ἀθέτησιν ἁμαρτίας, to the putting away* (or abolition) *of ſin by the ſacrifice of himſelf*: and, *The bloud of Chriſt* (ſaith St. *John) cleanſeth us from all ſin*. And, *who loved us, and waſhed us from our ſins in his own bloud*: And, *who gave himſelf for our ſins, that he might deliver us from this preſent evil world*. *Who gave himſelf for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himſelf a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of* (who ſhall criminate, τίς ἐγκαλέσει) *God's elect? who ſhall condemn? 'Tis Chriſt that died.* In ſubordination unto, co-incidence or concurrence with theſe ends, our Saviour alſo died; for the reparation of God's honour, recovery of his right, and ſatisfaction of his juſtice: for the ratifying the new Covenant between God and us; (whence his bloud is called *the bloud of the Covenant*, or *New Teſtament*;) for the reconciling and pacifying *all things in heaven and earth*; removing all cauſes of diſſention, inducing obligations of concord and charity: For pulling out the ſting and removing the terrour of death; ſuppreſſing and *triumphing over the power of hell*; *deſtroying* (or defeating) *him that had the power of death, the devil, and delivering them, who through fear of death were all their life-time ſubject to death*: For engaging us to all righteouſneſs and obedience, (eſpecially to the moſt excellent and moſt difficult parts thereof, charity, meekneſs, patience, ſelf-denial, utmoſt conſtancy and perſeverance) both from our obligation for what he did, and in imitation of his example; Laſtly, for atteſtation unto, and confirmation of divine truth; ſealing his heavenly doctrine by his bloud, and witneſſing before *Pontius Pilate* a good confeſſion. Such ends did the death and paſſion of our Saviour aim at, ſuch fruits did grow from it; which the time hath permitted me ſcarce curſorily to mention. Rom. 14. 9. Heb. 2. 9, 10. Heb. 12. 2. Phil. 2. 8, 9. Iſa. 53. 11. Gal. 3. 13. ἐξηγόρασεν. Rom. 5. 9. 1 Pet. 2. 24. Heb. 9. 27. Joh. 1. 29. Heb. 10. 4. 1 Joh. 1. 7. Apoc. 1. 5. Gal. 1. 4. Tit. 2. 14. 1 Pet. 1. 18. Rom. 8. 34. Coloſſ. 2. 15. Heb. 2. 14. καταργήσας. 1 Tim. 6. 13. Joh. 18. 37.

As for the practical influences, the belief and conſideration thereof ſhould have upon us, they are many and great.

It ſhould oblige us to the higheſt degree of love, and thankfulneſs, in regard to this higheſt expreſſion of love to us. It ſhould beget in us the greateſt *faith and hope in God*; for that, *He which did not ſpare his own Son, but delivered him up* (to death) *for us all, how ſhall he not with him alſo freely give us all things?* It ſhould work contrition and repentance for us for thoſe ſins, which murdered our ſo good friend and loving Saviour. It ſhould deterr and make us carefully to avoid them, as thoſe which in mann Joh. 15. 13. Rom. 8. 32.

manner exact another death from him and crucifie him a-freſh, and *vilifie the precious bloud of the covenant:* It ſhould diſcover to us their heinouſneſs, and produce in us a vehement deteſtation and dread of them; as having provoked God to ſuch a degree of diſpleaſure; cauſing him to deal ſo ſeverely with his own moſt dear Son; *for if thoſe things were done* (ſuch puniſhments were inflicted) *upon a green tree* (upon a perſon ſo innocent, ſo precious, ſo little liable to the fire of vengeance) *what ſhall be done to the dry* (to us, that are ſo guilty, ſo combuſtible) if we preſume to diſpleaſe God? It ſhould engage us to a patient ſubmiſſion and reſignation of our ſelves to God's will and providence: *Foraſmuch as Chriſt hath ſuffered for us in the fleſh, we ſhould arm our ſelves likewiſe with the ſame mind*, as St. *Peter* adviſes; and prepare for the deepeſt mortification, in conformity to his death, dying after him *to the luſts and affections of the fleſh*, to the faſhions and delights of the world; to the fulleſt meaſure of charity; *for if God ſo loved us* (ſo as to die for us) *then ought we* (as St. *John* tells us) *to love one another*, in a degree anſwerable; for, he adds; *If he laid down his life for us, then ought we alſo to lay down our lives for our brethren:* In fine, we are hereby obliged to yield up our ſelves wholly to the ſervice of our Saviour; to the promoting of his intereſt and glory; ſince, as St. *Paul* teaches us, *we are not our own, being bought with a price*; and therefore *muſt glorifie God in our body and in our ſpirits, which are God's*, (by a purchaſe ſo dear and precious,) ſince (as he again tells us) *Chriſt died for all, that they which live might not live to themſelves, but to him that died for them: Since* (as St. *Peter* urges) *we know that we are not redeemed by things corruptible, by ſilver and gold, but by the precious bloud of Chriſt, as a lamb without blemiſh or ſpot*, from our vain converſation.

Heb. 6. 6. 10. 29.
Luk. 23. 31.
Phil. 2. 5.
1 Pet. 4. 1.
1 Joh. 4. 11. 3. 16.
Phil. 3. 10.
1 Pet. 4. 2.
Rom. 6. 5, 6, &c.
Gal. 2. 20. 5. 24.
1 Cor. 6. ult.
2 Cor. 5. 15.
1 Pet. 1. 18.

Buried. He deſcended into Hell.

THeſe two particulars (which in the ancient *Roman* Creed, and in all the Oriental Forms, as alſo in other more ancient ſummaries of Chriſtian doctrine) do appear either to have been conjoined and comprehended in the former of them (*Buried*) or at leaſt the latter to have been wholly omitted; it being afterwards inſerted here out of the *Aquileian* Form, (which in a manner had it, in the room of the former, that ſaying inſtead of *ſepultus eſt, deſcendit in inferna*) or from elſewhere (the latter ages mentioning both, either for more fulneſs and ſecurity, that nothing any wiſe material, touched in Scripture, concerning our Saviour's perſon, or performances, eſpecially done in that great ſeaſon of action preceding his laſt farewell to this world, might ſeem neglected) or perchance upon occaſion of (in favour to, or complyance with) ſome opinions about our Saviour's doings in the interval between his death and reſurrection, current and paſſable in thoſe times: theſe particulars however, I ſay, may ſeem added in reſpect chiefly (for the clearer illuſtration, and ſurer confirmation of) thoſe great Articles precedent and ſubſequent concerning our Saviour's death and reſurrection. For (as to the firſt) our Saviour's body being committed to the grave, the common repoſitory of bodies, it plainly demonſtrates the truth of his death, the reality and wonderfulneſs of his reſurrection. No life could continue in a body ſhut up under-ground till the third day; (ſequeſtred from that air, which ventilates and keeps from ſmothering our vital flame, from that comfortable light which excites and cheriſhes our natural heat; from that food, which ſuſtains and repairs our decaying parts;) therefore he muſt, being thus lodged in the chambers of death, be really dead; and to raiſe him thence, to rear the temple

of his body, from that utmost state of dejection, must be a work of divine and most wonderfull power. And to this purpose I suppose St. *Paul* mentions our Saviour's burial as a point, which among other great Articles of our Religion he did use to preach and inculcate as a matter of faith: *I*
1 Cor. 15. 4. *delivered unto you first of all* (saith he to the *Corinthians*) *that which I also received, that Christ died for our sins; and that he was buried, and that he rose again, according to the Scriptures.* His burial interceding, gave light and confirmation to his death foregoing, and his resurrection following it: according to the Scriptures, St. *Paul* adds; for it had seemed good to God both by typical representation to fore-shew, and expressly to fore-tell
Matt. 12. 24. our Saviour's interment. *As Jonas* (saith he himself, the best expositor of God's meaning in such mystical adumbrations) *was three days, and three nights in the Whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth*; the Whale's belly *Jonas* himself terms the
Jon. 2. 2. belly of Hell, *(Out of the belly of Hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice:*
Psal. 16. 9. the belly of Hell, or of the Grave.) *And my flesh* (saith *David*, as representing our Saviour) *shall rest in hope; for thou wilt not leave my soul in Hell, nor suffer thine holy one to see corruption:* The Grave was the bed wherein our Saviour's flesh did rest in expectation soon to rise again be-
Isa. 53. 9. fore any corruption should seize thereon: And the Prophet *Esay* treating upon his Passion, with the causes, the manner, the consequences thereof,
Δώσω τὸς πονηρὸς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτ̃. LXX. δώσει Heb. doth not omit the mention of this point: *For*, says he, *He made his Grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death.* So God pre-ordained, and so predicted concerning our Saviour's burial for the confirmation of our faith, though perhaps other ends might fall in therewith, and other not inconsiderable uses may be made thereof. He did thereby yield a farther
Gen. 3. 19. instance of condescension, a final submission to the law of humane nature, in being brought to the dust, and returning to the ground, according to
1 Cor. 15. 20. the general doom pronounced once upon mankind: *Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt return.* He represented thereby, as the first fruits from the dead, and the pattern of his followers, the common manner how, and
Joh. 5. 28. whence we shall arise, *when the time comes, that all which are in the Graves shall hear his voice and go forth*, as it is in the Gospel: how all men being as it were sown in the ground, shall spring up again to another life. He did also thereby signifie that mystical Sepulture, which we undergo in
Col. 1. 12. Rom. 6. 4. baptism, being therein buried with him (as St. *Paul* speaks) being secluded from the pleasures of sin, and having the vanities of the world removed from our eyes: the immersion in baptism was a kind of burial, and its being done thrice (according to primitive use) corresponded (as the Ancients suppose) to our Saviour's lying three days in the Grave: Τὸ δὲ καταδύεσθαι τὸ παιδίον ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τρίτον, καὶ ἀναφέσθαι, τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸν θάνατον, καὶ τὴν τελέμερον ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ: that the child doth enter thrice into the Font, and rises up again; this represents the death and resurrection after three days of Christ, saith *Athanasius*: and,---*Illa tertiò repetita demersio typum dominicæ exprimit sepulturæ, per quam Christo consepulti estis in baptismo*: that demersion thrice repeated expresses a type of our Lord's burial, as by which we are together buried with Christ, in bap-
γέρας θανόντων. ....Corpora terræ mandemus, qui solus honos Acheronte sub imo est. *Hom. Od. ω.* tism, saith St. *Augustine*. It also doth countenance and commend unto us those seemly respects (those offices of humanity) which all civil people have consented to perform towards the bodies of our brethren departed from us; in decently laying up their remainders; securing them from offence and disgrace; shewing by our best regard to what is left of them the good-will we bare them living, the good hope we have of them dead as expecting to recover that *depositum* so carefully laid up by us. We see

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our Saviour was not unconcerned herein; and did commend to the everlaſting eſteem of poſterity the pious reſpect of that good Woman, who ſpent the precious ointment upon him, as having reſerved it for his burial. As for the manner of our Saviour's burial, that his body was by *Pilate*'s grant, upon the petition of an honourable Counſellour reſcued from the Croſs, (where, according to the rigour of the *Roman* Law, it was to abide till its conſumption) that no farther ignominy, or injury ſhould be offered unto him, after he had fully ſatisfied the will and juſtice of God, in undergoing ſuch extremities of pain and diſgrace for our redemption: that another good ruler, well-affected to his perſon and doctrine, had prepared, and did bring a plentifull and precious mixture of Spices, wherewith (according to the manner of the *Jews* towards perſons of wealth and reſpect) for decency and convenience (to preſerve the dead bodies from noiſom ſavour and to prevent ſudden corruption) to anoint his Body: That his body was wrapped up in fine linen cloaths and laid in a new fair tomb, hewed out of a rock (or ſtony-ground) was therein encloſed, a great ſtone being rolled upon the entrance thereof (God thus ordering it, that all befitting honour ſhould be done to that ſacred body, which had born ſo much for us, and ſerved God ſo well; that the glorious temple of the divinity ſhould not be profaned or polluted, in any manner unſeemly; that the grand miracle of raiſing our Saviour to life ſhould come off with moſt advantage.) Theſe things plainly deſcribed in the Goſpel, might afford matter of profitable obſervation and diſcourſe; but I cannot well inſiſt upon them; but proceed. Joh. 12. 7. Matt. 26. 10, &c.

He deſcended into Hell, κατελθόντα εἰς ᾅδην. This article (or point of doctrine) as was before noted, is of a later ſtanding in the Creed; and doth not appear to have had place in any of the moſt ancient ones, publick or private (excepting that of *Aquileia*, into which alſo perhaps it might have come not long before *Ruffinus* his time) and the meaning thereof hath always (both in more ancient times among the Fathers, and in the middle times afterwards among the Schoolmen, and lately among modern Writers) been much debated, having given occaſion to many prolix and accurate diſcourſes: to recite the different opinions and explications thereof, with the reaſons produced to maintain, or diſprove them, were a matter of greater pain and time than I can afford, and to decide the controverſies about it a matter of greater difficulty, than I could hope to atchieve. I could therefore (both upon theſe accounts, as alſo becauſe I choſe to inſiſt rather upon matters more clear in their nature, and practical in conſequence;) I could therefore, I ſay, willingly wave this obſcure and perplexed ſubject; yet however, to comply ſomewhat with expectation, I ſhall touch briefly upon ſome things ſeeming conducible to the clearing or ending of the controverſies hereabout.

Now, whereas there may be a threefold inquiry, either concerning the meaning of the words (here ſet down) intended by thoſe who inſerted them; or concerning the moſt proper ſignification of the words themſelves; or concerning the meaning they are with truth capable of in the caſe, to which they here are applied.

1. The firſt I reſolve (or rather remove) by ſaying; that it ſeems needleſs and endleſs to diſpute, what meaning they (which placed theſe words here) did intend; Since, 1. it is poſſible (and might be declared ſo by many like inſtances) and perhaps not unlikely, that they might both themſelves upon probable grounds believe, and for plauſible ends propound to the belief of others this propoſition, without apprehending any diſtinct ſenſe thereof; as we believe all the Scriptures, and commend them to the faith

faith of others, without underſtanding the ſenſe of many paſſages therein: And ſince, 2dly. perhaps they might by them intend ſome notion not certain, or not true, following ſome conceits then prevalent, but not built upon any ſure foundations. And ſince, 3dly. to ſpeak roundly, their bare authority, whoever they were (for that doth not appear) could not be ſuch as to oblige us to be of their minds, whatever they did mean or intend. We may owe much reverence, but no entire credence to their opinions. Yet, 4thly. if I were bound to ſpeak my thought, I muſt confeſs, ſuppoſing they had any diſtinct meaning, they did mean to ſay, that our Saviour's ſoul did by a true and proper kind of motion, deſcend into the regions infernal, or beneath the earth; where they conceived the ſouls of men were detained; for this appears to have been the more general and current opinion of thoſe times, which it is probable they did comply with herein, whence ſoever fetched, however grounded.

As to the ſecond inquiry, concerning the ſignification of the words: What may be meant by *He deſcending*: Whether our Saviour himſelf, according to his humanity; or his ſoul, or his body called *he* by ſynecdoche: What by *deſcended*, whether (to omit that ſenſe, which makes the whole ſentence an Allegory, denoting the ſufferance of infernal or helliſh pains and ſorrows, as too wide from the purpoſe) whether I ſay by *deſcending* may be ſignified a proper local motion toward ſuch a term; or an action, ſo called in reſpect to ſome ſuch motion accompanying it; or a vertual motion, by power and efficacy in places below: what by *Hell*; whether a ſtate of being, or a place; if a place, whether that where bodies are repoſed, or that to which ſouls do go; and if a place of ſouls whether the place of good and happy ſouls, or that of bad and miſerable ones; or indifferently and in common, of both thoſe; for ſuch a manifold ambiguity theſe words have (or are made to have,) and each of theſe ſenſes are embraced and contended for: I ſhall not examine any of them, nor farther meddle in the matter than by ſaying,

1. That the Hebrew word *Scheol* (upon the true notion of which the ſenſe of the word *Hell* in this place is confeſſed to depend) doth ſeem originally, moſt properly, and moſt frequently (perhaps conſtantly, except when it is tranſlated, as all words ſometimes are, to a figurative uſe) to deſign the whole region protended downward from the ſurface of the earth, to a depth (according to the vulgar opinion, as it ſeems, of all ancient times over the world) indefinite and inconceivable; vaſtly capacious in extenſion; very darkſome, deſolate and dungeon-like in quality; (whence it is alſo ſtyled frequently * *the pit, the abyſs, the darkneſs, the depths of the earth*, &c.) I need not labour much to confirm the truth of this notion, ſince it is obvious that this *Scheol* (when moſt abſolutely and properly taken, the circumſtances of the diſcourſe implying ſo much,) is commonly oppoſed to Heaven, not only in ſituation, but in dimenſion and diſtance; as when *Job* ſpeaking of the unſearchableneſs of the divine perfections, ſaith: *It is as high as heaven, what canſt thou do? deeper than hell, what canſt thou know?* And the Prophet *Amos*: *Though they dig into hell, thence ſhall mine hand take them; though they climb up into heaven thence will I bring them down.* I ſay farther,

2dly. Becauſe the bodies (that is, the viſible remainders) of men dying do naturally fall down, or are put into the boſom of this pit, (which is therefore an univerſal Grave and receptacle of them,) therefore to die is frequently termed καταβαίνειν εἰς ᾅδου, or κατάγεσθαι εἰς ᾅδου, to deſcend or to be brought down into this Hell; which happening unto all men without exception, (for, as the Pſalmiſt ſays) *there is no man that ſhall delive*

* ἄβυσσος, Βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονὸς βέρεθρον. Νερτέριος κευθμῶν. Βόθρος ᾅδου, Ecclus. 21.11. μυχὸς ᾅδου, Ecclus. 17.14. ἀπώλεια, Prov. 15: 18. διαφθορὰ, 27. 20. Pſal. 107. 10. 88. 6. 143. 5. Eccl. 6. 4. Job 17. 13. 1 Sam. 2. 9. Pſal. 71. 20. Prov. 9. 18. Job 11. 8. Amos 9. 2. Vid. Pſ. 139. 8. Deut. 32. 22. Iſa. 57. 9. Pſal. 89. 48.

deliver his soul, or life (or himself) *from the hand* (or from the clutches) *of* this al-grasping *Hell,)* therefore it is attributed promiscuously to all men, to good and bad alike: *I will go down* (saith good *Jacob*) *unto the Grave* (to *Scheol*, this common Grave of mankind, καταβήσομαι εἰς ᾅδε) *unto my son mourning*; and so frequently of others. Whence this Hell is apt figuratively to be put for and signifie equivalently with Death it self, (it is once by the LXX. so translated, and by St. *Peter* it seems after them,) or for the law, condition, and state thereof. I say farther, Gen. 37. 35. 44. 29, 31. 2 Sam. 22. 6. Acts 2. 24. Isa. 38. 18.

3dly. That this word seems not in the ancient use to signifie the place, whither men's souls do go, or where they abide: For that,

1. It can hardly be made appear that the ancient *Hebrews* either had any name appropriate to the place of souls, or did conceive distinctly which way they went, otherwise than that (as the Preacher speaks) *they returned unto God, who gave them*; that they abode in God's hand (especially the souls of the just: as we have it in Wisdom; *The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and there shall no torment touch them*, &c.) And for that, Eccl. 12. 7. Wisd. 3. 1. Deut. 33. 3.

2dly. It is probable they did rather conceive the souls of men, when they died, did go upward, than downward: as the same Preacher intimates, differencing the spirit of man dying, from the soul of beasts, that with its body descending, this ascending, as it were unto God to be disposed according to his pleasure and justice: and by *Enos* his being taken unto God (whose special residence is expressed to be *in heaven above,)* and by *Elias* his translation *upward into heaven* (as it is in the history) it seems they might rather suppose the souls of the righteous to ascend, than to be conveyed, downward into subterraneous Caverns; those μυχοὶ, that βάθρος ᾅδε (those *closets*, that *deep pit of hell*, as the son of *Sirach* and the book of *Wisdom* do call them;) to ascend, I say, into consortship and society with the blessed Angels, who are described to attend upon God's throne in heaven; to the family of God in heaven, to that heavenly country, which they are said to desire earnestly, the heavenly *Jerusalem*. I add, Eccl. 3. 21. Gen. 5. 24. ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις, Arist. de Cœlo. 2 King. 2. 11. Ecclus. 21. 11. Sap. 17. 14.

3dly. That, if those ancients had by *Scheol* meant the receptacle or mansion of souls, it is not likely they would have used such expressions: *The Grave* (Scheol) *cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth,* (so *Hezekiah.*) *In death there is no remembrance of thee; in the grave* (in *Scheol* again,) *who shall give thee thanks,* (so *David*;) and the Preacher more fully: *There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave* (in *Scheol*) *whither thou goest*: (it were much he should say so, if by *Scheol* he meant the place of souls, except he should mean that souls after death were deprived of all life and sense.) Isa. 38. 18. Psal. 6. 6. Eccl. 9. 10. Vid. Ecclus. 17. 27.

I must confess, that afterwards (even before our Saviour's time) the word ᾅδης was assumed by the *Jews* to design (as among the *Greeks*) either the place of souls in common, or more strictly the place of souls condemned to punishment and pain for their evil lives here. (*Josephus* is observed often to use the word in the first of these senses; and in the New Testament it seems peculiarly applied to the latter, as in the Parable of the rich man, *who being*, ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ, *in hell-torments did thence lift up his eyes, and behold afar off Lazarus in Abraham's bosom*: But we cannot hence inferr the same concerning the ancient meaning of the word *Scheol*; especially considering how the *Jews* after the prophetical days in their dispersions becoming acquainted with the world, did somewhat improve in knowledge, and borrowed both notions and expressions from elsewhere; which expressions Luk. 16. 23.

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our Saviour and his Apoſtles would not depart from, when they were agreeable or accommodable to truth. But however it be determined concerning the proper ſenſe in general of this principal word in the propoſition, and of the reſt depending thereupon as to their importance here, as to the preſent caſe, and the laſt main queſtion propounded about the meaning, whereof the words are truly capable here: I anſwer briefly,

1. That if we interpret this deſcent into Hell of our Saviour's interment, or being laid in the boſom of that general Grave we ſpeak of; or if (which little differs from that) we take theſe words for a phraſe (taking its ground thence in the manner fore-mentioned) importing, no otherwiſe than when it was ſpoken of *Jacob* and others, that our Saviour did really paſs into the ſtate of death, we ſhall be ſure therein not to err, the propoſition being moſt certainly true, ſo underſtood; we ſhall alſo hereby be able fairly to ſatisfie the firſt and beſt (if not the only) reaſon of this propoſition being commended to our belief; for that place of Scripture, or rather one place, being the ſame application of a place in the *Pſalms*; (which ſeems to have been the occaſion, and is the main ground of its aſſertion) doth not refuſe, but rather moſt commodiouſly admits this interpretation: For our Saviour's ſoul not being left in Hell, and not ſeeing corruption, is plainly by St. *Peter* himſelf interpreted of his *reſurrection*: (He (*David*) foreſeeing this, ſpake of Chriſt's reſurrection, *Acts* 2. 31. And in like manner by St. *Paul*—*As concerning that he raiſed him from the dead, now no more to ſee corruption*: he ſaid on this wiſe, (*Acts* 13. 34.) That ſpeech, I ſay, our Saviour's ſoul not being left in Hell, and not ſeeing corruption, is by the Apoſtles interpreted by our Saviour's reſurrection, (that is, by his being freed from the bands of death, and raiſed from the grave, before his fleſh had ſeen corruption) and is oppoſed by them to *David*'s continuing in death and ſeeing corruption (his body being corrupted and conſumed in the Grave) the Apoſtles not deſigning to aſſert or prove more than our Saviour's reſurrection: *David* (argue they) fell on ſleep, and hath continued till now in that ſtate; *David* remained unto this day in the Grave, and ſo his body being reduced to duſt, ſaw corruption, ἐτελεύτεσε, καὶ ἐτάφη; ſaith St. *Peter*: he died and was buried without reverſion; therefore that ſpeech of his in the *Pſalm* muſt not fully and ultimately be underſtood of him (to whom they did not ſo exactly agree,) but of ſuch an one, who did not abide in that deadly ſleep, whoſe fleſh, by being opportunely raiſed up, did avoid the ſight (or undergoing of) corruption. And whereas 'tis ſaid, *thou ſhalt not leave*, τὴν ψυχήν μς, *my ſoul* (or my life) nothing can be thence drawn greatly prejudicial to this Expoſition; for (to omit that bolder Expoſition of *Beza*, who by the *ſoul* underſtood the *cadaver* or *dead body*, ſometime tranſlating the words, *non derelinques cadaver meum in ſepulchro*,) nothing is more uſual in the Hebrew than both for the fleſh, and for the ſoul, each of them ſynecdochically to ſignifie *the perſon* (conſidered as ſometime endued with life,) and in propriety of ſpeech to ſtand for the body, or for the ſoul: *Every one that ſinneth ſhall be put to death, and that ſoul ſhall be cut off*, are terms equivalent in the law: *the ſoul that eateth, the ſoul that toucheth*, and the like phraſes, often occurr: In fine; *to deliver their ſoul from death*, as the Pſalmiſt ſpeaks: *God will redeem my ſoul from the power of the Grave: What man is he that ſhall not ſee death; that ſhall deliver his ſoul from the hand of the Grave*, do ſeem expreſſions parallel to this, *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoul in Hell*; which yet ſeem to import no more, than the perſons there ſpoken of reſpectively to be preſerved from death: It is alſo obſervable that St. *Paul*, in the 13th of the *Acts*, neglecting the former

Acts 2. 31. 13. 34.

Acts 2. 29.

Exod. 31. 14. Lev. 7. 25, 27. 5. 2, &c.

Pſal. 33. 19. 49. 15. 89. 48.

mer part, *Thou ſhalt not leave my ſoul in Hell,* contents himſelf with the latter, *Thou wilt not yield thy holy One to ſee corruption,* intimating both parts to ſignifie the ſame thing. If it be objected as an inconvenience to this explication of the words here in the Creed, that admitting it, they ſignifie no more, than what was before expreſſed in plain words, *dead and buried,* and ſo contain only a needleſs repetition. I anſwer, 1. That this objection concerns them, who inſerted the words here, who yet (even ſuppoſing the truth of this Expoſition) might be excuſable, as ſuſpecting it poſſible, that our Saviour's being ἐν ᾅδῃ, according to St. *Peter*, might imply more than this, although they knew not what diſtinctly; who might alſo perhaps intend ſomewhat by theſe words different from this ſenſe, but not ſo truly applicable to them, or agreeable to the truth of the thing. I anſwer, 2dly. That a greater inconvenience ſeems to ariſe from expounding them otherwiſe; it reflecting upon the more ancient Compilers both of this and moſt other Creeds, who left them out, which they ſhould not have done, if they contain any thing conſiderable and different from what is here otherwiſe expreſſed; whoſe credit is more, I conceive, to be tendred, than that of their juniors and followers; and ſo much the more, for that defect and omiſſion in matters of this kind is leſs tolerable, than any redundance in expreſſion. Which inconvenience may ſeem in a manner to reach higher, even to St. *Paul* himſelf, who (in the place fore-cited) declaring the ſum of what he both learned and taught concerning our Saviour's laſt grand performances, only mentions his death, burial, and reſurrection: *I delivered unto you firſt, that Chriſt died according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day*; which enumeration of his, it ſeems, we may well acquieſce in as ſufficient and complete; and may thence with great probability inferr, that no other deſcent of our Saviour into Hell (beſide his death and burial) was by him underſtood or delivered in his catechetical diſcourſes and preachings as a point of faith: So that what is objected as an inconvenience, proves no ſmall advantage to this Expoſition. But I ſay farther, 1 Cor. 15. 4.

2dly. To the main queſtion, that interpreting *Hell* for the manſion or habitation of ſouls, (to omit that *Scheol*, as I before noted, ſeems to ſignifie otherwiſe in the Old Teſtament, and thence conſequently the places in the *Acts*, applied out of the *Pſalms*, not ſo proper to this purpoſe, whereby the main ground and ſupport of the aſſertion it ſelf, taken according to this ſenſe, is removed; waving I ſay that conſideration, and taking ᾅδης according to the meaning, (which we muſt confeſs it ſometime to bear in the New Teſtament, yet) there ſeems to follow ſome inconvenience thereupon; for then we muſt either take it for the place of damned ſpirits ſhut up in torment and deſpair (according to which acception the propoſition it ſelf would be moſt certainly uncertain, as having no good ground for it; and moſt probably falſe, for that it is affirmed our Saviour's ſoul the ſame day he died, did go into paradiſe,) or we muſt take it for a place common to all ſouls, as well good and bleſſed, as bad and miſerable, (for that it comprehends the place of torment, in the New Teſtament ſenſe, is evident by the Parable of *Dives* forecited.) But I think St. *Auguſtine* had reaſon to doubt whether it were conſonant to the ſtyle of the New Teſtament, that *Hades* there ſhould be ever taken in a good or middle ſenſe, at leaſt; whereas 'tis ſaid in the *Revelation*, that thoſe two inſeparable companions, *Death and Hades* (that *Hades* which is there ſaid to render up its dead to judgment) *were caſt into the lake of fire*; 'tis hard to ſuppoſe Paradiſe was caſt in there, yea hard to ſay *Hades* was caſt in there, ſuppoſing that word did then in its uſual latitude of ſignification Apoc. 20. 14.

(as Chriſtians underſtood it) comprehend Paradiſe. Yea farther, this explication forces us upon this inconvenience, that we muſt ſuppoſe Paradiſe to be ſeated in a place beneath us (or within the earth;) that Paradiſe, which is either the ſame with the *third heavens* in St. *Paul*, or confining thereto; 'tis hard, I ſay, to be forced by an interpretation of theſe words to conſent that Paradiſe (that *locus divinæ amœnitatis recipiendis ſanctorum ſpiritibus deſtinatus*, the place of divine comfort and amœnity, deſtinated to receive the ſpirits of the Saints) ſhould have its place in the darkſome bowels of the earth, no commodious ſituation, it ſeems, for delightſome walks and bowers; yet ſo muſt it be ſeated, that our Saviour's ſoul may be (at leaſt in rigour and propriety of ſpeech) ſaid to deſcend thereinto; the word *deſcend*, taking *Hell* for the ancient *Scheol* forementioned, is proper enough, and hath ground both in authentick uſe and the nature of the thing; but taking *Hell* in this ſenſe (for the place of ſouls) is moſt probably improper, and hath no certain ground or authority to commend it: for it is ſaid that our Saviour's ſoul was in Hell, not that it deſcended thither; nor can it by conſequence be inferred ſo to have done, according to this meaning of *Hell*. However yet I add,

2 Cor. 12.

3dly. Seeing it is a moſt certain truth that our Saviour's ſoul did immediately go into the place appointed to receive happy ſouls after their receſſion from the body and reſignation into God's hands, if we take *Hell* in a general and common ſenſe for the place, or ſtate of ſouls departed; and *deſcending*, only for paſſing thereinto (by a falling as it were from life; or together with the deſcent of the body, and thence ſtyled *deſcending*; what appears viſibly happening to the body being attributed to the ſoul:) If, I ſay, we thus interpret our Saviour's deſcent into Hell for his ſouls going into the common receptacle and manſion of ſouls, we ſhall be ſure not ſubſtantially to miſtake: And this ſenſe, I muſt confeſs, if the words can handſomely bear them, would be very proper to this place, as ſignifying ſomewhat diſtinct from what is otherwiſe expreſſed, and ſerving to the farther confirmation of thoſe great Articles adjoining, our Saviour's death and reſurrection: it implying the perfect and utmoſt accompliſhment of death to have deſerted the body, and to have been tranſlated into thoſe inviſible regions, ſo diſtant hence, and whence——*revocare gradum ſuperáſque evadere ad auras*, is a labour indeed, and a work not to be effected but by the moſt miraculous power of him, whoſe privilege it is—*to kill and make alive, to bring down to Hell and bring up*; to lead unto the gates of Hell, and bring back again.

Ἀδύνατος ᾅδης. Sap. 17. 14.

1 Sam. 2. 6. Sap. 16. 13. Tobit. 13. 2. Deut. 32. 39.

This is all that I ſhall ſay about this point; for I will not be at the trouble to conſider or examine thoſe conceits, which pretend to acquaint us why and to what effect our Saviour deſcended into Hell: That he went thither to preach unto, convert and redeem all or ſome of the damned ſouls from thence, (for ſome ſay that he emptied, and quite depopulated that region of darkneſs; others are not ſo liberal as to free all thence, but ſome only, the fitter objects of compaſſion and favour; (both ſaying that which hath very weak, or no reaſons to maintain it, very ſtrong and plain objections to aſſail it;) that he went to free, and uſher into glory the ſouls of the Patriarchs and other good people from that infernal *limbus*, in which they ſuppoſe them to have been till then detained, (a place by no likely means to be proved exiſtent other-where than in the fancy of the inventours thereof) that he went to affront, triumph over, and terrifie the powers of darkneſs upon their own ground, in their own dominions: theſe and the like conceits ſeem ſufficiently diſcountenanced and confuted by ſaying the Scripture nowhere plainly declares any ſuch thing; and conſe-

consequently that they have no good ground to insist on; they pretend only one or two difficult and obscure places, which may be many ways otherwise expounded, so as not so much as to favour them;) whereas in teaching us that our Saviour preached upon earth salvation to them which in this life should be converted to believe upon him and obey his laws; damnation irrecoverable to them which should persist in infidelity and disobedience; that he merited by his obedience, and purchased by his bloud both a redemption from future distress, and a translation into bliss and glory, that he vanquished and triumphed over the powers of Hell upon the Cross, in these things the Scripture is clear and copious; but concerning that pretended preaching unto, conversion and deliverance of souls beneath; or that translation of souls out of any subterraneous closets, or prisons, so they do not scruple to call them; or that local triumph in the Devil's Kingdom, it is quite silent, or very dark in expression; and therefore we may be somewhat backward in assenting to such conceits; which whoever first devised, we may suspect they did ἐμβατεύειν ἃ μὴ ἑωράκεσαν, invade things unseen by themselves, and in very deed invisible to any. But let it suffice to have discoursed thus much about this endless question. *Bellarm.* Coloss. 2. 18.

The third day he rose again from the dead.

THis Article is one of the principal Articles in its nature, its design, its consequence; the faith of which was intended as a means to produce faith in the rest; removing the doubts and difficulties that might obstruct it; for by our Saviour's resurrection, the truth of all his pretences concerning his Person, his Office, his Doctrine were to the highest degree of satisfaction, and conviction assured; no miracle could be greater in its self, (more signifying the Power of God therein employed;) none more proper for production and confirmation of the faith required of us, concerning the dignity of his person, the efficacy of his performances, the validity of his promises, the reality of his doctrine in relation to the future state. God (as St. *Paul* tells us, *Acts* 17. 31.) did πίστιν παρέχειν πᾶσιν, afford to all a most persuasive and convincing argument of all truth concerning our Saviour, raising him from the dead.

1. If the meanness of his birth and parentage; the low garb and small lustre of his life; the bitter sorrows and shamefull disgraces of his death, though accompanied with such excellent qualities, and such wonderfull performances, as did appear in and were done by him, might (especially in those that stand at distance) breed any suspicion (as indeed they have afforded matter of argument to the adversaries of Christianity against it) concerning our Saviour, whether he were indeed (as he pretended) the Son of God, (so near in nature, in favour, in affection to God) designed by him to be the Saviour of mankind, the Lord of all things, the Judge of the World: If, I say, such homely circumstances, that attended his Person, such sad accidents, that befell him, may in the eyes of those, who cast only superficial glances on the thing, and look not beyond outward appearances, beget doubtfull apprehensions concerning our Saviour's Person, or somewhat depress him in their conceit; the wonderfull power, and special favour of God toward him demonstrated in his resurrection, will discuss those mists, and raise him in their esteem: *For though* (as St. *Paul* speaks) *he was crucified out of weakness*, (that is therein the infirmity of our nature being discovered,) *yet he liveth by the power of God*; by his recovering life, his divine power is declared; it was an ὑπερβολ- Vid. Rom. 1. 4. 2 Cor. 13. 4.

Eph. 1. 19. λον μέγεθ& δ δύναμεως, an excessive greatness of power, which God exerted, an ἐνέργεια τ κράτες δ ἰχύ&, an activity of the might of strength (or of most mighty strength) which he set on work in the raising of Christ from the dead, (so the Apostle labours to express the unexpressible eminency of this miracle.) [*Pliny*, I remember, among instances of things, which were impossible even to God himself, reckons these two, *Mortales æternitate donare, & revocare defunctos*, (to bestow Eternity upon mortals, and to recall the dead to life;) both which suppositions we see by our Saviour's resurrection clearly confuted, yet so as the making them argues how high and hard a work in humane conceit it was to effect it:] Indeed, St. *Paul* seems to suppose otherwise; when he thus puts the question: *What; doth it seem incredible to you, that God should raise the dead?* But there is an emphasis in the words παρ' ὑμῖν, with you; with you, whose minds were prepossessed with notions favourable to this doctrine; who had so many instances thereof; who had been instructed to hope future rewards from God: And as it was an instance of God's mighty power, so was it no less a mark of his special favour toward our Saviour: as to take away life signifies extremity of displeasure, so to restore it implies the highest degree of favour: Death in it self imports a total incapacity and deprivation of good, and is used to express the worst state of being, or utmost misery, consequent upon man's disobedience and God's displeasure: and life, as it is really in its own nature the foundation of perceiving good, so it represents and expresses all the happiness of which we are capable, all the reward promised to obedience. Wherefore God raising our Saviour to life; declared thereby his especial love and favour to him; his full approbation and acceptance of him: in yielding him to death might seem to argue God's displeasure toward, or disregard of him; raising him to life doth much more demonstrate a tender affection, an extraordinary care for and respect to him; that might be supposed to proceed upon other grounds, this can receive no other interpretation. To give life is the ground of that relation, which is the highest in nature, and speaks most affection; wherefore in Scripture language *to raise up* is termed *to beget*, and this regeneration is put for the resurrection; and our Saviour in the mystical speech of the *Psalmist* expounded by St. *Paul*, is said that day to be begot, when he was raised by God; so that it being a paternal act, doth signifie a paternal regard whence St. *Paul* farther saith our Saviour was declared (or rather determined and defined) *to be the Son of God by the resurrection from the dead*, this act of God raising him, not only shewing him to be, but in some sort constituting him the Son of God.

Lib. II. cap. 7.

Act. 26. 8.

Act. 13. 33.

Rom. 1. 4.

2. Thus doth our Saviour's resurrection aptly serve to dignifie and exalt his Person in our esteem; it also may confirm our faith in the efficacy of his performances for us; we need not doubt, considering this of the pardon of our sins, the acceptance of our persons, the sanctification of our hearts, the salvation of our souls, (we, which is always to be supposed and understood, performing the conditions required of us;) I say the pardon of our sins, and acceptance of our persons; for, *as he was delivered for our offences, so he was raised again for our justification*; that is, we are thereby assured of our acquittance from sin, and restitution to God's favour; and perhaps somewhat more; our pardon and acceptance seems not only declared, but also consigned and delivered up unto us by our Saviour's resurrection; as we were punished in his suffering, so in his resurrection we were restored; Christ merited our justification by his passion, but God gave it us in his resurrection; being that formal act of

Rom. 4. 24, 25.

grace

grace whereby he was (after having undergone the effects of divine displeasure) apparently re-instated in God's favour, and we virtually in him: *Who then shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again:* Since God hath acknowledged satisfaction done to his justice by discharging our Surety from prison and all farther prosecution; since he hath in a manner so notorious and signal demonstrated his favour to our proxy, there can be no farther pretence against us, no fear of any displeasure remaining: In our baptism was represented as the burial of Christ (we being there in shew, and mystery buried with him) so his resurrection also, in vertue of which we then received the benefits corresponding to that representation: *Being buried with Christ in baptism* (saith St. *Paul*) *in him also we were raised again*----and us being dead in trespasses, and the circumcision of our flesh he quickned together with him, forgiving us all our sins: and συνζωοποίησε, συνήγειρε, συνεκάθισε, He co-quickned, co-raised, and co-seated us (if I may so speak) with him in heavenly places. Ro. 8. 33, 34. Col. 2. 13, 14. Eph. 2. 5, 6.

3. We may also hence with good reason hope for aid sufficient to sanctifie our hearts and lives: that he which raised our Saviour from a natural death, both can and will raise us from spiritual death, from that mortal slumber in sins and trespasses, in which we lie buried naturally, to walk in that newness of life, and heavenly conversation, to which the Gospel calls us, and the divine Spirit excites us; *which is that first resurrection, which blessed and holy is he that hath a part in; on such the second death shall have no power;* for also consequently our Saviour's resurrection assures to us the salvation of our souls; for by it (as St. *Peter* tells us) *God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ hath regenerated us unto a lively hope of an inheritance uncorruptible and undefiled, reserved for us in the heavens: and, if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life:* Thus may our Saviour's resurrection confirm our faith concerning the efficacy of his performances for us. Rom. 6. 4. Eph. 2. 2, &c. Col. 2. 13, 14. Rev. 20. 6. 1 Pet. 3, 4. Rom. 1. 10.

4. It was also a most strong and proper argument to demonstrate the validity of his promises, and the truth of his doctrine concerning the future state; (a matter most important, and a fundamental ingredient of all Religion;) an argument most strong, I say, as demonstrating by palpable instance the possibility of what he promised and taught, exemplifying in himself, what he bad others to expect, that by divine power they should be raised to life: by his doctrine *he brought life and immortality to light*, (a point so much doubted and disputed of before; so little seen in the darkness of natural reason, so clouded in the uncertainties of common tradition) but by his resurrection he proved that light to be true and certain: *He thereby* (as St. *Paul* expresses it, *Acts* 26. 23. *by the resurrection from the dead did most effectually,* φῶς καταγγέλλειν, *denounce and declare light to the people, and to the nations* (to all men, both *Jews and Gentiles.*) Infinitely weak and unsatisfactory are all the arguments, which the subtlest speculation could ever produce to assert the distinction from the body, the separate existence, the continuance of man's soul after death; the providence and justice of God over men here; the dispensations of reward and punishment hereafter (those great incentives to vertue, and discouragements from vice) in comparison of this one sensible experience, attesting to and confirming that doctrine, which contains those great things; and for the same reason a most proper argument; for though any miracle (plainly and convincingly so) may suffice to confirm any point 2 Tim. 1. 10. Vid. 1 Pet. 1. 3, 4.

of

of doctrine; yet a miracle in the ſame kind, about the ſame matter, is more immediately pertinent and efficacious to that purpoſe. By curing the ſick, our Saviour proved that he could remit ſins; and that he was Lord of the Sabbath; having authority to diſpenſe with the rigorous obſervation of poſitive laws; and in like manner all the miracles he did were in their nature apt to prove the truth of whatever he taught: *Theſe were* Joh. 20. 31. *writ*, ſaith St. *John*, *that ye might believe that Jeſus is the Chriſt, the Son of God*; yet ſo as to beget perſuaſion by diſcourſe interceding, and by vertue of a parity in reaſon; but our Saviour's reſurrection did prove the poſſibility of ours (with all that coheres or is conſequent thereto) directly and immediately, with all evidence poſſible to ſenſe it ſelf: We cannot (conſidering this) have any pretence to doubt of what he and his Apoſtles Apoc. 1. 5. have taught us, that he preceding as *the firſt-born from the dead*, *as the* Coloſſ. 1. 18. *firſt-fruits of them that ſleep*, as the Captain of life, as our fore-runner and 1 Cor. 15. 20. pattern, we ἐν ἰδίῳ τάγματι, in our due rank and ſeaſon, as younger ſons Act. 3. 15. 5. 31. of the reſurrection, as ſerving under his command and conduct, in reHeb. 6. 20. ſemblance and imitation of him ſhall follow: So that, *if the ſpirit of* Luk. 20. 36. *him, who raiſed up Jeſus from the dead, doth dwell in us, he that raiſed up* Rom. 8. 11. *Jeſus from the dead ſhall alſo quicken our mortal bodies by his ſpirit that* Rom. 6. 5. *dwelleth in us*; *that if we have been planted together with him in the like-* 1 Cor. 15. 22. *neſs of his death, we ſhall be alſo* (planted) *in the likeneſs of his reſurre-* 49. *ction: That as in Adam we died, ſo in Chriſt we ſhall revive*; *as we have* 1 Cor. 6. 14. *born the image of the earthly man, we ſhall alſo bear the image of the hea-* 2 Cor. 4. 14. *venly: That he who raiſed our Lord, ſhall raiſe us, by his power*; *knowing that he who raiſed the Lord Jeſus, ſhall alſo raiſe us by Jeſus.* Thus is the Vid. 1 Theſſ. 4. reſurrection of our Saviour able and apt to beget and eſtabliſh our faith 14. concerning his perſon, his performances, and his doctrine; and it being in ſuch manner conducible to ſo high purpoſes, it was requiſite it ſelf ſhould be declared with moſt clear and full evidence; and that it ſhould be ſo, God did abundantly provide. I omit the types and myſtical repreſentations which did fore-ſhadow it; and the prophetical paſſages expreſſing or alluding to it; (having incidently upon other occaſions bordering on this point, formerly touched upon the principal of them;) and only ſay, that no matter of fact is capable of ſurer atteſtation than Vid. Act. 17. 3. God did order this to have. He did προχειροτονεῖν (pre-deſign, with an Luk. 24. 46. eſpecial care pick out and appoint) witneſſes for this purpoſe; perſons Act. 10. 41. in all reſpects, for their number, for their qualifications, for their circumſtances moſt conſiderable and credible: not one or two, but very 1 Cor. 15. 6. many *(five hundred*, St. *Paul* tells us, *ſaw him at once)* not ſtrangers, but Joh. 15. 27. perſons moſt familiarly acquainted with him *(who were with him from the* Act. 1. 21, 22. *beginning*, who went out and in with him for three years ſpace, from his baptiſm to his aſcenſion) not upon relation, or at a diſtance, but by im- Act. 10. 41. mediate ſenſe, and converſe with him, *(who did*, as St. *Peter*, one of them tells us, *eat and drink with him after that he riſe from the dead)* not from a ſingle, tranſient experience, but by frequent converſation for a good Act. 13. 31. continuance of time; ὅτι πλείους ἡμέρας, *for many days together*, *(To whom*, Acts 1. 3. ſaith St. *Luke*, *he preſented himſelf living after he had ſuffered*, *by many certain tokens*, *being ſeen of them forty days*, *and ſpeaking of the things concerning the Kingdom of God*,) perſons of unqueſtionable diſcretion and honeſty; who preached ſincerity to others (with effectual perſuaſion) and in other things irreprovably practiſed it: who could have no imaginable deſign in teſtifying it, beſide the diſcharge of their conſcience in God's ſight; as encountring thereby the moſt terrible oppoſitions and difficulties; incurring moſt certain and moſt grievous dangers, troubles and ſuf-

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ferings; without any poſſible benefit (of worldly profit, honour or pleaſure) accruing thence to themſelves; without any comfort or ſupport, except the reward they might hope for from God for the performance of ſo difficult and troubleſome a duty: in fine, by perſons, whoſe teſtimony God himſelf ratified by extraordinary graces (invincible courage, conſtancy, patience, ſelf-denial, meekneſs and charity) conferred on them; by miraculous works openly and frequently performed by them; ſo that they did effectually *with great power yield their teſtimony concerning the reſurrection of the Lord Jeſus, and great grace was upon them*, (great appearance of the divine favour toward them, of divine goodneſs in them) as we have it, *Act.* 4. 33. It was the principal part of their office (of the higheſt Apoſtolical office) to teſtifie this truth; as we ſee in the choice of *Matthias*, where 'tis ſaid; *Wherefore of theſe men, which have companied with us all the time, that the Lord Jeſus went in and out among us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſs with us of his reſurrection.* And beyond the providing witneſſes ſo qualified, teſtimonies ſo credible, what could God himſelf do neceſſary to convince men endued with any competency of reaſon and ingenuity, or to diſtinguiſh them from men of contrary diſpoſition (unreaſonably and unworthily incredulous;) what means, I ſay, could farther be required to beget and confirm our faith in the matter of our Saviour's reſurrection, and conſequently of all doctrines taught by him and his diſciples, which by this moſt ſignal miracle are ſo perfectly aſſerted and proved? Acts 1. 21, 22.

Now the great end and uſe of our Saviour's reſurrection being thus declared; I ſhall not inſiſt upon explaining the nature thereof (it being clear that his death conſiſting in the ſeparation of ſoul and body, each departing to its place, his reſurrection, oppoſed thereto and reſtoring him into the ſame ſtate, muſt conſiſt in reſuſcitating, reducing, and reuniting them together, ſo as to recover all vital faculties, and exerciſe vital operations,) nor in conſidering the cauſes efficient thereof, (which it is certain could be no other than that divinity common to the three Perſons individed in nature, power and operation; whence it is attributed as moſt commonly to God, ſo peculiarly ſometimes to the glory and power of the Father, who in order of nature and in all common operations doth precede; ſometimes to the Son, *who laid down his life, and took it up again*, who demoliſhed the temple of his own body and reared it up again; ſometimes to the Holy Ghoſt, by which as he did caſt out devils, and performed other his great works, ſo he did this grand miracle; which dwelling in him, did quicken his mortal body, as is intimated and by conſequence ariſes from the place fore-cited, *Rom.* 8. 11. Upon theſe things, as alſo upon the manner and circumſtances of our Saviour's reſurrection I ſhall not inſiſt, having not leiſure ſufficient to conſider and proſecute all, but only to touch thoſe things, which ſeem moſt material and uſefull. Rom. 6. 4. Joh. 2. 19. 10. 17, 18. Rom. 1. 4. Rom. 8. 11. Matt. 12. 28.

Yet muſt I not altogether paſs over the circumſtance of time (becauſe mentioned here) *Upon the third day.* This is added, as it is commonly in Scripture when mention is made of our Saviour's reſurrection, according to the common manner of ſpeech, in which when we relate any ſtory or matter of fact, we are wont to adjoin the circumſtances (of time moſt commonly, many times of place, and ſometimes of other reſpects and adjuncts) as ſigns and arguments of the things certainly, and our aſſurance in affirming it: Fictions uſually go naked of circumſtances, nor can the relatours of them tell when or where, or how the matter of them did exiſt; but when we are punctual in circumſtance, it ſignifies we Act. 10. 40. 1 Cor. 15. 4.

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are ſerious and confident, and grounded in the thing it ſelf. As for this circumſtance it ſelf, that which is moſt remarkable therein ſeems to be the wiſdom of God chooſing a convenient diſtance of time, after our Saviour's death, for his reſurrection; He ſtayed ſo long, that it might be thoroughly certain our Saviour was really dead, beyond all poſſibility of recovery by natural means; (all natural heat being neceſſarily extinguiſhed by that durance in the grave, although he had been taken down with ſome undiſcernible remainders thereof from the Croſs;) He deferred it no longer, both becauſe there was no reaſon for doing ſo, and becauſe it was fit, that while men's memories were freſh, their paſſions warm, their fancies buſie, their mouths open in diſcourſe concerning his death; while the deſigned witneſſes were preſent, (both enemies watching, and friends attending the event;) it was, I ſay, then moſt fitting that our Saviour ſhould ariſe: As for the meaning of the word *third* (whether it be to be taken incluſively in reſpect to the day of our Saviour's paſſion, or ſo as to exclude it) with the reconciling of ſome Scriptures ſeeming diſſonant in the point, I referr you for ſatisfaction to Commentators upon the Goſpel; the queſtion not belonging to the ſubſtance of our faith, nor having any very conſiderable influence (that I ſee) upon practice. I proceed therefore.

He aſcended into Heaven; and ſitteth at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.

AFter our Lord had (after his reſurrection) conſummated what was requiſite to be done by him upon earth for the confirmation of our Faith and conſtitution of his Church; having a competent time converſed with his diſciples, (eſtabliſhing their faith, enlightning their minds in the knowledge of truth and underſtanding of the Scriptures, enflaming their affections, comforting their hearts againſt enſuing tribulations, all oppoſitions of earth, and hell, for his ſake; directing and preſcribing to them how they ſhould proceed in their inſtructing, converting, and reconciling the World to the faith and obedience of his law; furniſhing them with commiſſion and authority to teſtifie his truth, to diſpenſe the tenders of grace and pardon procured by him, to collect and build up that Church, which he had purchaſed by his bloud, laſtly imparting his effectual benediction to them; having, I ſay, done theſe things (which St. *Luke* expreſſes altogether by the words ἐν τειλάμενος αὐτοῖς, that is, having given all neceſſary inſtructions, and laid fitting commands upon them,) he was in their preſence taken, carried up, ἀνελήφθη, ἀνεφέρετο) and aſcended into heaven; he, that is, he according to his humanity, his body and ſoul were by the divine power tranſlated into heaven: into heaven, what is meant by that (in the utmoſt extent, according to the truth of the thing) appears by other phraſes equivalent, by which this action is expreſſed: *Aſcending to the father*, that is, to the place of God's more eſpecial preſence and reſidence; where ἐμφανίζεσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, he appears to the face of God; *being exalted to the right hand of God*, (that is, to the place of higheſt eminency, and of greateſt proximity to God) entring εἰς τὰ ἅγια (into thoſe moſt holy places, that ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος, thoſe intimate receſſes of inacceſſible, and incommunicable glory) being aſſumed and entring into glory; paſſing through the heavens (that is, all places above, inferiour to the higheſt pitch of glory) aſcending ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν, above, beyond all heavens; becoming ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν (more ſublime than, advanced above the heavens)

Vid. Luk. & Joh. ult.

Act. 1. 2.

Act. 1. 2. Luk. 24. 51.

πορευθεὶς εἰς οὐρανόν. 1 Pet. 3. 22.

Joh. 13. 1. 20. 17. Phil. 2. 9. Eph. 1. 20. Heb. 9. 24. Act. 2. 33. 5. 31. 6. 19. Heb. 9. 12. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Luk. 24. 26. Heb. 4. 14. Eph. 4. 10. Heb. 7. 26.

heavens) by which appears that the utmoſt term of our Saviour's aſcent was that place of all in ſituation moſt high, in quality moſt holy, in dignity moſt excellent, in glory moſt auguſt; the inmoſt ſanctuary of God's temple above, not made with hands; the moſt ſpecial preſence-chamber in thoſe heavenly courts. Thither did our Saviour aſcend; and there (as it follows here) he ſitteth at God's right hand, for the ends and uſes of theſe two, (one whereof is only the way or tendency unto the other) conſpiring or being co-incident, (I ſhall join the conſideration of them together) the meaning of which words it is not hard to find out, it being obvious that the ſtate of things above is in Scripture repreſented to us by that ſimilitude, which is apt moſt to beget in us reverence towards God, (and which really doth moſt reſemble it) the ſtate of a King here, ſitting upon his throne; perſonages of higheſt rank and reſpect; his neareſt relations; his moſt beloved favourites; the chief miniſters and officers of his Crown attending upon Him, and ſurrounding his Throne; ſo yet, that for diſtinction ſome place (more eminent and honourable than the reſt) is aſſigned to him, toward whom the King intends to declare eſpecial regard and favour; which place (by cuſtom grounded upon reaſons plain enough, the opportunity of nearneſs for all kind of converſation and addreſs; and the right hands advantage for ſtrength and activity, acquired by uſe, and conſequently alſo its aptitude to give or take) hath been determined to be the next place at the right hand; as we ſee for inſtance, when *Bathſheba* came to *Solomon*, 'tis ſaid --*The King ſate down on his Throne, and cauſed a ſeat to be ſet for the King's mother, and ſhe ſate on his right hand:)* Thus our Saviour being raiſed by God to the ſupreme pitch of honour, of power, of favour with him, *having advanced him to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins; having ſuper-exalted him, and beſtowed on him a name above all names, to which all knees in heaven, in earth, under the earth muſt bow; having ſeated him in heavenly places, above all principality, and authority, and power, and dominion, and name* (or *title*) *that is named both in the preſent world and that which is to come; Having committed to him all authority in heaven and upon the earth; given all things into his hands; Having made him heir of all things; ſubjected all things under his feet, (angels, authorities, and powers) crowned him with* (ſovereign) *glory and honour; Having given him* (what that innumerable hoſt of heaven in the *Revelation* acknowledges him worthy of (5. 12.) *power, and riches, and wiſdom, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing,* (that is, all good and excellence poſſible in the higheſt degree;) God having, I ſay, conferred theſe pre-eminencies of dignity, power, and favour upon our Saviour, he is ſaid therefore to have ſeated him at his right hand: *At the right hand of the power* (as it is in the Goſpels, that is, of the Soveraign and Almighty Potentate) *at the right hand of the Majeſty on high; and at the right hand of the Throne of God* (as it is in the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*. So much plainly the whole ſpeech imports, and if there be any peculiar emphaſis deſigned in the word *ſitting*, beyond that which is ſometimes more ſimply and generally ſaid, being at God's right hand, here may be farther implied the firm poſſeſſion, the durable continuance, the undiſturbed reſt and quiet of this glorious and happy condition, wherein he is enſtated; as alſo it doth augment the main ſenſe, ſitting being the moſt honourable poſture; and therefore ſignifying to the utmoſt that eminency of favour and reſpect he hath in God's ſight; as alſo, it may denote farther the nature and quality of his preferment: his being conſtituted to rule and to judge; and therefore expreſſed as ſitting upon a Throne of Majeſty; upon a Tribunal of Juſtice.

1 King. 2. 19.
Acts 5. 31.
Phil. 2. 9.
Eph. 1. 20.
Matt. 28. 18.
Joh. 3. 35. 13. 3. 17. 2.
Heb. 1. 2. 2. 8, 9.
1 Pet. 3 22.
καθίζειν.
Eph. 1. 20.
Matt. 26. 64.
Mar. 14. 62.
Luk. 22. 69.
Heb. 8. 1. 12. 2.
Rom. 8. 34.
1 Pet. 3. 22.

So much briefly may ſerve for the Explication of theſe two Points: (For as to the words ſubjoined, *The Father Almighty*, whereof the latter is additicious and not extant in the more ancient Forms of this Creed, having conſidered them before, treating upon the beginning of the Creed, and particularly having there taken the word *Almighty* in its greateſt latitude, ſo as to include both παντοκράτωρ, and παντοδύναμος, paſſing over the critical diſtinction made between them; I ſhall not repeat any thing concerning them.)

Now as to the Ends of our Saviour's glorious aſcenſion and abode in Heaven, the effects produced thereby, the uſes which the belief and conſideration thereof may conduce to; the ends and effects thereof, I ſay, declared in Scripture, are briefly,

1ſt. That as a Prieſt and Advocate he might there intercede for us; for the pardon of our ſins, for the acceptance of our perſons, for the ſucceſs of our prayers; for the ſupply of our needs, for the collation of all benefits and bleſſings on us; repreſenting his merits, pleading our cauſe, preſenting our ſupplications, and interpoſing his favour and authority in our behalf. *He ever liveth to make interceſſion for us: He is our High-prieſt, ſitting at the right hand of the Majeſty in the Heavens*, there performing that Office for us: *Who ſhall condemn? It is Chriſt who is at the right hand of God, who alſo intercedeth for us* (there.) *If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the righteous: God exalted him as a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins.* It is by him that we do προσέρχεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, have our acceſs to God, not only by vertue of his merits, but by his continual act of mediation: it is he, that in the golden Cenſer, at the golden Altar before God, offers up the incenſe of our Prayers, conſecrated and perfumed by his hand.

Heb. 7. 24. 8. 1. Rom. 8. 34. 1 Joh. 2. 2. Act. 5. 31. Heb. 7. 25. Apoc. 8. 3.

2dly. He aſcended and reſides in Heaven, that as a King he might govern us, protect us, ſave and deliver us from our enemies; that he might ſubdue and deſtroy his and our enemies; the enemies of his Kingdom and of our Salvation; the world, the fleſh, the devil, ſin, death, and hell; whatever oppoſes his glory, his truth, his ſervice; and conſequently impedes our ſalvation, either by open violence, or fraudulent practice. God did ſay unto him: *Sit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footſtool*; and accordingly, *He muſt reign until he hath put all his enemies under his feet:* No power ſhall be able to withſtand his will and command, who ſits at the helm of omnipotent Soveraignty; at thy right hand which governs and orders all things. But having before ſpoken concerning the Royal Office, and Lordſhip of our Saviour, I ſhall add no more to this purpoſe.

Pſal. 110. 1. Act. 2. 34. Heb. 1. 13. 10. 13. 1 Cor. 15. 25.

3dly. Our Saviour tells us himſelf, *that he went to heaven to prepare a place for us; to prepare manſions of joy and bliſs in God's preſence, where is fulneſs of joy, at his right hand, where are pleaſures for ever-more.* He is our πρόδρομος, our fore-runner into Heaven, that hath diſpoſed things there for our entertainment and reception: *It is his will, that where he is, there we ſhould be alſo, that we might contemplate and partake of his glory.*

Joh. 14. 2. Pſal. 16. 11. Heb. 6. 20. Joh. 17. 24.

4thly. Our Saviour alſo tells us, that it was neceſſary he ſhould depart hence, that he might ſend the divine Spirit, the power from on high, to enlighten, ſanctifie, and comfort us: *If I go not away* (ſaith he) *the Paraclete will not come unto you; but if I go, I will ſend him unto you:* That is, God in his wiſdom hath appointed (for the exaltation of our Saviour's honour) that ſo incomparably excellent a gift ſhould be the reward of his

Joh. 16. 7. Luk. 24. 49.

his obedience; the conſequence of his triumph; the fruit of his interceſſion; an ornament of his royal eſtate; a pledge of his princely munificence: it was reſerved as a moſt royal gift, fit to be given at his Coronation; his being inaugurated and inveſted in Soveraign dignity, power and glory: Whence it is ſaid, *The Holy Spirit was not yet*, (underſtand, was not yet poured forth and beſtowed in that manner and meaſure, as God did intend to do it hereafter) *becauſe Jeſus was not yet glorified:* It was from Jeſus, received into glory, that excellent gift was deſigned to come, in God's purpoſe and promiſe. Add hereto conſequently, Joh. 7. 39.

5thly. That all good gifts and graces beſtowed on the Church in general, and upon every member thereof ſingly, uſefull for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the miniſtery, for the edification of Chriſt's body, do proceed hence: *To every one of you* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt:* Whence he ſaith, (the Pſalmiſt ſaith, prophecying of our Saviour) *Having aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.* Ephes. 4. 7, 8, &c. Pſal. 68. 19.

6thly. I might add, that God thus advanced our Saviour to ſo high a dignity, to declare the love he bears to piety, righteouſneſs, and obedience, in ſo highly rewarding and dignifying it: *For becauſe he was obedient to the death, therefore did God exalt him for the ſuffering of death, do we ſee Jeſus crowned with glory and honour.* The belief therefore and conſideration of theſe truths will ſerve (briefly) to nouriſh and encreaſe our faith; to cheriſh and ſtrengthen our hope; to excite and inflame our devotion; to direct and elevate our affections; to enforce, and engage; to encourage and quicken our obedience. Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9.

To nouriſh, I ſay, and cheriſh our faith and hope: If the reſurrection of our Saviour did beget in us a ſtrong perſuaſion concerning the truth of, and a lively hope of the good proceeding from our Saviour's undertaking and doctrine; his aſcenſion declared by the ſame indubitable teſtimonies and authorities muſt needs nouriſh, augment, and corroborate them. We cannot diſtruſt any promiſes made by him; we cannot deſpair of any good from him (not of relief, ſuccour, ſupply in our ſtreights, or in our needs; of comfort in our afflictions, of protection in our dangers, of deliverance from our miſeries) from him who is aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of the divine power; having all things committed to his authority and diſpoſal. It alſo ſerves to excite and enflame our devotions: for having ſuch a mediatour in heaven, ſo near in God's preſence, ſo much in his favour; ſuch a maſter of requeſts; ſo good a friend at court; ſuch a favourite at hand to preſent up, to commend, to farther our petitions: *We may* (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* injoins us) *come to the throne of grace with all freedom of ſpeech and boldneſs, that we may receive mercy, and find grace for ſeaſonable aid:* We need not doubt of that promiſe being fulfilled: *Whatever ye ſhall ask in prayer, believing, ye ſhall receive:* And what greater incitement can there be to devotion, than the aſſurance of ſo good acceptance, of ſo happy ſucceſs thereof? The proper influence alſo of theſe conſiderations is to direct and elevate our affections, from theſe inferiour, mean, vain, and baſe things to the things above: *Seek the things above* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *where Chriſt is ſitting at the right hand of God*; where Chriſt our life, our hope, our treaſure, our head is; there ſhould our hearts be, thither ſhould our affections tend; there ſhould our πολίτευμα (our buſineſs and converſation be) where the family is to which we relate, and its Maſter; where the city is, where our final reſt and abode ſhould be *(for we are but ſtrangers and pilgrims, and ſojourners here)* with its Lord and Governour; where our country is, the place 1 Pet. 1. Heb. 4. 16. Matt. 21. 22. 1 Joh. 5. 14. Col. 3. 1, 4. Col. 1. 27. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 13. 14. Heb. 11. 16.

of all our eſtate and concernment, and he reſides which only can make it good to us. It, laſtly, doth engage and encourage us to all kind of obedience; to conſider, that high reward of eternal glory and happineſs, which our Saviour hath obtained as a reward of his obedience, and as a pledge of like reward deſigned to us, if we inſiſt in his footſteps: *Let us*
Heb. 12. *run the race that is ſet before us* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews*) *looking to the author and finiſher of our faith, Jeſus, who for the joy ſet before him endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet at the right hand of God:*
Luk. 22. 29. *I covenant to you* (ſaith our Saviour) *a Kingdom, as my Father covenanted me a Kingdom*; ſuppoſing we obey his commandments, we ſhall obtain a like excellent and happy eſtate: As we ſee God hath performed to him,
2 Tim. 2. 11. ſo will alſo he make good his word to us: *The Word* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *is*
Rom. 8. 17. *faithfull and aſſuredly true: If we have died with him* (to luſt and ſin) *we ſhall alſo live with him* (in joy and glory;) *if we endure* (in obedience and patience) *we ſhall alſo reign with him:* To which bleſſed Kingdom God in his Mercy bring us all, through the grace, merits, and interceſſion of him, who with God the Father and the Holy Ghoſt liveth and reigneth for ever: To whom be all praiſe and glory for ever. *Amen.*

From thence he ſhall come to judge the quick, and the dead.

THis is the laſt of thoſe particular characters, whereby the grand object of our faith, Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, our Lord and Saviour, is deſcribed, containing a moſt eminent office peculiar to him implying the manner of executing it, and determining the extent there of: The belief of which is of principal conſequence, and in a ſpecial manner influential upon practice: Whether we conſider the nature of th office, or the quality of the perſon deſigned thereto: The office, to judge the perſon, He: Jeſus the Son of God and the Son of Man (he that wa born, that died, that performed and ſuffered ſo much for us) he ſhal judge. *Shall judge:* There is no conſideration, whereof man's mind i capable, more apt to excite men to the performance of duty, to reſtrai them from offending, and to beget in them a care and conſcience of wha they do, than this, that, they muſt ſometime hereafter certainly be for ced to render an account of their actions; that they muſt undergo a moſ ſtrict and ſevere ſcrutiny; and ſhall be dealt with according to the reſul thereof; ſo as to be approved and rewarded for their good; condemne and puniſhed for their bad lives; a man conſidering and being perſuade of this, muſt neceſſarily accuſe himſelf of extreme folly and madneſs, i he do not provide for that account, and order his life in reſpect thereto This perſuaſion, I ſay, is the ſharpeſt ſpurr imaginable to the doing o good, the ſtrongeſt curb from doing ill; that could be deviſed; and there fore all nations in ſome manner have acknowledged it as a fundamenta principle of Religion, (men generally with a ready inclination have em braced it as ſo) that after this life men ſhall be brought to a juſt impartia barr, their actions ſcanned exactly, their perſons doomed accordingly t comfort or pain.

And indeed ſetting this apart, all other incentives to vertue, and al avocatives from vice (which common experience or philoſophical ſpecu lation do afford us) ſeem very blunt and faint; do promiſe ſmall effect the native beauty and intrinſick worth of vertue, the conveniences flow ing from it, the commendation that attends it, its moſt goodly fruits o health

health, peace, and tranquillity, comfort and ſatisfaction of mind; (beſide, that they are uſually balanced with contrary inconveniencies, difficulties, croſſes, troubles, and pains) if they do not extend beyond this tranſitory life, how can they in reaſon be very conſiderable and efficacious to engage men to adhere thereto? how can the worſt of preſent evils, accompanying or following vice, its innate deformity and turpitude; the diſtempers, diſturbances, and diſgraces ſpringing from or waiting on it, (which alſo are often tempered with ſome kinds of pleaſure, advantage, and ſatisfaction) if no more hereafter is to be feared, be ſufficient to deterr, or diſcourage men from the purſuit thereof? the danger of death it ſelf (the moſt extreme puniſhment which man can inflict, and which our nature doth moſt abhorr) doth not ſignifie much toward the diverting indigent, or ambitious, or paſſionate men from the moſt deſperately wicked attempts: It is *Tully*'s obſervation, and he inferrs from it the neceſſity of ſuppoſing future puniſhments, in order to men's reſtraint from ſuch actions: *Ut aliqua* (ſaith he) *in vita formido improbis eſſet poſita, apud inferos ejuſmodi quædam illi antiqui ſupplicia impiis conſtituta eſſe voluerunt, quòd videlicet intelligebant his remotis non eſſe mortem ipſam pertimeſcendam:* (That in this life there might be ſome fear upon wicked men, thoſe Ancients would have ſome puniſhments appointed below for impious perſons; becauſe forſooth they underſtood, that theſe being ſet apart, death it ſelf was not much to be feared.) Neither is this perſuaſion thus only a ſpecial inſtrument of vertue, but the ſuppoſal thereof is otherwiſe a neceſſary ſupport of all Religion, ſecuring the firſt and main principles thereof, the being of a God, and his providence: the belief of a Deity, according to any tolerable notion thereof; of a providence over humane affairs, ſuch as might engage and encourage to religious performance, cannot ſubſiſt without ſupporting a future judgment: the objections that aſſail both would ſtrike too hard, and pierce too deep, if this ſhield did not receive and repell them. To ſee the moſt innocent and vertuous perſons conflict all their days with croſſes and hardſhips; (and as it ſometimes happeneth) after all to die miſerably, in great pain and ignominy; and again, to obſerve perſons moſt outragious in lewdneſs and injuſtice to flouriſh and rant it out in a long undiſturbed courſe of proſperity, ending their lives fairly and quietly; hath cauſed ſome men to doubt whether, hath induced others flatly to disbelieve, that there is a good, and a juſt Governour of the World; and that not without apparent cauſe, ſuppoſing all accompts to be made up here; no reckoning to remain to be caſt up by divine goodneſs and juſtice hereafter: then would it in ſome ſort ſeem true what he ſaid, Θεῶν ὄνειδος τὰς κακὰς εὐδαιμονεῖν ('tis a reproach to God that bad men ſhould be ſo happy) then had *Diagoras* argued probably from an unpuniſhed perjury, that he which ſuffered himſelf and others under his care to be ſo abuſed, did not exiſt, or did not regard what was done: and *Dionyſius* might have authorized his ſacrilege by his proſperous navigation; and with ſome ſhew might *Diogenes* ſay, that *Harpalus* his ſucceſsfull treachery and rapine did *teſtimonium contra Deos dicere*, yield a ſhrewd teſtimony againſt the Being and Providence of God: But on the contrary, ſuppoſing a judgment to follow, and a proceeding according thereto, all theſe diſcourſes have no force or moment: God's preſent connivence (as it were) or patient indulgence toward bad men, will argue no more than what becomes him, his exceſs of goodneſs in expecting thoſe bad men's return to a better mind; or his wiſe ſeverity in ſuffering them to proceed to an inexcuſable

IV. in Catil.

Dies deficiat, ſi velim numerare quibus bonis malè evenerit, nec minus ſi commemorem, quibus improb's optimè. *Cic. de Nat. D. III.*

Cic. de Nat. D. III.

Improborum igitur proſperitates, ſecundæque res redarguunt (ut Diogenes dicebat) vim omnem Deorum ac poteſtatem.

ble degree of wickedneſs, to be ſtrictly inquired into and ſeverely puniſhed hereafter; as neither then doth God's permitting good men to ſuffer deeply, here inferr any thing prejudicial to his goodneſs or juſtice; ſince thereby he makes them fitter for, and gives them a ſurer title to that reward, which he intends hereafter, after trial and approbation of their vertue, to conferr upon them. Thus doth this doctrine clear the Providence and eſtabliſh the great Attributes of God; therefore doth Chriſtianity moſt fully and clearly teach, moſt earneſtly and frequently inculcate this point, with all poſſible advantage both for the juſtification of the divine attributes, and the excitation of us to a vertuous and pious life. It tells us, that all men's actions are regiſtred in books written with greateſt punctuality and exactneſs (the books of divine omniſcience) that all perſons ſhall be cited, and preſented at the barr *(we muſt all, φανερωθῆναι, be made to appear, παρίστασθαι, be ſet forth at the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt: I ſaw the dead, great and ſmall, ſtanding before God's throne,)* that every thought, every word, every work of man ſhall be diſcloſed and diſcuſſed, with its due quality and deſert: *(God will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of hearts: Every idle word that men ſhall ſpeak, thereof they ſhall render account at the day of judgment. Every work ſhall be brought into judgment, with every ſecret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil;)* that according to the quality of their doings thus detected and examined, the merits of each cauſe weighed, every plea heard, every caſe conſidered and tried according to truth. Men ſhall be acquitted and commended; or declared guilty and condemned; a definitive ſentence paſſing upon every one (ἔπαινον γενέσθαι ἐκ θεοῦ, praiſe, that is, generally a due taxation and eſteem according to deſert) ſhall be made to every one by the righteous Judge. That this ſentence doth include a gracious reward and a juſt puniſhment aſſigned reſpectively; everlaſting glory and joy to them which have done well endleſs ſhame and ſorrow to them who have done ill; which ſhall be infallibly executed: (For, *God will render to every man according to his works---To them who by patient continuance in well-doing, ſeek for glory and honour and immortality eternal life; but unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs, indignation and wrath; tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul of man that doeth evil:* But---*glory honour, and peace to every man that worketh good*---So St. *Paul* in the 2d to the *Romans: We muſt all appear before the tribunal of Chriſt, ἵνα κομίσηται ἕκαστος, that every one may bear according to the things done in the body, whether good or evil.*. That all this ſhall be performed in a moſt publick and ſolemn manner, in open court, in the face of all the world, before angels and men; to the conviction and ſatisfaction of all; ſo that the conſciences of all concerned ſhall be forced to acquieſce in their doom as moſt juſt and equal; and all ſhall confeſs and ſay with them in the Revelation: *Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power be to the Lord our God; for true and righteous are his ways: Great and wonderfull are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; righteous and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.*

Dan. 7. 10. Rev. 20. 12. Rom. 14. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Rev. 20. 12. 1 Cor. 4. 5. Matt. 12. 36. Eccleſ. 12. 14. Vid. 2 Theſſ. 1. 7, 8, 9. Matt. 16. 27. Rom. 2. 6. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Matt. 24, 34, &c. Vid. Matt. 25. 31. Luk. 12. 9. Rom. 2. 5. Rev. 15. 3. 16. 7. 19. 2.

Thus (and much more fully than time will permit me to relate) doth our Religion and holy Scripture ſet out that judgment, which all men hereafter muſt undergo, wherein the wonderfull clemency of God ſhall be demonſtrated, wherein his exact juſtice ſhall be declared, wherein the knotty myſteries of his providence ſhall be unfolded; wherein his honour (that ſeems now to ſuffer ſo much) ſhall be fully repaired and vindicated; wherein all ſcores, that now run on, ſhall be quitted and made even.

Rom. 2. 5.

Such,

Such, I ſay, ſhall the judgment it ſelf be; the conſideration of which, if it make no impreſſion upon our hearts, if it beget no dread within us, if it do not render us ſomewhat wary and watchfull over our doings, what means can be imagined able? what method apt to do it? what a deſperate hardneſs and inſenſibility do we lie under? how deplorably blind and ſtupid are we? More ſtupid than *Felix*, who hearing St. *Paul* diſcourſe of Judgment to come, could not forbear trembling: More blind and ſenſeleſs than thoſe obſtinate ſons of darkneſs, the Devils themſelves, who believe and tremble. Acts 24. 25.

But paſſing the Judgment, let us (which ſhould more ſtill engage us, and may work farther on us to the ſame purpoſe) conſider the Judge: *He ſhall come to judge*---He: *He that came once in our nature* (with wonderfull condeſcenſion of grace and charity) *to free us from ſin and miſery:* he that ſuffered ſo deeply for us; he that died to redeem us; he ſhall come to judge. The original and abſolute right, or power of judging appertains to God; whoſe creatures, whoſe ſubjects, whoſe ſervants we are naturally: As he is the ſoveraign Lord and King, ſo is he the Judge of all: As we owe obedience to the laws he hath preſcribed us; performance of the ſervice he hath allotted us; improvement of the talents he hath committed to us; ſo we ſtand bound to render account to him of the due performance in thoſe reſpects; and obnoxious to the judgment he ſhall make thereof. All judgment therefore muſt be exerciſed either immediately by God himſelf, or in ſubordination to him, in his name and right, by vertue of authority and power derived from him: And it (for the honour of his Son, for the comfort of us) hath he delegated and committed to Jeſus, our Saviour: Not immediately by himſelf, but by his Son he hath determined to judge the World: *The Father judgeth no man* (ſaith our Saviour himſelf) *but hath committed all judgment to the Son:* And, *God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *hath appointed a day in which he will judge the World in righteouſneſs by the man, whom he hath ordained:* And (ſaith St. *Peter*) *God hath commanded us to preach unto the people, and to teſtifie that it is he, which was ordained of God to be the judge of quick and dead:* And, *it is the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, before which we muſt all appear:* In fine, *The Father* (ſaith our Saviour) *hath given to the Son authority, to execute judgment,* for that he is *the Son of man*; (hath committed to him authority regal, and judicial; *for that he is that ſon of man, whom God had deſigned to this office, even of old,* as we ſee in *Daniel* VII. 13, 14. and in *Eſay* IX. 6, 7.) Joh. 5. 22. Acts 17. 31. Acts 10. 42. Rom. 14. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 10. Joh. 5. 27.

It is plain then that our Saviour is by deſignment and deputation from God inveſted with this great office and power; and why God ſo appointed him many reaſons may be aſſigned; upon many accounts our Saviour's perſon may appear moſt fit for this grand employment. How could God more plainly ſhew his goodneſs in this matter, than by conſtituting ſuch a Judge? Seeing that Judgment ſhould paſs upon us, it was neceſſary and requiſite; how could the terrour and ſeverity thereof be better tempered, than by putting the execution thereof into ſuch hands? Whom, were the choice permitted to us, ſhould we rather ſubmit to, than to him, who is by nature our brother; who in diſpoſition is meek and lowly; compaſſionate and mercifull; who by ſo many ſignal experiments hath expreſſed ſuch an exceſs of kindneſs and charity toward us? who hath ſo conſpicuouſly evidenced himſelf to be the beſt friend of mankind; that he ardently deſires the ſalvation of all men, even of his worſt enemies, whom he ſpent his bloud for, whom he prayed for dying, whom he continually invites to reconciliation and repentance? How alſo could God Joh. 5. 23.

better

better declare his juſtice, than in exalting him to this pitch, who out of obedience and complyance with his will deſcended ſo low, and underwent ſo much? Who better deſerved a Crown; who more righteouſly would manage a Scepter, than he who willingly bore a Croſs; who patiently ſubmitted to a ſcourge? It was alſo equal and fit, that he who was unworthily rejected and deſpiſed; cruelly abuſed and perſecuted; unjuſtly accuſed, condemned and ſlaughtered by men, ſhould be requited with power to right himſelf upon them; to reprobate them worthily who had unworthily rejected him; to judge them juſtly, who had wickedly condemned him; to puniſh them ſeverely, who had unmercifully afflicted him; that he ſhould ſee his proud and ſpitefull enemies lying under his feet, at his diſcretion.

Add hereto the wiſdom of God in deſigning him to be judge, whom they who were to be judged might ſee and hear, and converſe with; whom the godly with cheerfull ſatisfaction and comfort, the wicked with befitting terrour and aſtoniſhment might behold; they with unexpreſſible joy hear him commending, acquitting and bleſſing them, thoſe with diſmal amazement and regret hear him pronouncing the fatal ſentence and curſe upon them; they with humble thankfulneſs acknowledge his grace, thoſe with confuſion confeſs their guilt: *Behold* (ſaith St. *John* in the *Revelation* (I. 7.) *he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him, even they who did pierce him.* The dreadfull preſence of God were neither diſcernible, nor ſupportable by guilty men; who may ſtand in his ſight, when once he is angry?

Jer. 10. 10. Pſal. 76. 7. Pſal. 130. 3.

1. Who could endure to hear that voice at which the earth melteth; that reproof, at which the pillars of heaven tremble; that majeſty, in preſence whereof the pureſt Seraphims are conſtrained to hide their faces, how ſhould impure men abide that face which no man can behold and live? but the milder, though glorious and bright aſpect of the Son of man, all men in ſome manner may be capable to ſee: and if we believe St. *Auſtin*, *Rectum erat ut judicandi viderent judicem:* It was fit that they who were to be judged ſhould ſee their Judge.

So much reaſon there was (and more queſtionleſs, beyond what we can know or comprehend) that our Saviour Jeſus ſhould be deſigned and deputed to this office; in it we may admire the wiſdom and adore the juſtice of God; for it we may applaud his goodneſs and clemency.

We may alſo (that this doctrine may have the greater impreſſion upon our hearts and influence upon our practice) farther conſider how great an aggravation it will ſeem to our whether fooliſh perverſeneſs, or ſlothful negligence, what extreme diſingenuity, how wretched ingratitude it will argue in us to be caſt and condemned by ſuch a Judge: a Judge ſo juſt and equal; ſo mild and gentle; ſo benign and favourable to us. With what face we having tranſgreſſed his moſt good and righteous laws having violated our manifold obligations and engagements toward him having abuſed his ſo great love and good-will toward us; having rejected his gracious tenders of mercy and favour; defeated his moſt ſerious purpoſes, fruſtrated his moſt earneſt endeavours for our good; having ſo forfeited all his favour, and incurred his moſt grievous diſpleaſure ſhall appear in his preſence? how ſhall we bear the frowns of ſo dear lov changed into fierce diſdain? of higheſt patience turned into extreme fury of ſo great majeſty provoked by ſuch affronts? with what heart ſha we be able to hear that voice, which did once ſo ſweetly and affectionately ſound words of peace and comfort in our ears, that ſo kindl invited us to peace, ſo meekly entreated us to complyance, now utterin onl

only bitter complaints and rebukes, thundring forth words of indignation and terrour: denouncing horrible threats and curſes upon us? But let this ſuffice for the nature of the office and act of judging; and for the perſon exerciſing it: Here is farther implyed,

2. The manner of its exerciſe, or execution; or rather the manner of his addreſs and proceeding thereto; *(From thence he ſhall come.)* The which we have in Scripture (for begetting anſwerable veneration, regard and awe within us) deſcribed to be with greateſt ſolemnity, glory, and magnificence; He came once in a meek humility to teach us our duty, but he ſhall come again with a terrible majeſty to exact an account thereof; taking his progreſs from the higheſt heavens, in a moſt royal ſtate, attended upon with a numerous, or rather an innumerable, πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἄγγελοι, all his holy Angels, it is *Matt.* XXV. *v.* 31. *When the ſon of man ſhall come in his glory, and all his holy Angels with him*; that is, an innumerable company (as we read it *Heb.* 12. 22.) an innumerable numerous and pompous train of glorious Angels, accompanied with triumphant ſhouts and acclamations; a trumpet (blown by the mouth of an Arch-angel) ſounding before him an univerſal ſummons, with a noiſe ſo loud and piercing, as ſhall immediately, and with the twinkling of an eye, ſhake all the earth, and rouſe the dead out of their mortal ſlumber. *This ſame Jeſus* (ſaid the Angels to the Apoſtles, expreſſing the thing in a more plain and ſimple manner) *which is taken up from you into heaven, ſhall ſo come in like manner as ye have ſeen him go into heaven*; (a cloud took him up from their eyes; the clouds ſhould reſtore him to ſight: *For behold he cometh with clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him*, ſaith St. *John*;) and, *They ſhall ſee the ſon of man* (himſelf tells us) *coming upon the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.* And, *The Lord himſelf* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *ſhall deſcend from heaven*, ἐν κελεύσματι (with a ſhout, with an exciting ſummons) *with the voice of an Arch-angel, with the trump of God---The ſon of man ſhall come in the glory of his father with his Angels; and then ſhall he render to every man according to his practice. When the ſon of man ſhall be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels.*

Acts 3. 21. 1 Theſſ. 4. 16. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 15. 52. Act. 1. 11. Vid. 2 Theſſ. 2. 7, 9. Rev. 1. 7. Matt. 24. 30. 26. 64. 1 Theſſ. 4. 16. Matt. 16. 27. 1 Theſſ. 1. 7.

So the Scriptures (to the purpoſe fore-mentioned, to beget reſpect and dread in us) declare that our Saviour ſhall come at the end of the World, at the day of Judgment, and how.

Here is farther determined the extent of this Judgment: He ſhall come to judge; whom, how many? All, without exception; expreſſed by the words, *Quick and dead:* which expreſſion is taken from thoſe words of St. *Peter* (*Acts* 10. 42.) wherein our Saviour is ſaid to be deſigned by God κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, *the judge of the living and the dead:* or of St. *Paul* (2 Tim. 4. 1.) *I charge thee therefore before God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and his Kingdom:* or thoſe of St. *Peter* again (1 Ep. chap. 4. verſ. 5.) *Who ſhall render an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and dead:* add a like place, *Rom.* 14. 9. *That he may be Lord both of the dead and living:* Theſe places evidently confirming the truth of the propoſition, yet ſo that the meaning thereof hath remained ſomewhat dubious, and that themſelves have ſeemed to need explication; for it being a common law, to which all men by nature, by deſert, by divine appointment are ſubject, to undergo death; *(For what man is he that ſhall not ſee death? It is * appointed for men once to die, and after death judgment,)* why ſhould not the dead comprehend all that are to be judged? as we ſee it expreſſed in the Revelation, *I ſaw the dead, ſmall and great, ſtanding before God---and the dead were judged from the things written in the books according to*

Pſal. 89. 48. Heb. 9. 27. * ἀπόκειται. Rev. 20. 12.

their works---the dead were judged, no mention is made of the living: wherefore ſome have interpreted the dead and living not for a diſtinction of perſons, but of parts in men; the living ſouls, and dead bodies of men; others have taken them metaphorically, *the living*, (that is, righteous men, men endued with a ſpiritual life;) *the dead*, (that is, men dead in treſpaſſes and ſins, void of ſpiritual ſenſe and activity.) But the difficulty mentioned is not ſo ſtrong, as to force us upon ſo remote, and abſonous expoſitions: St. *Paul* hath evidently enough ſhewed us how to underſtand the words, and how to ſolve the knot propounded; that by the living, are to be underſtood thoſe, who ſhall be found (and as it were ſurprized) alive, when our Saviour comes; by the dead all others, who before that time had died, and ſhall be raiſed at the ſound of the laſt trump: *This we ſay to you* (ſaith he to the *Theſſalonians*) *in the word of the Lord*, (or as the word of the Lord) *that we which live, remaining at the preſence of the Lord, ſhall not prevent them which are aſleep:* Our Lord therefore ſhall find ſome alive, when he comes: Therefore what is ſaid of all men's being appointed to taſt death, is to be underſtood with this exception; all but thoſe, whoſe death ſhall be prevented by our Lord's coming (which is ſet out as ſudden and unexpected, like the coming of a thief in the night;) neither are thoſe perſons ſo exempted from death, but that they muſt undergo that which is equivalent thereto, a change, which ſhall render them alike prepared for judgment with them, who have died: *Behold*, (ſaith St. *Paul* again to the *Corinthians*) *I tell you a myſtery: We ſhall not indeed all fall aſleep* (or not all die) *but we ſhall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye*---Which words with ſufficient evidence declare the meaning of the expreſſion here: The ſum is, that all men, none excepted, of what condition or quality, what nation or time, what age ſoever, ſhall be judged: High and low; rich and poor; wiſe and ignorant; good and bad: the mightieſt Princes and Lords, as well as the meaneſt Subjects and Slaves; the deepeſt Scholars, as well as the ſimpleſt Idiots; in a word, all men whatever, without any exception, without any acceptance of perſons muſt appear before this Judge, muſt undergo this trial and ſentence.

1 Theſſ. 4. 15. ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου.

Matt. 24. 42. 1 Theſſ. 5. 2.

1 Cor. 15. 51.

Thus ſhall He come to judge both quick and dead: Than the belief of which point, there is none more neceſſary, than the conſideration of which none more profitable; neceſſary and profitable in many reſpects.

1. The faith and regard thereof will preſerve us from disbelieving, from being offended with, from repining at the providence of God; from being diſſatisfied with his proceeding and diſpenſations here either toward our ſelves or others.

2. It may alſo keep us from raſh cenſure, and invading our Lord's office; *Who art thou that judgeſt another man's ſervant; to his own Maſter he ſtands or falls; why doſt thou judge thy brother; or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? We ſhall all ſtand at the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt: There is one Law-giver who can ſave or deſtroy, who art thou that judgeſt another? Judge nothing before the time, untill the Lord come, who ſhall enlighten the hidden things of darkneſs, and manifeſt the counſels of hearts.*

Rom. 14. 4, 10. Jac. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 5.

3. It may ſupport and comfort us againſt all unjuſt and uncharitable cenſures; groundleſs ſurmiſes and ſlanders; undeſerved ſcorns and reproaches of men, for that aſſuredly at that judgment right ſhall be done thee, thy innocence ſhall be cleared, thy honour vindicated and repaired; *God ſhall bring forth thy righteouſneſs as the light, and thy judgment as the noon day:* ſo that approving thy conſcience to God, thou mayeſt ſay with St. *Paul, With me it is a very ſmall thing that I ſhould be judged of you, or of man's judgment.*

Pſal. 37. 6. 1 Cor. 4. 3.

4. It

4. It is the moſt powerfull and effectual means poſſible to beget ſincerity in us; to render us circumſpect; to ſtir us up to diligence in all our converſation; in our thoughts, words, and actions: For ſince the moſt inward receſſes of our hearts muſt be ſearched out, our moſt ſecret deſigns and defires muſt be brought to light, what profit will it be to diſſemble, to diſguiſe, to conceal our thoughts? Since we muſt render an account of every thought that riſeth in our minds (at leaſt which is entertained there) of every word that paſſeth through our mouth, of every action we undertake, what reaſon have we,

5. With more attentive and accurate regard to conſider and mind what we do? Since it is certain we ſhall be judged, but uncertain when we ſhall be called thereto, how watchfull are we concerned to be, how obſervant of our Saviour's admonition? *Watch, for ye do not know the day nor the hour, in which the ſon of man cometh? If thou doſt not watch, I ſhall come upon thee as a thief, and thou ſhalt not know at what hour I ſhall come upon thee.* It may be (for all we know) the next day, the next hour, when death ſhall call us to that priſon, where we ſhall be detained untill the time of our being preſented at the barr; and what a miſery will it be to be ſurpriz'd, to be found unprepared, unable to render a good accompt? *What manner of perſons ought we to be in all holy converſation and godlineſs; looking for and haſting unto the coming of the day of God?* Matt. 24. 42. 25. 13. 2 Pet. 3. 12.

6. No perſuaſion, no conſideration doth promiſe ſuch efficacy towards the rowſing of our paſſions, or duly ordering and employing them upon religious practice; eſpecially it ſets on work thoſe two great engines, and mighty ſprings of action, fear and hope. How can we believe and think of this point without being poſſeſſed with a hideous fear of abiding ſo ſtrict a trial, of falling under ſo heavy a condemnation (if we are ſenſible of having been very faulty or negligent in performance of our duty) without a very comfortable hope of coming well off, of finding favour and mercy in that day, of being happily rewarded, if we are conſcious to our ſelves of having endeavoured ſeriouſly and carefully to pleaſe God, and obey his Commandments: If we can in our hearts ſay with St. *Paul, I have combated the good combat, I have finiſhed the race, I have kept the faith*; we may alſo ſay confidently with him: *From henceforth is laid up for me a crown of righteouſneſs, which in that day the Lord, the righteous Judge, ſhall render unto me:* If, *by vertue of the grace of God, which appeared to all men*, and according to its inſtruction we have *denied ungodlineſs, worldly luſts*, and *lived ſoberly, righteouſly, and piouſly in this preſent world*, we may joyfully expect *the bleſſed hope and appearance of the great God, and our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.* 2 Tim. 1. 18. 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8. Tit. 2. 12, 13.

I conclude, exhorting and wiſhing that the meditation of this moſt important buſineſs may be continually preſent to our minds, that we may ſeem (with that devout man) always to hear the laſt trumpet ſounding in our ears and piercing into our hearts, that ſo with a pious awe and a well-grounded hope, we may *expect the coming of our Lord, and love his appearance:* that being hence reſtrained from all impious and vicious converſation, being moved to a watchfull and circumſpect purſuit of all vertue and piety; guiding our lives inoffenſively in all good conſcience toward God and man, we may be able to render a good account, and with comfort unexpreſſible hear thoſe happy ſentences: *Well done good and faithfull ſervants, enter into your Maſters joy. Come ye bleſſed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the World.* Unto the poſſeſſion whereof, God in his mercy bring us by the merits of our Saviour, in obedience to our Lord, accor- 2 Tim. 4. 8. Matt. 25. 21. 34.

ding to the grace and mercy of our most righteous Judge, *Jesus*; To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, One God, blessed for ever, be all praise and glory. *Amen.*

I believe in the Holy Ghost.

THE whole Creed (as was sometime formerly observed) being probably built upon, and seeming no other than an enlargement or dilatation of that faith and confession required at baptism in the Blessed Trinity, having survey'd the two former parts concerning the two first persons, God the Father, and God the Son; we are now come to the third great Branch thereof, wherein we profess our belief in the Holy Spirit of God; which is in order the third grand object of our faith: whereof seeing there is here only a simple mention (as it were made) without any description, any characters thereof expressed, (such as in this Creed are assigned to the other Persons; such as in the *Constantipolitan* and other Creeds after it, are attributed to this) we must endeavour in some manner to supply that omission, by considering, 1. The *Quid*. 2. The *Quale*, thereof: First, I say, what is its nature. 2. What peculiar characters, offices, and operations (according to that mystical œconomy revealed in the Gospel) are attributed and appertain thereto.

As for the first, the Nature thereof, or what it is; we may observe that the word *Spirit* (which primitively and properly signifies *wind*, or *breath*) because the wind is a being not immediately exposed to sense, yet of great mobility and force, discovering it self to be so, by many great and conspicuous effects, is therefore translated to denote those excellent intellectual Beings, which, by reason of their more pure and subtle nature, being otherwise indiscernible to sense, do yet by manifest operations discover their existence and great activity, are called *spirits*: such as are in the first place God Almighty, (who invisibly pervades and penetrates, and actuates all things, and is therefore by even *Virgil* himself, according to *Lactantius* and *Macrobius* his judgment, styled *Spirit*) and next the Angels, and then the souls of men. Of these Beings there is one, mentioned through the Scripture, called *the Holy Spirit*, *the Spirit of God*, *the Spirit of Christ*, *the eternal Spirit*; and sometimes simply by way of excellency, *the Spirit*: the nature of which Spirit we may best understand, by considering that the Holy Scripture doth attribute and ascribe to him, 1. Divine properties and perfections, communicably peculiar to God. 2. Divine works and operations. 3. Divine appellations and titles. 4. A co-ordination in dignity; a participation of divine honour and worship. 5. An essential union with God the Father and God the Son; together with, 6. A personal and relative distinction from them. Also, 7. A derivation of Being from the two first Persons, with an intimate relation unto them springing thence. From the declaration and proof of which particulars, will plainly follow those doctrines, which we are bound to believe, against those, who have presumed to contradict and oppugn either the personality, or the divinity of the Holy Ghost, or his procession from the Father and the Son. Briefly therefore I say,

Lact. I. 5.

—Cœlum ac terram campósque liquentes
Lucentémque globum terræ Titaniâque atra
Spiritus intus alit —— *Virg.*

Otherwhere,

—Deum námque ire per omnes
Terráſque tractúſque maris, cœlúmque profundum.

Macedonians, Sabellians, Socinians, and the like, ἑτεροδοξαντες.

1. The Scripture ascribes to the Holy Ghost the divine properties and perfections; the very word *Holy* (so absolutely and specially, and characteristically attributed to him) seems it self to import so much: for (as it

it is in *Hannah's* prayer) *there is none holy as the Lord, there is none beſide him:* none abſolutely, perfectly holy, but God; (Holy, that is, by nature exalted and ſeparated from all other things at a diſtance unapproachable, peculiarly venerable and auguſt,) whence the Holy One is a name, and diſtinguiſhing attribute of God. The name *Spirit*, ſimply put, may ſeem alſo to imply the ſame; denoting higheſt purity and actuality. But we have farther the perfections of Eternity, Omnipreſence, Omniſcience, Omnipotence (the moſt high perfections, and proper to God) attributed to him. Eternity; for he is expreſly called αἰώνιον πνεῦμα: *Who through the eternal Spirit offered himſelf ſpotleſs to God.* Omnipreſence: *Whither* (ſaith *David*) *ſhall I go from thy ſpirit? or whither ſhall I flee from thy preſence?* The Queſtion imports a negation, and a reaſon thereof: there is no flying from God's Spirit, for that it is every-where. Omniſcience: *The ſpirit ſearcheth all things*, (that is, perfectly to the bottom underſtands all things) *even the depths of God*; the things of God, which to know is as far above a creature, as for one man to know the thoughts, inclinations, and affections of another man, (ſuch an argument St. *Paul* inſinuates;) particularly Preſcience, the knowledge of future events (which is the higheſt and hardeſt kind of knowledge, and immediately proper to God, and therefore called *divination*) is in a ſpecial manner every-where appropriated to the Spirit, as the immediate fountain thereof; whence he is called *the prophetical Spirit*; to which we may add, independency of will and action: *For* (as St. *Paul* ſpeaks) *all theſe things* (the production of all thoſe excellent graces, the diſtribution of all thoſe admirable gifts) *doth the one and the ſame ſpirit work, dividing to every one as he pleaſeth.* Ubi vult ſpirat; *the ſpirit blows where he pleaſeth*, doth every-where what he will. Abſolute goodneſs: *Thy ſpirit is good* (ſaith *David*) *lead me into the land of uprightneſs*; perfect veracity, implied by the abſtract word, *truth: It is the ſpirit* (ſaith St. *John*) *that witneſſeth, for the ſpirit is truth:* Truth it ſelf, the higheſt, moſt perfect truth.

1 Sam. 2. 2. Vid. Mr. Med. diſc. 2. p. 15. Heb. 9. 14. Pſal. 139. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 10, 11. 1 Cor. 12. 11. Joh. 3. 8. Pſal. 143. 10. 1 Joh. 5. 6.

2. Laſtly, Omnipotence; demonſtrated by thoſe works which are ſaid to be done by him; which are the greateſt and hardeſt poſſible: ſuch as Creation; * working of Miracles; Revelation of future events; Vivification; Renovation of men's minds; † Juſtification, and the like; which both, according to the nature of the thing, and in Scripture-account do require a power no leſs than infinite and moſt divine to effect them: the places are frequent and obvious, which aſcribe ſuch works to the holy Spirit; I cannot ſtand to recite them.

* Rom. 15. 19. † 1 Cor. 6. 11. Rom. 4. 5.

3. To the Holy Ghoſt are alſo aſſigned the divine names and titles: *Jehovah, Lord, God*, and thoſe conſequently which go along with them. For often and upon divers occaſions the ſame things are ſaid to be done by God, or to God, and by, or to the Spirit; one word interpreting, or concurring in ſignification with the other, by reaſon of that real identity which belongs to the things ſignified by them. It is ſaid of the diſtruſtfull and diſobedient *Iſraelites* in the *Pſalms*, *That they tempted God and limited the Holy One of Iſrael*; That *they tempted and provoked the moſt High God, and kept not his teſtimonies:* which is expreſſed thus by the Prophet *Eſay*; *They rebelled and vexed his Holy Spirit.* St. *Peter* in the *Acts* chargeth *Ananias* of having *lyed to the Holy Spirit*; and having *lyed to God: Why* (ſaith he) *Ananias, hath Satan filled thy heart to lye unto* (or cozen) *the Holy Spirit?---Thou haſt not lyed unto men, but to God:* Queſtionleſs by both thoſe expreſſions deſigning the ſame thing, and implying the Holy Ghoſt to be God. Our Saviour is ſaid to be *conceived by the Holy Ghoſt*, and therefore to be called *the Son of God:* he is ſaid to perform

Pſal. 78. 41, 56. Iſa. 63. 10. Act. 5. 3, 4. Luk. 1. 35. Rom. 15. 19.

form miracles ſometimes by the power of God, ſometimes by the power
Matt. 12. 28. of the Holy Ghoſt: *If I* (ſaith St. *Matthew*) *by the Holy Spirit caſt out*
Luk. 11. 19. *Devils: If I by the finger of God caſt them out* (ſaith St. *Luke.*) And it
1 Theſſ. 4. 9. is ordinary for what is ſometimes called *the Word of God*, to be other-
Vid. Act. 28. 25, 26. while called *the Word of the Spirit*; proceeding from the ſame under-
2 Cor. 3. 17. ſtanding, being dictated by the ſame operation. We are alſo ſaid to be θεοδίδακτοι, taught of God, in reſpect to the inſtruction and guidance re-
1 Cor. 3. 16, 17. ceived from him; in fine, every good Chriſtian is ſaid to be *a temple*; *a*
Epheſ. 2 22. *temple of God*; becauſe *the Spirit of God dwells in him.*

4. A co-ordinate dignity; a parity of honour and worſhip with God the Father, and God the Son is aſcribed to the Holy Spirit: this appears
Matt. 28. 19. ſignally in our Saviour's inſtitution of Baptiſm to be adminiſtred in the joint names of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt; whereby we are initiated into the like faith and acknowledgment; are obliged to the ſame worſhip and obedience of all three perſons. The ſame appears by that benediction of St. *Paul*, imploring upon the *Corinthians* the divine favour and aſſiſtance, according to that myſtical œconomy, which the Goſpel
2 Cor. 13. 13. exhibits: *The Grace of our Lord Jeſus, and the love of God* (that is, of God the Father) *and the communion of the Holy Ghoſt, be with you all.* As alſo
Epheſ. 2. 18. from that place of St. *Paul: By Chriſt we have acceſs in one Spirit to the Father:* He having an equal ſhare with God our Saviour in the Goſpel-diſpenſation of grace and ſalvation unto men. We alſo have the ſame co-ordination clearly ſuppoſed in 1 *Cor.* 12. 4, 5, 6. *There are* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *diviſions of favours, but the ſame Spirit: and there are diviſions of miniſteries, but the ſame Lord, (i. e.* the ſame Chriſt:) *and there are diviſions of operations, but the ſame God,* or Father: (All the gracious gifts of the Goſpel are beſtowed; all the ſacred miniſteries are managed; all the wonderfull performances are brought to paſs by the joint and equal conduct and co-operation of theſe three divine Perſons. And that ſoveraign regard our Saviour hath declared due to the honour and authority of the Holy Ghoſt, inſomuch that blaſphemy againſt him is a ſin peculiarly irremiſſible, argues his divinity; ſince neither according to the reaſon of the thing could offending againſt the fame of a creature, be capable of ſuch aggravations; nor could God in a manner preferr the honour of a creature before his own.

5. That there is an eſſential union between the Holy Ghoſt and the other divine perſons, is both by evident conſequence deducible from, and is immediately aſſerted in Scripture. For that there is but one God, is there continually taught and inculcated upon us, and how it calls the Holy Ghoſt, we have ſeen; therefore neceſſarily the Holy Ghoſt doth partake of that one divine eſſence. Alſo, that the Holy Ghoſt is God, is inferr'd
1 Cor. 2. 11. from that compariſon of S. *Paul* between the Spirit of man in reſpect to man, and the Spirit of God in reſpect to God; as the Spirit of man is intrinſecal to man, ſo the Spirit of God is to him: and by reaſon of the
1 Joh. 5. 7. perfect ſimplicity of the divine nature, that which ſubſiſts in God muſt neceſſarily be God. In fine, St. *John* expreſsly tells us, *That there are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt, and theſe three are one:* they are one, and yet,

6. There is a perſonal diſtinction of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father and the Son; for they are Three: three perſons, for that not only diſtinct
Joh. 15. 26. 14. 26. names, but peculiar operations are aſſigned to them; which ſhould not be done without good reaſon, if there were no perſonal diſtinction: that
Rom. 8. 27. Epheſ. 2. 18. which alſo appears from his being ſaid to *proceed from the Father* and to
Gal. 4. 6. *be ſent from him*; from his *being an advocate* and *interceding with the father*; his

his *crying within us Abba Father*, our having *acceſs in him to the Father*. As alſo *his being ſent by the Son*; his *glorifying him*; *receiving of his*; his *not ſpeaking from himſelf*: which expreſſions plainly argue a perſonal diſtinction. As do alſo our Saviour's birth by him, his performing miracles by him; in a word, God's executing all his purpoſes of grace and power by him. Joh. 15. 26. 16. 13, 14.

7. Laſtly, That the Holy Spirit doth derive the common divine eſſence from the father and the ſon is thence ſufficiently apparent, for that he is called *the ſpirit of the Father*, and alſo *the ſpirit of the Son*: the Spirit of the Father, becauſe he doth ἐκπορεύεσθαι; in a manner incomprehenſible doth proceed and emanate, from the father; is of him, is ſent by him: for the ſame reaſon is he the Spirit of the Son: wherefore he is alſo expreſsly ſaid to be *ſent by the Son*. Matt. 10. 20. Joh. 14. 26. 15. 26. Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ θεοῦ. 1 Cor. 2. 12. Gal. 4. 6.

From theſe truths thus briefly declared doth follow that the Holy Ghoſt is one of the divine perſons, in order the third, partaking of the divine nature, and receiving it by communication from the Father and the Son. Which is all we intended to ſhew concerning his nature. I proceed to conſider the peculiar characters, offices, and operations of the Holy Spirit. There be many particular functions, and operations in a ſpecial manner attributed and appropriated to the Holy Spirit; which as they reſpect God ſeem reducible to two general ones the declaration of God's mind and the execution of his will; as they reſpect man (for in regard to other beings the Scripture doth not ſo much conſider what he performs, as not ſo much concerning us to know) the producing in us all qualities and diſpoſitions, the guiding and aiding us in all actions requiſite or conducible to our eternal happineſs and ſalvation doth in a manner comprize them. Rom. 8. 9. 1 Pet. 1. 11. Phil. 1. 19.

1. I ſay, the declaration of God's mind: Whence he is called *the ſpirit of truth*, *the ſpirit of prophecy*, *the ſpirit of Revelation*; for that all ſupernatural light and inſtruction hath ever proceeded from him: He inſtructed all the prophets *that have been ſince the world began* to know, he enabled them to ſpeak the mind of God concerning things preſent and future: Holy men (that have taught men their duty, and lead them in the way to happineſs) were but his inſtruments, and *ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt*: By his inſpiration the Holy Scriptures (the moſt full and certain witneſſes of God's mind) were conceived; He *guided* the Apoſtles *into all truth*; and by them inſtructed all the world in the knowledge of God's gracious intentions toward mankind and the Holy myſteries of the Goſpel. All the knowledge we can pretend to in theſe things doth proceed from his revelation, doth rely upon his authority. Joh. 15. 26. Eph. 1. 17. Rev. 19. 10. Luk. 1. 70. 2 Pet. 1. 21. 1 Tim. 3. 16. Joh. 16. 13. Vid. 1 Cor. 2. 10. Eph. 3. 5.

2. The execution of God's will. Whence he is called the *power of God* (the ſubſtantial power and vertue of God) and *the hand of God*, and what ever God hath deſigned he is ſaid to perform by him. *By him he framed the world*: he *garniſhed the heavens* (as *Job* ſpeaketh.) By him he *governs the world*; all extraordinary works of providence (when God beſide the common law and uſual courſe of nature interpoſeth) all miraculous performances, being attributed to his energy; but eſpecially by him (that which next is to be conſidered) he manages that work, by divine goodneſs ſo earneſtly deſigned, of man's ſalvation: Which he doth, Luk. 1. 35. Luk. 11. 19. Pſal. 33. 6. Job 26. 13. Gen. 1. 1.

3. By working in us good diſpoſitions and qualities; by guiding and aiding us in our actions. We are naturally void of thoſe good diſpoſitions of underſtanding, of will, of affection, which are neceſſary to make us any-wiſe acceptable to God, fit to ſerve and pleaſe him, capable of any favour from him, of any true happineſs in our ſelves; our minds, I ſay, are blind and ſtupid; ignorant and prone to errour; eſpecially in things

ſuper-

ſupernatural and abſtracted from ordinary ſenſe; our wills ſtubborn and froward, vain and unſtable; inclining to evil, and averſe from what is moſt truly good; our affections very irregular and unſettled; to remove which bad diſpoſitions (inconſiſtent with God's friendſhip and favour; tending to miſery) and to beget thoſe contrary to them, the knowledge and belief of divine truth, a love of, and willing compliance with good-
Acts 16. 14. neſs; a well-compoſed, orderly, and ſteady frame of ſpirit. God in mercy hath appointed the Holy Spirit, who firſt opening our hearts, ſo as to let in and apprehend the light of divine truth propounded to us; then by repreſentation of proper arguments perſuading us to embrace it, begets divine knowledge and faith in our minds (which is the work of illumination, and inſtruction, the firſt part of this office) then by continual impreſſions bends our inclinations and mollifies our hearts and ſubdues our affections to a willing compliance with, a cheerfull complacence in that which is good and pleaſing to God: ſo begetting all pious and vertuous inclinations in us; reverence to God, charity to men; ſobriety and purity and the reſt of thoſe amiable and heavenly vertues: (which is the work of ſanctification, another great part of his office) both which together (illumination of our mind, ſanctification of our will and affections) do con-
Tit. 3. 5. Eph. 4. 23. Eph. 2. 5. Col. 2. 13. Col. 2. 12. Eph. 2. 10. 4. 24. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Gal. 5. 25. Rom. 8. 14. ſtitute that work, which is ſtyled *the Regeneration, Renovation, Vivification, New-creation, Reſurrection*; *putting off the old, putting on the new man*; of a man; the faculties of our ſouls being ſo much changed, and we made, as it were, other men thereby: able and apt to do that to which before we were altogether indiſpoſed and unfit. Neither only doth he alter and conſtitute our diſpoſitions, but he directs and governs our actions; leading and moving us in the ways of obedience to God's will and law. As we live by him (have a new ſpiritual life implanted in us) ſo we walk by him, by his continual guidance and aſſiſtance. He reclaims us from ſin and errour; ſupports and ſtrengthens us in temptation; adviſes, excites, encourages us to works of vertue and piety; particularly he guides and quickens us in devotion; ſhewing us what we ſhould ask; raiſing in us
Rom. 8. 26, 27. 1 Joh. 5. 14. holy deſires and comfortable hopes thereof; diſpoſing us to approach unto God with fit diſpoſitions of love, and reverence, and humble confidence.

It is alſo a notable part of the Holy Spirit's office to comfort and ſuſtain us, as in all our religious practice, ſo particularly in our doubts, difficulties, diſtreſſes, and afflictions, to beget joy, peace, and ſatisfaction
Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. Heb. 3. 6. in us in all our doings and all our ſufferings: Whence he hath the title of *Comforter*.

It is alſo a great part thereof, to aſſure us of God's love and favour;
2 Cor. 5. 5. 1. 22. Eph. 1. 14. that we are his children; and to confirm us in the hopes of our everlaſting inheritance. We feeling our ſelves to live by him, to love God and goodneſs; to deſire and delight in pleaſing God, are thereby raiſed to hope God loves and favours us; and that he having by ſo authentick a ſeal ratified his word and promiſe; having already beſtowed ſo ſure a pledge, ſo precious an earneſt, ſo plentifull firſt-fruits will not fail to make good the remainder deſigned and promiſed us of everlaſting joy and bliſs.

Laſtly, The Holy Ghoſt doth intercede for us with God; is our advocate and aſſiſtant in the preſenting our ſupplications, and procuring our good: He cries in us; he pleads for us to God: whence he is peculiarly called παράκλητος; that is, one who is called in by his good word or countenance to aid him, whoſe cauſe is to be examined; or whoſe petition is to be conſidered.

To

To which things I may add, That the Holy Ghoſt is deſigned to be as it were the ſoul, which informs, enlivens and actuates the whole body of the Church; connecting and containing together the members thereof in ſpiritual union, life, and motion; eſpecially quickning and moving the principal members (the Governours and Paſtors) thereof; conſtituting them in their function, qualifying them for the diſcharge thereof, guiding and aſſiſting them therein. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13. Acts 20. 28. Eph. 4. 12.

Such is the office, ſuch the operations of the Holy Ghoſt; the which we ſhould more diſtinctly and fully conſider; if the time and nature of this exerciſe would give leave.

The uſe of theſe doctrines (the influence, the belief and conſideration of this article ſhould have upon our practice) is briefly, 1. To oblige us to render all due honour and adoration to the divine Majeſty of the Bleſſed Spirit. 2. To work in us an humble affection and a devout thankfulneſs to God for ſo ineſtimable a favour conferr'd upon us, ſuch as is the preſence and inhabitation, the counſel, conduct and aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit in us; Him we muſt acknowledge the author of our ſpiritual life; of all good diſpoſitions in us; of all good works performed by us; of all happineſs obtainable by us; to him we muſt render all thanks and praiſe: Therefore, 3. To excite us to deſire earneſtly, and pray for God's Spirit; the fountain of ſuch excellent benefits; ſuch graces, ſuch gifts, ſuch privileges, ſuch joys, and bleſſings unexpreſſible; If we heartily invite him, if we fervently pray for him, he will certainly come: So hath our Saviour promiſed; *that our heavenly father will give the Holy Spirit to them which ask him.* Luk. 11. 13. 4. We ſhould endeavour to demean our ſelves well toward the Holy Spirit; yielding to that heavenly gueſt, vouchſafing to come unto us, a ready entrance and kind welcome into our hearts; entertaining him with all poſſible reſpect and obſervance, hearkning attentively to his holy ſuggeſtions and carefully obeying them; not quenching the divine light or devout heat he kindles in us; not reſiſting his kindly motions and perſuaſions; not grieving or vexing him; that ſo with ſatisfaction he may continue and abide with us, to our infinite benefit and comfort; it ſhould engage us to cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs of fleſh and ſpirit, that we may be fit temples for ſo holy and pure a ſpirit to dwell in; leſt he loath and forſake us. 5. It is matter of comfort and encouragement (exceedingly uſefull and neceſſary for us) to conſider, that we have ſuch a guide and aſſiſtant in our religious practice and ſpiritual warfare. If our luſts be ſtrong, our temptations great, our enemies mighty, we need not be diſheartned; having this All-wiſe and Almighty friend to adviſe and help us: His grace is ſufficient for us againſt all the ſtrengths of Hell, Fleſh, and the World. Let our duty be never ſo hard, and our natural force never ſo weak, we ſhall be able to do all things by him that ſtrengtheneth us: If we will but faithfully apply our ſelves to him for his aid, we cannot fail of good ſucceſs.

The Holy Catholick Church. Eph. 4. 4.

THE *Holy Catholick Church*: In the more ancient Forms it ran only, *Holy Church*, (the word *Catholick* being left out) and in ſome of them it had not the ſame poſition, as now, being put in the laſt place; and it ſeems in the moſt ancient Symbols the Church was not propounded as an object of faith directly and immediately, but was mentioned obliquely, upon occaſion of remiſſion of ſins miniſtred by it; of eternal life obtained in it: as we may reaſonably deem from that notable place in

Epiſt. ad Magnum. St. *Cyprian: Nam cum dicunt* (when they profeſs in the Symbol at Baptiſm) *credis remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam per Eccleſiam:* To which kind of expreſſion that place in *Tertull. de Baptiſmo*, ſeems to allude, *Cùm ſub tribus & teſtatio fidei, & ſponſio ſalutis pignorentur, neceſſariò, adjicitur Eccleſiæ mentio.* And if we conſult the moſt ancient Summaries of faith extant in *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*, and compoſed by them, queſtionleſs according to the general ſenſe of their times, we ſhall not find this Article propounded; not even in the **Nicene* Creed it ſelf. It is therefore moſt unprobable that this Article (either in ſubſtance, or at leaſt according to this manner of propoſal and expreſſion) is of a later ſtanding than the reſt; being introduced (as is likely) upon occaſion of thoſe many hereſies and ſchiſms, which continually ſprang up, to ſecure the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, the authority of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the peace and unity of the Church, by obliging men to profeſs their diſclaiming any conſent or conſpiracy with thoſe erroneous and contentious people (who had deviſed new, deſtructive or dangerous conceits againſt the general conſent of Chriſtians, and drove on factions contrary to the common order and peace of the Church;) to profeſs, I ſay, their diſclaiming ſuch heretical principles and factious proceedings; and their conſtant adherence to the doctrines generally embraced by the Churches founded and inſtructed by the Apoſtles; as alſo their perſiſtance in concord and communion with them; their readineſs to obſerve the received cuſtoms and practices derived by them from Apoſtolical inſtitution; their ſubmiſſion to the laws and diſciplines eſtabliſhed in them by lawfull authority. This I conceive to have been the meaning of them, who firſt inſerted this Article, of believing the Holy Church, into the Creed: *I believe*; that is, I adhere unto, (for as we did at firſt obſerve, *belief* here is to be underſtood as the nature of the matter ſhould require,) I adhere unto, or am perſuaded that I ought to adhere unto that body of Chriſtians, which diffuſed over the world, retains the faith taught, the diſcipline ſettled, the practices appointed by our Lord and his Apoſtles.

Cap. 6.

Vid. lib. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos.

* Theodoret. I. 12. hiſt.

And that men ſhould be obliged to do thus, there was ground both in the reaſon of the thing and in Scripture. In reaſon, there being no more proper or effectual argument to aſſure us that any doctrine is true, or practice warrantable, to convince Sectaries deviating from truth or duty, than the conſent of all Churches; of whom (being ſo diſtant in place, language, humour, cuſtom) it is not imaginable that they ſhould ſoon or eaſily conſpire in forſaking the doctrines inculcated by the Apoſtles, or the practices inſtituted by them, (which argument preſſed by *Tertullian*, *Irenæus* and other ancient defenders of Chriſtian truth and peace may well, as in matters of this kind, go for a demonſtration: and that ſentence of **Tertullian* may well paſs for a certain principle and axiom: *Quod apud multos unum invenitur, non eſt erratum, ſed traditum.*

Tertul. de præſcript. Iren. 1, 2, 3, &c.

* *De præſcr. cap.* 28. Conſtat id eſſe ab Apoſtolis traditum, quod apud Eccleſias Apoſtolorum fuerit ſacroſanctum.

And for Scripture, as it foretells that pernicious hereſies ſhould be introduced; that *many falſe prophets ſhould ariſe and ſeduce many*; that *grievous wolves ſhould come in, not ſparing the flock*; and *men ſhould ariſe, ſpeaking perverſe things to draw diſciples after them*; as they warn us to *take heed of ſuch men*; to *reject* and *refuſe hereticks*; to *mark thoſe, which make diviſions and ſcandals* beſide the doctrine, which Chriſtians had learnt, and *to decline from them*; to *ſtand off* (ἀφίστασθαι) *from ſuch men as do* ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach things different from* Apoſtolical doctrine, and *do not conſent to wholeſom words* (the words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt) *and the doctrine according to godlineſs.* As it teacheth us that Hereſies and

2 Pet. 2. 1. Act. 20. 29, 30. Matt. 24. 11. 7. 15. Tit. 3. 10. Rom. 16. 17. Coloſſ. 2. 8. 2 Theſſ. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 6. 4, 5.

Factions

Factions are works of the fleſh; [proceeding from pride and ambition; ſelf-intereſt and covetouſneſs; peeviſh and perverſe humour; blindneſs and vanity; raſhneſs and inſtability; dotage, diſtemper, and corruption of mind; deceit, cozenage, craft, and hypocriſie; want of good conſcience and reverence to God;] ſo it alſo deſcribes the univerſality of them who ſtick to the truth, and obſerve the law of Chriſt; are diſpoſed to charity and peace *with all thoſe, who call upon our Lord with a pure mind,* (that is, with all ſincere Chriſtians) *to be one body,* knit together and compacted of parts affording mutual aid and ſupply to its nouriſhment, and joined to, deriving ſenſe and motion from *one head, and informed by one ſpirit*; as one houſe, *built upon the foundation of Prophets and Apoſtles, Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone, in whom all the building is fitly framed and connected:* As one nation, or people, ſubject to the ſame law and government; (uſed to the ſame language, cuſtom, and converſation;) one city, one family; one flock under one ſhepherd; laſtly, one Church, or Congregation: for as ſometimes every particular aſſembly of Chriſtians, and ſometimes a larger collection of particular Societies combined together in one Order, or under one Government, are termed Churches (ἐκκλησίαι,) ſo the whole Aggregation of all Churches, of all Chriſtian people in the World, is frequently called *the Church:* Even as the whole body of thoſe who lived in profeſſion and obedience to the Jewiſh law (which was a type and image of the Chriſtian Church) was called קהל *(Cahal)* ἐκκλησία, *the Congregation*; from whence I conceive this name was taken; and as among them that word did ſignifie ſometimes * any particular aſſembly, ſometimes the whole body of ſuch perſons, who had right and obligation to aſſemble for the ſervice of God; ſo correſpondently was the word uſed in the New Teſtament; ſometimes for any Society leſſer or greater; ſometimes for the whole Body of God's new people; all the true ſubjects and ſervants of Chriſt; that is, for the Catholick or Univerſal ſociety of the Faithfull; yet even in this latter ſenſe there is ſome diſtinction: for ſometimes it is taken in a ſenſe (partly extenſive, partly reſtrained) ſo as to ſignifie all thoſe good men, and only ſuch, which in all places and all times did or ſhall faithfully worſhip and ſerve God; ſometimes in a ſenſe (in one reſpect more wide, in another more ſtrict) for all thoſe who at preſent, in any age, through all parts of the World, do openly profeſs the ſincere faith and obedience of Chriſt; maintaining an external practice agreeable to that profeſſion; according to both which ſenſes we may interpret the Holy Catholick Church here, they being, as to the duty required of us, conjoined and co-ordinate: For whatever is ſaid of the Church in Scripture, (all the characters and commendations attributed to it; as it doth principally agree to it in the firſt of theſe ſenſes, ſo it doth in ſome kind and meaſure agree to the latter: And therefore (without diſtinguiſhing) we may ſay that this is the Holy Catholick Church, which we believe: the *Sion which the Lord hath choſen, which he hath deſired for his habitation, where he hath reſolved to place his reſt and reſidence for ever: The mountain ſeated above all mountains, unto which all nations ſhould flow: The houſe of God, built upon a rock; againſt which the gates of hell ſhall not prevail*; the pillar and firmament of truth which it by its profeſſion and practice in a manner ſupporteth and maintaineth: *The New Jeruſalem and City of God; the Mother of us all; the beloved Spouſe of the Lamb; The elect generation, royal prieſthood, holy nation, peculiar people: The Church which Chriſt hath purchaſed with his own bloud; which he delivered himſelf for, that he might ſanctifie it, and cleanſe it with the waſhing of water by the Word; that he might preſent it to himſelf*

Eph. 4. 4. 2 Tim. 2. 22. Eph. 1. 22. Eph. 4. 16. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 12. Eph. 4. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 2. 21. 1 Pet. 2. 4, 5. 1 Pet. 2. 19. Eph. 2. 19. Heb. 12. 23. Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10.

* Ubi tres ſunt, etiam laici, ibi eccleſia eſt. *Tertul. Exh. Caſt.*

Pſal. 132. 13. Iſa. 2. 2. Mic. 4. 1. Matt. 16. 18. Apoc. 3. 12. Gal. 4. 26. Apoc. 19. 7. Matt. 22. 2. 25. 10. Eph. 5. 25, &c. 1 Pet. 2. 9.

Act. 20. 28. Eph. 5. 25, &c. *himſelf a glorious Church, not having ſpot or wrinkle*, nor any ſuch thing, *but that it might be Holy and unblemiſhed.*

Holy we ſee it is expreſsly ſaid to be in Chriſt's deſign: Holy, as conſiſting of perſons ſeparated from the World (from profane and vain converſation,) and wholly devoted to God's ſervice; *choſen to be Saints, and without blemiſh before God in love*; perſons *conſecrated and conſtituted Prieſts, to offer ſpiritual ſacrifices, acceptable to God, through Jeſus Chriſt.* Holy, as in many reſpects peculiarly related to God; *as his choſen people*, (in which reſpect the *Jews* were anciently called *a Holy*, which is interpreted a choſen, ſpecial, peculiar, precious, ſeparate people) *as his houſe and temple*; wherein he in a ſpecial manner doth reſide, wherein he is continually worſhipped: *Now the temple of God is holy, whoſe temple are you* (ſaith St. *Paul:*) as, οἰκεῖοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, his domeſticks and familiars; as his children. Holy, as *redeemed by Chriſt; cleanſed by his bloud; ſanctified by his ſpirit; as profeſſing a Holy faith; as partakers of a holy and heavenly calling; as endued with holy graces, and diſpoſitions; performing holy ſervices; obliged to holy converſation.*

1 Pet. 2. 18. 1 Cor. 6. 20. 7. 23. Eph. 1. 4. 1 Pet. 2. 5. Apoc. 1. 6. 5. 10. Deut. 7. 6. 14. 2. 26. 18. Ex. 19. 5, 6. 1 Cor. 3. 17. Jud. 20. 2 Tim. 1. 9. Heb. 3. 1. Rom. 12. 1, &c. 1 Pet. 1. 15.

The belief and conſideration of which point doth ſerve, 1. to engage us to perſiſt in the truth of Chriſtian doctrine, delivered by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; atteſted unto by the general conſent of Chriſtians; avoiding all novelties of opinion; *not being carried about with various and ſtrange doctrines; not being like children toſſed with waves, and carried about with every wind of doctrine*, in the cozenage of men, in craft according to the method (or artifice) of deceit; (not being deluded with fine words, or fair pretences of many innovatours. But ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ; holding the truth in love. 2. In love, that is another duty we are hence obliged to; to maintain a hearty charity and good affection toward all good Chriſtians; charity, which is the band that unites the Church, which preſerves it in a ſweet order and unity; Conſequently, 3. Readily to correſpond and communicate with all good Chriſtians (all ſocieties ſincerely profeſſing and practiſing faith, charity and obedience to our Lord) communicating I ſay in all offices of piety; 4. Submitting to all lawfull order and diſcipline; ſtudying peace, and to our power promoting concord among them: Conſequently. 5. To Diſavow and ſhun all factious combinations whatever of men corrupting the truth, or diſturbing the peace of the Church. In fine, ſincerely to wiſh in our hearts; to pray earneſtly for; to promote by our beſt endeavours the peace and proſperity of that Holy Catholick Church, whereof we ſhould be members and children: All which things St. *Paul* directs us to in thoſe few words: *Purſue Righteouſneſs, Faith, Charity, Peace with thoſe that call upon* (or are called by the name of) *the Lord, with a pure heart.* I proceed.

Heb. 13. 9. Eph. 4. 14. 2 Tim. 2. 22.

The Communion of Saints.

THE words were not extant in any of the ancient Creeds, but when afterwards inſerted; nor (as I conceive) doth the meaning of them much differ from what was intended in the precedent article, concerning the Catholick Church; and perhaps it was adjoined thereto, by way of appoſition, for interpretation thereof. For it ſeems the meaning of them is this, That all the Saints (thoſe which are ſo either in outward eſteem, as profeſſing Chriſtian faith and obedience; or thoſe which are ſo in heart and inward diſpoſition; thoſe which either now converſe upon earth, or which are received into heaven, all the Saints) either in obligation

obligation ſhould or in effect do communicate, partake, join together, conſent and agree in what concerns Saints or Members of the ſame body; in believing and acknowledging the ſame heavenly truth; in performance of devotions and offices of piety toward God; with and for one another; in charitable affection and good-will toward each other; in affording mutual aſſiſtance and ſupplies toward each others either temporal or ſpiritual good; in mutual condolency and compaſſion of each others evil; congratulation and complacency in each others good; *in minding* (according to St. *Paul*'s words) *with care the ſame thing for one another: ſo that if one member ſuffers, all the members ſuffer together with it; or if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.* This briefly ſeems to be the meaning of this point, and I need not farther labour to ſhew the uſes thereof. The doctrine ſo plainly carrying its obligation and uſe in its face. 1 Cor. 12. 25, 26.

Concerning the Power of the Keys.

I Treated laſt upon the *Catholick Church* and *Communion of Saints*; between that Article and that which immediately follows concerning the *remiſſion of ſins*, I think it convenient to interpoſe a brief conſideration upon the *Power of the Keys*; the which we are directed and injoined ſometimes to diſcourſe on, and may do it, as it ſeems, here moſt ſeaſonably, it having ſo near a relation to the matter of both thoſe Articles; the Church, in which, by which, for which it is exerciſed; (by it alſo the communion of Saints being maintained and preſerved) and the Remiſſion of ſins, which (eſpecially as to be underſtood here) is a partial and moſt conſiderable effect or conſequent of its uſe. For though Remiſſion of ſins may be taken in its utmoſt latitude for all remiſſion indulged by God, and by what means, in what manner, upon what account ſoever diſpenſed; yet according to the intention of thoſe who compiled the Creed, it ſeems principally to deſign that formal remiſſion of ſins, which was conſigned by the Churches miniſtery; this being performed by vertue of a power imparted by Chriſt to the Church; called, as we ſhall ſee, *the power of the Keys*; concerning which therefore it will be not unſeaſonable for us here briefly to diſcourſe.

As God Almighty being King and Soveraign Lord of the world, doth govern it partly by his own immediate hand of Providence, partly by the mediation of viſible deputies and vicegerents conſtituted by him in ſeveral provinces of that his Kingdom; who receiving authority from him are obliged under him to govern in their reſpective places, according to rules of juſtice and equity preſcribed by him to the promotion of his honour and praiſe of his name; to the procurement of his ſubjects benefit and welfare (conſiſting chiefly in their leading a ſafe, quiet and commodious life here, with enjoyment of thoſe comforts, which are ſuitable to mens nature) each in his province moſt particularly regarding the welfare of thoſe ſubjects committed to their charge, yet ſo as withall to reſpect the common peace and proſperity of mankind, maintaining (ſo far as may be) good correſpondency with the reſt, obſerving the rules of juſtice and humanity toward all. This authority committed to them by God containing all powers neceſſary or conducible to thoſe purpoſes; the power of making and impoſing laws; of propounding and beſtowing rewards; of appointing and inflicting puniſhments, with obligation on the ſubjects part to entire obedience and ſubmiſſion.

In

In the ſame (or in a very like) manner doth Chriſt the Head and ſupreme Governour of the Church, adminiſter his Spiritual Kingdom; partly by the immediate direction and governance of his holy Spirit, partly by his preſidency of governours appointed by him in ſeveral provinces and ſocieties thereof; to manage things in ſuch order as may beſt conduce firſt to his glory and ſervice (as well by the propagation and enlargement of this empire, as preſervation and maintenance thereof in good condition; by procuring due reverence to his perſon and obedience to his laws) as may alſo conferr to the beſt advantage of his ſubjects, and their ſpiritual welfare, (conſiſting in their being inſtructed in duty, and diſpoſed to perform it, their being purified from ſin, and perfected in holineſs, and fitted for the poſſeſſion of that eternal happineſs to which they are called deſigned for them;) each in his province and ſociety (yet ſo as withall to reſpect the good of the whole body, maintaining charitable affection toward, and peaceable commerce with the reſt) being particularly obliged to promote thoſe ends; ſuch authority including all power requiſite to that purpoſe; of eſtabliſhing fit orders and rules to be obſerved in their reſpective ſocieties; of diſpenſing encouragements, and inflicting penalties agreeable to the nature of their office, and conducible to their deſignment; the ſubjects of this Kingdom being obliged to obedience and complyance with thoſe orders, to ſubmit to thoſe penalties and cenſures. Now this authority (either all or a great part of it) is commonly called *Poteſtas Clavium*, by a name taken from thoſe words of our Saviour wherein he promiſeth St. *Peter* that he would *give him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven:* Concerning which promiſe we muſt firſt obſerve, that however it was made to St. *Peter* upon a ſpecial occaſion, yet the matter thereof was not peculiar and reſtrained to his perſon; for the particulars conjoined therewith, and which explain the meaning thereof, are otherwhere aſſigned to others, as well as him: Chriſt there declares that upon him he *will build his Church*; and other-where we are informed that the Church is built upon the *foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles:* He promiſes that what he ſhall *bind or looſe upon earth ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven*; and the ſame privilege is promiſed otherwhere, in expreſs terms to any congregation or ſociety of Chriſtians, and in terms equivalent to a certain meeting of diſciples. This privilege therefore and authority was by our Saviour committed to the Church; and if to the Church, then (as to its uſe and exerciſe) to the governours thereof, who act in behalf thereof; to whom its preſervation is commended, upon whom the care of its welfare, its peace, its honour is incumbent: the which we ſhall at preſent ſuppoſe, and which by the nature, practice, end and deſign of this power will farther appear.

Matt. 16. 19.

Eph. 2. 20. Apoc. 21. 14. Matt. 18. 18. Joh. 20. 23.

Claves illas regni cœlorum in beato Petro cuncti ſuſcepimus Sacerdotes. *Ambroſ. Ep.* 83.

At preſent, for the better underſtanding the nature and extent of this power, we will conſider, 1. Its Name. 2. Its object or correlative term. 3. The equivalent phraſes by which it is expreſſed or explained. 4. The practice and exerciſe thereof. 5. The riſe and occaſion of its inſtitution. 6. The neceſſity and uſefulneſs thereof: From the conſideration of which particulars, we may collect wherein it conſiſts, to what it tends, how far it extends. We will touch them briefly.

1. The name *Keys* being metaphorical, implies the thing thereby deſigned in its nature or ſome chief property (moſt obvious and conſpicuous) to reſemble Keys. Now they (as being inſtruments deſigned to no other purpoſe) have no other nature or property than opening or ſhutting the avenues or paſſages from one place to another; and conſequently their effects being either to give entrance and admiſſion, or to detain

detain and keep within; or to ſtop the paſſage and exclude from a place; neceſſarily all or ſome of theſe actions (or ſomewhat anſwerable and like thereto) muſt agree to this power, in reſpect to that ſtate or place, which it referrs to; it muſt be therefore a power either admiſſive into, or retentive within, or excluſive from, or all theſe together, in reſpect to the Kingdom of heaven, whereof it is called *the Keys*; no other reaſon being conceivable of its obtaining that appellation; and we ſee, when this metaphor is uſed in like caſes, either all or one of theſe effects are by way of interpretation expreſſed; as when of the Holy and true One (that is, of our Saviour) it is ſaid in the Revelation, *That he hath the Key of David*; Apoc. 3. 7. it is ſubjoined; *He openeth, and none ſhutteth; he ſhutteth, and none openeth.* And when our Saviour imputes to the Lawyers, that they *took away the Key of knowledge*; he explains the meaning of his expreſſion by adding, *that they would not enter themſelves, and thoſe who were entring, they hindred*; and likewiſe in St. *Matthew*, concerning the Scribes and Phariſees: *Ye ſhut the Kingdom of heaven* (the ſame thing as here) *before men, for your ſelves do not enter, nor do you ſuffer thoſe that are entring.* Whence it ſeems may be collected, that this power (this having the Keys) is a power of admiſſion into, and excluſion from the place or ſtate, which it relates to: which we muſt next conſider; for ſuch muſt this power be, as its term or object doth admit or require. Luk. 11. 52. Matt. 23. 13.

2. As to the term it relates to, the Kingdom of heaven, that according to the New Teſtament uſe is capable eſpecially of two acceptions. It firſt commonly ſignifies the ſtate or conſtitution of religion under the Goſpel, in oppoſition or contradiſtinction to the ſtate of things under the ancient law. In the time of the law God's Kingdom was in a manner earthly; The land of *Iſrael* was his dominion; in *Salom* was his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in *Zion*: *Jeruſalem* was his royal ſeat *(the city of the great King)* the temple there his palace; he governed more immediately by oracles from time to time put into the mouth of his prieſts and prophets conſulting him for orders and directions; he received more viſible ſervices and homages from his ſubjects; he granted earthly conveniencies and privileges for them; he encouraged them to the obedience of his law by promiſes of temporal reward; deterr'd them from diſobedience and diſloyalty by threatning temporal pains and damages; but under the Evangelical diſpenſation, as God's Kingdom is more capacious and unlimited in extention, ſo he hath aſſumed no peculiar reſidence upon earth, nor is worſhipped otherwiſe than as being in heaven, the natural ſeat of his ſpecial Majeſty and Glory; he rules by a law perpetual and immutable, revealed from thence; the ſacrifices and adorations he requires are ſpiritual and inviſible for the moſt part and addreſſed thither; the privileges appertaining to the ſubjects of this Kingdom chiefly referr thither; they are allured to obedience by rewards to be conferred there; are withdrawn from diſobedience by penalties referring to a future ſtate: this ſtate therefore of things is called *the Kingdom of heaven*; *of God*; *of Chriſt*; that which * was coming and approaching in the time of our Saviour's humble ſojourning upon earth; is now preſent, he reigning in heaven, into which they are ſaid to be tranſlated; to have *acceſs unto the heavenly Jeruſalem*; to be *made fellow-citizens and co-heirs with the ſaints in light*; to have *their converſation in heaven*, to *partake a heavenly calling*, to be *ſeated together with Chriſt in heavenly places*; who with ſincere perſuaſion of mind embrace the doctrine of Chriſt, with firm reſolution ſubmit to his law, becoming thereby ſubjects of this heavenly Kingdom, undertaking the obligations, and partaking the privileges belonging thereto. This ſtate, I ſay,

* Ἡ ἐρχομένη βασιλεία, ἐγγίζει, &c.

Col. 1. 12, 13. Eph. 2. 19. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 3. 1. 12. 22.

I ſay, or relation is thus called; or (which comes to the ſame thing, and makes no alteration as to the matter in hand) taking the word *perſonally* (and concretely as it were) the ſociety of men put into ſuch a ſtate, the body of perſons ſtanding ſo related, (that is, the Church of Chriſt) may be called *the Kingdom of heaven.* This acception is ſo frequent and obvious that 'tis needleſs to cite inſtances or ſtand upon the confirmation thereof: but the phraſe is alſo ſometime taken for the perfection or utmoſt improvement of this ſtate; that αἰώνιος βασιλεία, *everlaſting Kingdom of our Lord, and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt*, (as St. *Peter* calls it) that ſtate of glory and bliſs into which all good Chriſtians, who ſhall through this temporal life perſiſt in faithfull obedience unto God, ſhall hereafter be received; that Kingdom into which *not every one, who ſaith Lord, Lord,* (who makes an external profeſſion or pretence) *but he that doeth the will of God, who is in heaven, ſhall enter.* Now whereas theſe two ſtates (one being a ſtate of grace and favour with God here; the other of glory and joy with God hereafter) are in their nature, and according to their prime intention inſeparably coherent; one being ſubordinate to the other; that as a ſtep or degree, a way or tendency to this; this a completion and conſummation of that; that being ſuppoſed as precedent in order to this, this in deſign conſequent upon that, therefore what immediately concerns one, doth by conſequence reſpect the other: and in our caſe a power to open or ſhut; to admit into, or exclude from the ſtate of grace may be ſuppoſed and ſaid, in a manner, conſequently to be a power of opening and ſhutting the ſtate of glory hereafter, and reciprocally, both jointly may be well underſtood in their kind and order. But ſince the perſons, to whom this power is imparted, do exerciſe it here (and what thou ſhalt bind or looſe upon earth, ſaith our Saviour, implying the uſe of that power which he promiſed to communicate to St. *Peter*) ſince the immediate effects thereof are here below, therefore it ſeems fit that we underſtand the Kingdom of heaven in our caſe more directly and immediately the preſent Kingdom of heaven, or ſtate of grace into which Chriſtians are here received (or if you pleaſe, the ſociety it ſelf of perſons ſo enſtated) though more remotely and by conſequence it may imply the ſtate of glory hereafter.

2 Pet. 1. 11.

Matt. 7. 21.

Acts 20. 24.

We ſhould therefore conſider how theſe ſtates (eſpecially that of grace here more immediately reſpected) may be opened or ſhut; how one man may be enabled or empowered to permit entrance, or debarr others from it; and this we may conceive effectible either by yielding ſome real furtherance on one ſide, or ſome effectual hindrance on the other in reſpect of getting into or abiding in this ſtate; or elſe by ſome formal act of judgment and authority, by vertue of which ſome are admitted to partake the rights and privileges of this ſtate, or ſome excluded and rendred incapable thereof. I ſay, firſt, by real furtherance or hinderance: as on the one ſide, they who inſtruct or ſhew the way: who perſuade; who encourage men to enter; who afford any means or opportunities, may be ſaid to open this ſtate (as in like manner it is ſaid that *God did open to the Gentiles a door of faith*; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *a great and effectual door was opened to him at Epheſus*, and another at *Troas*; and he exhorts the *Coloſſians* to pray *that God would open to him θύραν τοῦ λόγου, a door of preaching the myſtery of Chriſt*; where opening a door denotes miniſtring opportunities and advantages of performing the things ſpecified.) And on the other ſide they who keep from knowing the way, which leads thither; who diſſuade or diſcourage from entring; who ſubſtract the means, or prevent opportunities of doing it; who interpoſe obſtacles

Acts 14. 27. 1 Cor. 16. 9. 2 Cor. 2. 12. Col. 4. 3.

or

or obſtructions of difficulty, danger, or damage may be ſaid to ſhut, or exclude (thus are the Scribes ſaid *to ſhut the Kingdom of heaven,)* that Matt. 23. 13. is to hinder men from embracing the doctrine, or ſubmitting to the rule of Chriſt by diſcouraging them from giving attention and credence to what he taught (which is other-where called *taking away the Key of know-* Luk. 11. 52. *ledge)* as alſo by terrifying them from acknowledgment of the truth they ſaw and liked, by reproaches, perſecutions and puniſhments laid on them who did it. Thus may this ſtate be opened and ſhut; as alſo it may ſo by judicial and authoritative acts; by way of conſent and approbation declared; of deciſion and ſentence pronounced: in ſuch manner as we duly ſee men admitted into, and debarred from the ſtate of citizens and freemen (from enjoying in eſteem and effect the capacities, and immunities, belonging to the members of ſuch or ſuch ſocieties and corporations) by the conſent or diſſent, approbation or refuſal, decree or ſentence formally ſignified of perſons empowered to thoſe purpoſes. Now regarding the nature of that ſtate whereof we are ſpeaking, as to real furtherance, ſince reſpect to God's glory, and man's ſalvation obliges all men, to endeavour that men be brought into this ſtate, the ſame being in a ſpecial manner incumbent upon the governours and paſtors of the Church, therefore this may be conceived one way of opening or one part of this power; although to ſhut by way of real hindrance, in the manner deſcribed, cannot properly belong to any; duty and charity forbidding really and finally to obſtruct entrance into the ſtate of grace: the Scribes and Lawyers being blamed for not ſuffering men (otherwiſe willing and diſpoſed) to enter into the Kingdom of heaven. As to the other kind of opening and ſhutting by legal proceeding, as all perſons, according to charitable eſtimation, worthy and well qualified ought to be admitted thereinto; ſo neither according to the reaſon of the thing it ſelf, nor in regard to the publick benefit, nor reſpecting the good of the perſons pretending thereto, ſhould ſome be permitted to enjoy the communion thereof; therefore to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate ſuch perſons, the appointment and uſe of ſuch a power is requiſite. This will appear more plainly when we come to conſider the neceſſity and utility of this power. Farther,

3dly. For the phraſes equivalent, by which in places of the Goſpel moſt parallel this power is expreſſed and explained, they are eſpecially thoſe of binding and looſing; of retaining and remitting ſins: As for binding and looſing; when our Saviour had promiſed to beſtow upon St. *Peter* the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he ſignifies what effect the uſe of them ſhould produce, by adding conjunctively---*And whatever thou ſhalt bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and what thou ſhalt looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.*

Now *binding* may ſignifie any kind of determination, of reſtraint, of detention upon perſons or things; and looſing that which is oppoſite thereto, the leaving indifferent, laying open, ſetting free of any perſon or thing reſpectively. He that (having good authority to do ſo) injoins or prohibits any thing doth bind that thing, (determining its moral quality, making it to be good or bad, lawfull or unlawfull) and binds the perſons concerned to obſervation or abſtinence: he that permits the ſame thing to be done, or diſpenſes with its doing may be ſaid to looſe: Thus all laws are bonds, and are ſaid to oblige: and the removing or ſuſpending their force in whole or in part, (by abrogation, or diſpenſation or exception) is conſequently a looſing or relaxation and the power of binding and looſing thus would be a power legiſlative, of making and repealing

laws, and rules of action; and in ſome analogy hereto, the power (with authority and by office) of interpreting laws, that is, of determining and declaring what is commanded, what prohibited, what permitted, may be called a *power of binding and looſing* (and if we believe Mr. *Selden*, and *Grotius* perhaps from him (in 16 *Mat.*) is ſo commonly termed among Jewiſh writers) alſo the exerciſe of any juriſdiction, the deciſion of any caſe, the warding any amends to be done, any mulct to be impoſed, any puniſhment to be inflicted, is a binding: to which kind of binding it ſeems plain that place doth more particularly referr, wherein
Matt. 18. 18. our Saviour pronounces valid the arbitration between perſons in difference made by one or two friends; or (if that cannot terminate the controverſy) the final judgment of the Church, concerning which he with aſſeveration pronounces: *Amen (verily) I ſay unto you, that whatſoever ye* (a Church of you my diſciples) *ſhall (viz.* in this manner, by way of juriſdiction or arbitration) *bind upon earth, ſhall be bound in heaven; and whatſoever ye ſhall looſe upon earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven:* All your ſentences and deciſions (duly and impartially made) ſhall be valid and ratified by God himſelf. Alſo the reſult of any contract is an obligation, and they who make or enter into it do bind the parties concerned (themſelves and others.) Moreover the detaining any how under ones power or diſpoſal is binding, and the ſetting free thence a looſing anſwerable thereto,
Luk. 13. 16. Act. 10. 38. *ought not*, ſaith our Saviour, *this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound this eighteen years to be looſed from this bond on the ſabbath-day?* that which is here called *bound* by *Satan*, is otherwhere expreſs'd by καλῶς ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, being under the power and dominion of the Devil. Alſo binding may imply detaining in any preſent condition (as ſuppoſe: condition of guilt, of diſfavour, of obnoxiouſneſs to wrath and puniſhment, either *poſitively*, (by keeping on the ſhackles, which hold them) or *negatively* by withdrawing the means of getting out; and correſpondently looſing, is a freeing from ſuch a ſtate, by removing the cauſe which hindred, or applying the means which procure liberty. And to
Joh. 20. 23. this laſt ſence the other equivalent phraſe (uſed in St. *John* of *retaining* and *remitting of ſins*) doth ſeem to referr: *Whoſeſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſeſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained*; that is, whomſoever ye ſhall think fit to detain in a ſtate of guilt, to refuſe pardon and reconcilement unto, they ſhall continue in ſuch ſtate, they ſhall reſt deprived of thoſe benefits; whomſoever ye ſhall judge worthy to be abſolved from guilt and received unto favour, they ſhall effectually be pardoned and reconciled in God's ſight: your act in reſpect to that remiſſion or retention ſhall be approved and ratified in heaven. Now from theſe conſiderations concerning the name of this power, and the term or object thereof; and of the phraſes in ſome meaſure equivalent to that whereby it is expreſſed, although we may probably inferr ſomewhat concerning the nature thereof, yet the perfect nature, and full extent thereof ſeems beſt deducible from that which we muſt next conſider.

4. The practice and exerciſe of this power; which being by our Saviour committed to his Church, and to the Apoſtles as Governours thereof, and acting in its behalf, we cannot ſuppoſe they would act beyond or beſide it. What we ſee them (in way of office and authority) doing applicable and agreeable to the meaning of thoſe words, as hitherto in ſome ſort explained, we may well believe done by vertue of this power ſo expreſsly by our Lord beſtowed on them; and the like we may reaſonably ſuppoſe concerning the Church's nearly ſucceeding to their times that what they generally practiſed in way of government was by autho-

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rity not arbitrarily aſſumed to themſelves, but derived from Chriſt's donation and appointment; declared to be ſo, directed and determined to particular uſe by the Apoſtles; when they planted and ſettled each Church. Act. 2. 14 &c. 20. 18, &c.
Now for the Apoſtles practice, we find as (firſt) to the opening part of this power, that they did with great earneſtneſs and diligence labour to bring men into the Kingdom of Heaven by inſtruction, invitation and perſuaſion (not ſparing any pains, not regarding any difficulty, not ſhunning any danger for the effecting hereof;) *Not* (to uſe St. *Paul*'s words in the *Acts*) *keeping back any thing that was profitable, but ſhewing and teaching them publickly from houſe to houſe, thoroughly teſtifying both to Jews, and alſo to the Greeks repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* That having thus induced men, and qualified them to enter, (by entertaining the doctrine of Chriſt, and reſolution to live according thereto) they did actually admit them into this ſtate; by a ſolemn act, containing a ſymbolical repreſentation of the nature of this ſtate, with the benefits and privileges accompanying it; declaring the perſons ſo admitted to be received into a ſtate of entire favour with God; to be freed from all precedent guilt; to have all their ſins remitted and blotted out; to be redeemed from the power of darkneſs and tranſlated into the Act. 2. 38. 3. 9. Col. 2. 12, 13, &c. Rom. 4. 25. 1 Cor. 6. 11. Col. 1. 18.
Kingdom of Chriſt, God's beloved Son. That by conſtant exhortation to perſeverance, and progreſs in faith and obedience (againſt all temptations, perſecutions and ſeductions) in St. *Paul*'s words, *Warning every man, and teaching every man in all wiſdom, they might preſent* (or *render*) *every man perfect in Chriſt Jeſus:)* They did endeavour to preſerve and retain men in this ſtate; that when men being overborn by temptation of the fleſh, or perſecution of the world, or ſeduced by the cunning of falſe-teachers did decline, and were in danger of deſerting the profeſſion or practice agreeable to this ſtate, they did labour zealouſly to reclaim, and re-ſettle them therein: and, that ſuch having fallen from it of themſelves, or having been (by reaſon of their ſcandalous and contagious practice) in way of cenſure and puniſhment removed from it, they were ready (upon their repentance ſufficiently declared) to receive and reſtore them; re-inſtating them in their former condition, and remitting their offences: (*If any man*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *be prevented in a tranſgreſſion) ye that are ſpiritual, καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον, reſtore*, (re-eſtabliſh, ſet in a right and entire ſtate) *ſuch an one, in the ſpirit of meekneſs; conſidering thy ſelf leſt thou alſo be tempted:* and, *If any one doth not obey our words---mark ſuch an one, and do not converſe with him, that he may be aſhamed: however do not account him an enemy, but admoniſh him as a brother.)* And more plainly; St. *Paul* injoins the *Corinthians* to account a puniſhment impoſed upon a grievous offender ſufficient; that they *ſhould favour* (or indulge with, or forgive) *and comfort him; leſt he ſhould be ſwallowed up with grief*; that they ſhould *confirm love toward him*; declaring, that what favour they ſhould ſhew in ſuch caſes, he ſhould conſent and comply with him therein: And he otherwhere tells us, that the power he had beſtowed upon him by Chriſt, according to which he might, upon occaſion, uſe perſons ſeverely, was for edification, and not for deſtruction; that the extremeſt puniſhment inflicted (delivery to Gal. 6. 1. 2 Theſſ. 3. 14. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 8, 10. 2 Cor. 13. 10. 1 Cor. 5. 5. 1 Tim. 1. 20.
Satan, from whoſe dominion they were by entrance into Chriſt's Kingdom freed) was for deſtruction of the fleſh, *that the ſpirit might be ſaved in the day of judgment*; and that they *might learn not to blaſpheme*, intimating a reſtitution into this ſtate by repentance: And laſtly, whereas St. *Paul* adviſes *Timothy* not to *lay ſuddenly his hands upon any man, nor* (thereby) *to partake with other men's ſins*; he ſeems to intimate the practice of receiving offenders into full 1 Tim. 5. 22.

communion of the Church, and re-admittance into this state, signified by that ceremonious action. Thus did the Apostles use the Power of the Keys on one hand; opening, and admitting, and keeping within the state of Grace. We also shall find them shutting and excluding from it: by refusing and rejecting such as were not worthy and * well disposed for it; withdrawing the means of instruction, and persuasion; not *casting their pearls to swine; shaking the dust off their feet, when men* (as it is in the *Acts) did thrust away the Word of God, and did not judge themselves worthy of eternal life.* We find them also exercising authority upon such as were admitted; dealing severely with persons walking disorderly in any kind of lewd and vicious practice; disobeying their words and orders; making divisions and scandals; breathing false and bad doctrines, contrary to that which they had taught: such they injoin Christians to decline from, and avoid all communion and conversation with them: such as bad leaven, they command to be purged out from the Christian congregations; to be taken from among them; to be delivered up to Satan. Thus did they shut the Kingdom of Heaven; and so, according to their example and order (as we should in reason suppose) did the Governours of the Christian Church after them both open and shut it: opening it by baptism (which the Fathers sometime expressly call κλεὶς βασιλείας, *the Key of Heaven)* and receiving persons well instructed and well disposed into it; opening it again by receiving persons, who had been for heinous offences put out, upon due testification and reasonable assurance of their amendment and repentance; and shutting it upon persons unfit to enter; separating and excluding from it such as notoriously misbehaved themselves therein, to the dishonour, disturbance, and detriment of the Church. I cannot insist upon particulars, nor stand to produce testimonies concerning them; let one clear passage (as to the latter part, *shutting*) out of *Tertullian*'s Apologetick, wherein he declares the manner commonly practised in the Christian Churches, suffice. *Certè* (saith he) *fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus; ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divina; nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summúmque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ità deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegetur.*

5. As for the rise and occasion of this power (beside the necessity and utility thereof, which might cause it to be appointed) we may consider, that as all (or the greater part) of institutions and ceremonies practised among Christians; as the whole frame of government in their Churches seem to have been drawn from, or according to the pattern of God's ancient Church; (Christianity not affecting novelty or difference from that, but so far as consisted with its main design of reforming men's minds, and promoting the spiritual service of God, and suited with reason or expediency, endeavouring conformity to it and resemblance thereof;) so it seems our Saviour in this particular did but accommodate and vest in the governours of his Church a power used in that of the *Jews*; for we shall find this power in its several parts not only represented in type, but expressed in direct and real practice. We see that the Jewish Church was opened to Proselytes by circumcision, by washing, by expiatory sacrifices; that unclean and leprous persons were excluded from the camp and congregation; prohibited contest and conversation, that they might not annoy or infect those which were pure and sound; that upon their recovery and purification they were restored to society and conversation; that

* Εὐθετοι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Luk. 9. 62. Act. 13. 46, 51. 18. 6.

Rom. 16. 17, &c. 2 Thess. 2. 3. 1 Cor. 5. 7. 2. 11.

Bas. Naz. &c.

Cap. 38.

Numb. 15. 2.

Levit. 14.

that that Church was wholly shut upon enormous offenders, (such who could not be kept in order, who presumptuously neglected some great duty, or violated some great commandment; who disgraced the Religion by scandalous practice, or disturbed the peace by contumacious carriage, refusing to hear the Judge and the Priest;) that, I say, such persons were quite shut out by total extermination and excision. We find also several degrees of Ecclesiastical censure (answerable to the degrees of offence) practised among them; alluded to in the New Testament; separating from communion and converse; exclusion from the synagogue; anathematizing or imprecating, and devoting to God's judgment: the practice of which things being grounded in reason, and suitable to the state of the Christian Church, (as well as to that of the Jews) and conducible to the welfare thereof, 'tis no wonder a power of doing the like was granted unto the Christian Church, and exercised by the super-intendency thereof. But these things I cannot stand to pursue minutely and distinctly.

Vid. Ez. 10.8. Luk. 6.22. Joh. 11.22. 12.42. Gal. 1.8,9, &c.

I should, lastly, consider the necessity and usefulness of this power; how necessary and conducible it is to promote the ends of Christian Religion; to preserve the honour of the Church, and of its Governours; to secure the members thereof from contagion of bad manners and influences of bad example; to maintain good order and peace; to restrain from offending; and reform them that shall offend; and to the like purposes. But I shall leave this Point to your farther consideration.

The forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; the life everlasting.

THat it is the natural condition of mankind, to lie under a violent proclivity (or rather an unavoidable necessity) of frequently transgressing the plainest dictates of reason, the surest rules of equity, however fortified by the authority of God himself; commanding and requiring duty, promising reward, and threatning punishment, continual experience shews; that hereby men do not only much disgrace and abuse themselves (doing against the dignity of their nature and their own particular welfare) but highly injure, dishonour, and ill requite God (their Maker, their natural Lord, their Benefactour, from whom they have received their being, under whose power they wholly are, to whom they owe all their Good; and consequently to whom all obedience, respect, and gratitude is due from them) is also manifest; their own consciences will tell them so much; their own reason will therefore condemn them; that hereby they are involved in a state of guilt and debt, become obnoxious to the just wrath and vengeance of God, beyond all possibility of making (by themselves) any reparation or satisfaction; (for they are more apt to incurr new, than able to make amends for old blame; to accumulate more than to discharge foregoing debts;) that hence they must fall into a condition of restless fear and inextricable perplexity of mind, dreading the effects of divine justice and vengeance, sometime to come upon them; that there cannot in reality be any other relief or deliverance from this distress than from the benignity of God disposing him to bear patiently, to forgive mercifully these offences; not in their apprehension any such relief (any freedom from such discomfort and anxiety) than from a plain signification of God's being so graciously disposed, is also clear from the same light. Now of such a disposition in God (to be appeased and to pardon offences) we find a general presumption among those who have had any knowledge or opinion concerning God,

Deut. 32.6.

ἔνοχοι. Rom. 5.19.

Testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ. *Tert.*

God, (drawn, I suppose, partly from primitive tradition, partly from experience of God's forbearance to punish and continuance to bestow the common benefits of Providence upon offenders, partly from an opinion that bounty and clemency are perfections and excellencies worthy of God, or lastly, from a natural inclination in men (necessary to that quiet and comfort of their minds, to flatter themselves with pleasing hopes;) we find, I say, such a general presumption concerning God's disposition to be reconcilable and mercifull to offenders; especially upon their acknowledgment of guilt and need of favour, together with a declaration of their willingness to make him such amends as they are able to do: such a presumption to have been that universal custom of presenting sacrifices and †obligations to God doth sufficiently shew: which implied in them who presented them a confession of guilt to be expiated, of punishment to be deserved (such as was represented in the destruction of a living creature,) as also a desire of making satisfaction (intimated by their cheerfull parting with somewhat dear and valuable to them;) upon which considerations of humble acknowledgment, of willingness to satisfy in a manner so signal and solemn, declared they did hope God's wrath would be appeased and his judgments averted from them: Such it seems was the common presumption of mankind; which yet could not satisfy or quiet the minds of them who should consider, that as such performances could not really take away guilt, nor sufficiently repair those inestimable wrongs and affronts put upon God, so God had never plainly declared his intention to consider or accept them: so that in effect their opinion was somewhat unreasonable, and their hope groundless. This observation I propound as yielding a good argument (the general consent of mankind) to prove that the doctrine (concerning remission of sins obtainable from God) is a fundamental point, and a principal part of all Religion, and that yet (as to any solid and certain ground of believing or hoping it) it is peculiar to Christian Religion; God never before the revelation Evangelical) having clearly and fully signified, that he would pardon offences (at least all of them, heinous and presumptuous offences) committed against him. What God would have done he had taught partly by a natural law and light implanted in every man's soul, partly by express promulgation made to the Patriarchs of old, and derived to posterity from them by tradition; how men in respect thereto behaved themselves, their conscience (*accusing or excusing them*) could testify; but how, in case of transgressing those dictates and laws, he would deal with them, he never plainly had discovered. Indeed the Jewish dispensation (which was particular and preparatory to Christianity) did appoint and accept Expiations for some lesser faults, committed out of ignorance and infirmity; but did not pretend to justify from all things (as St. *Paul* in the *Acts* speaks) nor promise or give hope of pardon upon any terms for great presumptuous sins committed wilfully, with a high hand: it rather threatens an indelible continuance of guilt upon an extreme and inevitable vengeance against the perpetrators of them: *The soul* (saith the Law) *that doth presumptuously, the same reproacheth the Lord, and that soul shall be cut off from among his people: Because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken his commandment, that soul shall utterly be cut off,* (by God's special Providence) *his iniquity shall be upon him.* And we know how solemn and dreadfull imprecations were pronounced against not only the transgressours of some particular laws, but generally against all those who did *not continue in all things written in the law to do them:* so that the remission tendred by *Moses* was of a very narrow extent, and such as could

† oblations

Rom. 2.

Gal. 3.
Numb. 15. 27, &c.

Act. 13. 38.

Numb. 15. 30.

Deut. 27. 26.
Gal. 3. 10.

could hardly exempt any man from obligation to and fear of puniſhment; Indeed, to prevent utter deſpair, and that which is naturally conſequent thereupon, a total neglect of duty; God was pleaſed by his Prophets among that people occaſionally to intimate ſomething of farther grace reſerved, and that he was willing (upon condition of humble and ſincere repentance) to receive even thoſe, who were guilty of the higheſt offences, to mercy. But theſe diſcoveries, as they were ſpecial and extraordinary, ſo were they farther preparatory to the Goſpel, and as dawnings to that bright day of grace, which did by Chriſt ſpread its comfortable light over the world, revealing to mankind a general capacity of God's favour, (procured in a manner admirable and ſtrange) obtainable by means declared, upon terms propounded therein. Luk. 1. 77, 78. 2 Cor. 6. 2.

Thereby is fully and clearly manifeſted to us how God in free mercy and pity to us (all our works being unworthy of any acceptance, all our ſacrifices unfit in the leaſt part to ſatisfy for our offences) was pleaſed himſelf to provide an obedience worthy of his acceptance, and thoroughly well-pleaſing to him (imputable to us as performed by one of our kind and race; and apt to appeaſe God's juſt wrath againſt ſuch a generation of rebels) to provide a ſacrifice in nature ſo pure, in value ſo precious, as might be perfectly ſatisfactory for our offences: in regard to which obedience God is become reconciled, and opens his arms of grace to mankind; in reſpect to which ſacrifice, he tenders remiſſion to all men, that upon his terms (moſt equal and eaſie terms) are willing to embrace it. This is the great doctrine, ſo peculiar to the Goſpel, from whence eſpecially it hath its name; from whence it is ſtyled *the Goſpel of grace*; *this is the good tidings of great joy to all people*, which the Angel firſt preached at our Saviour's birth; which the Apoſtles were ordained *to preach and teſtify unto all nations* as the main point of Chriſtian Religion (that in our Saviour's name *repentance and remiſſion of ſins ſhould be preached unto all nations*) that God had *exalted him to his right hand as a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance unto Iſrael, and remiſſion of ſins*: (to give repentance, that is to give μετανοίας τόπον, *i. e.* a room for repentance in order to mercy, to make it acceptable and available for the remiſſion of ſins:) *God* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *did conclude all men under diſobedience, that he might have mercy upon all: All men have ſinned and are come ſhort of the glory of God; But, we are juſtified freely by his grace, by the redemption which is in Chriſt Jeſus; whom God hath propounded a propitiatory by faith in his bloud, for the demonſtration of his righteouſneſs, toward the forgiveneſs of fore-paſt offences.* In which words of St. *Paul*, all things concerning the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe are expreſſed or implied: the nature of it (freeing us from guilt, and rendring us juſt in God's ſight,) the cauſes whence it ſprang; the external impulſive in reſpect of God, or occaſion thereof, our neceſſity and miſery; the internal impulſive, God's grace, and free goodneſs; alſo the meritorious cauſe, procuring it (our Saviour's obedience, and ſuffering; whereby he did make atonement for our ſins,) the ends whither it tends (the demonſtration of God's goodneſs, and his juſtice; or of his mercifull juſtice, ſignified by the word δικαιοσύνη;) the terms and condition, upon complyance with, or performance of which the effect of it ſhould follow; (Faith, that is a ſincere embracement, or hearty perſuaſion concerning the truth of that doctrine or revelation, which offered it; implying alſo a firm reſolution to ſubmit to the yoke of Chriſt, and obey his righteous laws;) laſtly, the means of conveying, declaring, and confirming it (implied by the words, πάρεσις προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων, the remiſſion of fore-paſt ſins; ſuch as was ſolemnly exhibited, ſignified, ratified

Vid. Lu. 1. 77. Act. 20. 24. Luk. 2. 10. Luk. 24 47, 48. Act. 5. 31. Heb. 12. 17. Act. 13. 38. 1 Joh. 2. 12. Rom. 11. 32. Gal. 3. 22. Rom. 3. 4, 5, &c.

ratified in the Church-miniſteries of baptiſm, abſolution, and reconciliation upon penance and confeſſion; eſpecially the firſt.) Theſe things I cannot inſiſt upon particularly or diſtinctly, nor do much need to do ſo, having had occaſion to conſider moſt of them formerly in theſe diſcourſes, eſpecially when we ſpake concerning the ſalvation procured by Jeſus, the ſacerdotal office of Chriſt, the death and paſſion of our Saviour: I ſhall therefore only now briefly touch (that which ſeems here ſpecially referred to) the ordinary manner of conveying this great grace to men, by the miniſtery of the Church. To which purpoſe we may conſider, that although it be true that God generally propounds remiſſion of ſins (upon
Act. 26. 20. account of our Saviour's performances and in his name) to *all that truly*
3. 19. *repent and turn unto him*; that he chiefly grants it upon this conſideration; nor with-holds it from any upon the blameleſs default of any other performance; yet he requires (and to comply with his will therein, is part of duty which the repentance mentioned diſpoſes to, and is declared by;) God requires, I ſay, (as well for the publick edification and the honour of the Church, as for the comfort and advantage of the perſons more immediately concerned herein) that this repentance,

1. Be publickly declared and approved by the Church; that this remiſſion be ſolemnly and formally imparted by the hands of God's Miniſters, declared by expreſs words, or ratified by certain ſeals, and ſignified by myſterious repreſentations appointed by God: Thus hath every man (upon declaration of his real faith and repentance, to the ſatisfaction of
Acts 2. 38. the Church) being admitted to baptiſm, the entire forgiveneſs of his
3. 19. ſins, and reception into God's favour, conſigned unto him therein; confirmed and repreſented by a viſible ſign, ſhewing, that as by water the body is waſhed and cleanſed from adherent filth, ſo by the grace then imparted, the ſouls of them (upon whom that myſtical rite is performed)
Act. 3 19. are cleared from the guilts that ſtained it, *their ſins are wiped out* ('tis
Heb. 10. 22. St. *Peter*'s expreſſion in the *Acts*) *their hearts are ſprinkled from an evil*
1 Pet. 3. 21. *conſcience* (as it is in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*) *they are ſaved* (or put into a ſtate of ſalvation; as St. *Peter* aſſures us.)

2. Likewiſe, if Chriſtian men having fallen into ſin, or failed of duty toward God, do ſeriouſly confeſs their fault, and heartily repent thereof, when the Miniſters of the Church in God's name and for Chriſt's ſake do declare (or pronounce) to them ſo doing, or ſo qualified, the pardon of their ſin, and abſolve them from it; we need not doubt that their ſins are really forgiven, and the pardon expreſſed in words, is effectually diſpenſed unto them.

3. Moreover, if perſons having committed notorious enormities, ad-
1 Joh. 5. 16. judged of a deadly and deſtructive nature (*ſins unto death*, St. *John* calls them) inconſiſtent with the ſtate of grace, and ſcandalous to the Chriſtian profeſſion, are therefore juſtly ſecluded from communion of the Church; when upon ſubmiſſion to the penances injoined, and ſatisfactory demonſtrations of repentance, they are reſumed into the boſom of the Church, we may be aſſured that (according to the Catholick reſolution againſt the *Novatians*;) ſuppoſing the repentance true and real, their ſins are remitted, and they reſtored to a ſtate of grace: For ſince God hath
Ezek. 18. 21, expreſsly declared, that if the *wicked will turn from all his ſins that he hath*
22, 27, 30. *committed, and keep all God's ſtatutes, and do that which is lawfull and right,*
Eſ. 1. 16, 17, 18. *he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not die; All his tranſgreſſions that he hath committed, they ſhall not be mentioned unto him;—he ſhall ſave his ſoul alive*
Matt. 18. 13. *---iniquity ſhall not be his ruin*---that if we *waſh our ſelves, and make our*
Luk. 15. *ſelves clean, and put away the evil of our doings from God's eyes, and ceaſe*

to

to do evil----Though our ſins be as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as ſnow; though they be red like crimſon, they ſhall be as wool. Since God *delights not in the death of any ſinner, but rather deſires that all men ſhould be ſaved:* Since our Saviour intimates the ſatisfaction he hath in *finding the ſheep* that had erred from his fold; and God is ſo highly pleaſed with the *return of a prodigal ſon* (that had ſpent abroad all his ſuſtenance in riot) *home to his houſe:* Since our Saviour's performances are in value and vertue ſufficient to expiate for the greateſt offences, to redeem the moſt grievous ſinners; *ſo that if any man ſins, he hath,* upon due repentance, *an advocate with the father:* Since the deſign of ſuch puniſhments, inflicted upon offenders, reſpects edification, not deſtruction; and procures the ruin of the fleſh that the ſpirit may be ſaved: Theſe things, I ſay, being conſidered, the Church (to which the publick and ordinary diſpenſation of God's grace, according to the diſpoſitions and conditions which he hath declared to require in order to men's becoming capable thereof, is committed) hath ſufficient warrant to receive ſuch perſons into a ſtate of grace and reconciliation with God; ſo that we need not doubt but *whoſe ſins they* ſhall thus *remit, ſhall* in effect (according to our Saviour's word) *be remitted*; *whom they* ſhall thus *abſolve on earth,* they *ſhall be abſolved in heaven.* But theſe things I have formerly touched, in diſcourſing upon the Power of the Keys; I ſhall only add a few words concerning the uſe and practical influence of this Point, being believed and conſidered, ſhould have upon us. And,

1 Joh. 2. 2. 1 Cor. 13. 10. 1 Cor. 5. 5. Joh. 29. 23. Matt. 18. 18.

1. It ſhould engage us to admire the goodneſs of God; and with grateful hearts to praiſe him for it; if we ſhould offer the higheſt injuries, affronts, and deſpights to the Majeſty of an earthly Prince among us (ſo infinitely inferiour to that of God) we ſhould have reaſon to admire his goodneſs and clemency, did he paſs them over, did he not with extreme ſeverity avenge them: there can be no higher than thoſe we have offered to Almighty God (none capable in any compariſon of ſuch aggravations) how unexpreſſibly great therefore is his goodneſs that freely offers us pardon; that earneſtly invites and intreats us to accept it; that hath been at ſuch an expence, and condeſcended ſo low to purchaſe for us the means thereof? It is ὑπερβάλλουσα χάρις, an exceſſive grace of God; ὑπερβάλλων πλοῦτος χάριτος, an exceſſive riches of grace; ἀνεκδιήγητος δωρεὰ *(an unutterable gift)* of God, as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh: Let us conſider our ſtate, and the nature of God, with the aggravations of our offences grounded on them, and we ſhall in ſome meaſure perceive it ſo; and what thankfulneſs we are conſequently obliged to render.

2 Cor. 9. 14, 15. Eph. 2. 7.

2. It ſhould beget in us as gratefull reſpect, ſo ardent love to God, in proportion to the favour we have received: It was his love that moved him to forgive us our ſins *(God being rich in mercy, for his great love, with which he loved us, did quicken us with Chriſt, who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins.)* And to this love of pity in God, ſhould anſwer a love of reverence in us toward ſo gracious a Lord. Our Saviour you know propounds the queſtion to St. *Peter* concerning two debtours, of whom one did owe 50, the other 500 pence; and both being forgiven by the creditour, *whom he thought of the two ſhould love him moſt:* he anſwers according to the plain dictate of nature, *he to whom moſt was forgiven:* and our Saviour approves his anſwer with an ὀρθῶς ἔκρινας, *Thou haſt judged rightly:* And the Holy Penitent *(Mary Magdalen) becauſe many ſins were forgiven her, therefore did love much:* ſo doth reaſon and example oblige us to do.

Eph. 2. 4. Luk. 7. 41. & 47.

3. It affords matter of comfort to us; a comfortable ſenſe of mercy conferred; a comfortable hope of mercy to be obtained: *Bleſſed is he* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *whoſe tranſgreſſion is forgiven, whoſe ſin is pardoned---Bleſſed is the man, unto whom the Lord imputeth no iniquity---Being juſtified by faith, we have peace with God.* All good Chriſtians are in this bleſſed ſtate, and may enjoy a delightfull ſatisfaction in reflecting thereupon, able to ſupport them againſt all other occaſions of ſorrow or diſpleaſure that may befall them; and, it will fortify us againſt deſpair to conſider, that however God hath been offended by our ſins, he will be appeaſed by our repentance; ſo that our ſins ſhall be blotted out and vaniſh as a thick cloud, which paſſing away, leaves a ſerene sky behind it. *If any man ſin, we have an advocate*, &c.

Pſal. 32. 1, 2. Rom. 5. 1. Iſa. 44. 22.

4. It is alſo an engagement to obedience: *Behold*, (ſaid our Saviour to the diſeaſed man) *thou art made whole, ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing come upon thee.* Having obtained a cure and ſtate of health by God's grace, we by relapſing into ſin, expoſe our ſelves to greater danger, we incurr deeper guilt: Our ſtate, though not wholly deſperate, becomes very perillous. 'Tis better continuing in the ſhip, than committing our ſafety to a plank.

Joh. 5. 14. Pœnitentia tabula poſt naufragium. *Tertull.*

5. Laſtly, the conſideration of this point will ſhew us how much we are obliged (in conformity and compliance with God) to bear with and forgive the offences or injuries done againſt us; you know how ſtrongly our Saviour preſſes the conſideration of God's free pardon beſtowed on us to this purpoſe: How he ſets out the unreaſonableneſs and diſ-ingenuity of them which are *hard-hearted toward their brethren and fellow-ſervant in this caſe*; how he threatens unavoidable ſeverity toward thoſe, who *do not from their hearts forgive their brethren their treſpaſſes*, and promiſe remiſſion of ſins, *to them who* (according to what they in their prayers profeſs themſelves to do) *ſhall forgive to men the offences committed againſt them*; making it not only an indiſpenſible condition, but (as it were) a means of obtaining God's mercy and favour. But I leave it to your meditation to make farther profitable deductions from this point. So I proceed:

Matt. 18. 6. Matt. 18. 35. Matt. 6. 14.

The reſurrection of the body.

Τῆς σαρκὸς, *of the fleſh*, it is in Greek; which comes to the ſame; the immortality or ſurviving of the ſoul after death (as being a foundation of receiving reward and puniſhment for men's deeds in this life) hath been in all Religions (except perchance that of the ancient Jews; but they afterwards found it neceſſary to ſuppoſe this point---when they found the moſt pious obnoxious to greateſt affliction, which propounded great rewards and puniſhments in this life, aſſuring that Providence which diſpenſed them, by ſenſible experiments) hath been, I ſay almoſt in all Religions deemed a neceſſary principle, as the moſt potent excitement to vertue; the moſt powerful determent from wickedneſs, the moſt ſatisfactory ground of reſolving difficulties concerning the nature and providence of God; which general conſent (running through all ancient Religions) according to that of *Cicero*, *Permanere animos arbitramur conſenſu nationum omnium*, argueth it not only agreeable to common reaſon, but deduced from original tradition; without which (conſidering the variable diſpoſitions and capacities of mankind) it is hard to conceive ſo many Nations ſhould unanimouſly conſpire in an opinion of that nature (ſo removed from ſenſe) however reaſonable. Indeed the

Vid. Maccab. Tuſc. 1.

the Philoſophers, men affecting to ſoar above the pitch of vulgar apprehenſion, and who perceiving the great ſuperſtition and vanity immixt with common Religions (as they had been by fraud and folly corrupted, and become degenerate from primitive tradition) did not ſcruple to call any thing delivered in them to queſtion, and to determine about them according to reaſons offering themſelves, did differ herein; yet ſo as ſcarce any, who acknowledged a Divinity, which (having made and governing the World, and to whom therefore reverence and ſervice from men was due) did not approve and aſſert it; as indeed they muſt needs do in conſonance to their opinion concerning God; all arguments upon which Religion is built, inferring it; which they did endeavour farther to confirm by reaſons, drawn from the nature of man, which you may ſee collected and elegantly urged by *Cicero* in the firſt of his *Tuſculane* Queſtions: which arguments yet we may perceive had not ſo great an efficacy either upon him, or upon *Socrates* himſelf (the firſt great promoter of this doctrine as deducible from reaſon) that they were thoroughly confident of its truth, and freed from all doubt concerning it. The certainty thereof we owe to Chriſtianity alone, and to his inſtruction, *who brought life and immortality* (that is, immortal life) *to light:* It plainly teaches us, that when we die, we ſhall not wholly periſh like brute beaſts (or other natural bodies, when they are diſſolved) that our ſouls do not vaniſh into nothing, nor are reſolved into inviſible principles, but return into God's hand, and the place by him appointed for them; there continuing in that life, which is proper to a ſoul. This Chriſtianity teacheth us; and not only ſo, but farther, that our bodies themſelves ſhall be raiſed again out of their duſt and corruption; and our ſouls ſhall be re-united to them; and our perſons reſtored to their perfect integrity of nature: the bringing of which effects to paſs, by the divine power is called moſt commonly *the reſurrection of the dead*, (or *from the dead*, ἐκ νεκρῶν) and ſimply *the reſurrection*; ſometimes *the regeneration* (or iterated nativity) and *being born from the dead*; which names plainly imply a reſpect to the body, and to the perſon of a man, as conſtituted of body and ſoul: the meer permanency of our ſouls in being and life, could not be called (with any propriety or truth) *a reſurrection*; that which never had fallen, could not be ſaid to be raiſed up; that which did never die, could not be reſtored from death; nor could men be ſaid to riſe again but in reſpect to that part, or that ſtate, which had fallen and ceaſed to be: And as to be *born at firſt* ſignifies the production and union of the parts eſſential to a man, body and ſoul, ſo to be *born again* implies the reſtitution and re-union of the ſame; a man becoming thereby the ſame entire perſon, which he was before. The ſame is alſo ſometimes ſignified in terms more formal and expreſs: *the quickning of the dead; the vivification of our mortal bodies; the redemption of our body; this corruptible* (τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο, this very ſame corruptible) *putting on immortality; thoſe which are in the Graves hearing Chriſt's voice, and proceeding forth to reſurrection of life or judgment; The awaking of them which ſleep in the duſt of the earth; The ſea, the death, the hell* (or univerſal Grave) *yielding up their dead:* which expreſſions, and the like, occurring, moſt clearly and fully prove the reſtitution of the body, and its re-union with the ſoul, and the perſon becoming in ſubſtance completely the ſame that he was; which truth of all perhaps, which Chriſtianity revealed, as moſt new and ſtrange, was the hardlieſt received, and found moſt oppoſition among the Heathens, eſpecially Philoſophers. *Hearing the reſurrection of the dead, ſome of them mocked; others ſaid, We will hear thee again about this:* ſo was St. *Paul's* diſcourſe entertained among

2 Tim. 1. 10.

ἐγείρειν. Heb. 11. 19.
ἀναγαγεῖν. Heb. 13. 20.
Matt. 19. 28. Coloſ. 1. 18. Apoc. 1.

Rom. 4. 17. 8. 11, 23.
2 Cor. 5. 2, &c.
1 Cor. 15. 53.
Joh. 5. 28.
Dan. 12. 2.
Apoc. 20. 13.

Act. 17. 32.

among the *Athenians*; ſome derided it as (it ſeems) conceiving it a thing altogether impoſſible, or very improbable to happen; they did not ſee how it could, why it ſhould be done (as *Pliny*, ſome-where counting the revolution of the dead to life, a thing impoſſible to be performed, other-where a *childiſh foppery to ſuppoſe it;) but why it ſhould be impoſſible to the divine power, no good reaſon can be aſſigned: To recollect the diſperſed parts of a man's body; to diſpoſe them into their due order; to reduce them unto a temper fit to ſerve vital functions; to re-join the ſoul unto the body ſo reſtored, why ſhould it be impoſſible, why ſeem hard to him, who firſt framed and temper'd our body out of the duſt, and inſpired the ſoul into it? yea to him, who out of meer confuſion digeſted the whole world into ſo wonderfull an order and harmony? to him that into a dead lump of earth inſerted ſuch varieties of life? that from ſeeds buried in the ground, and corrupted there, cauſes ſuch goodly plants to ſpring forth? that hath made all nature to ſubſiſt by continual viciſſitudes of life and death? every morning (as it were) and every ſpring repreſenting a general reſurrection: [*Ah Lord God* (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*) *thou haſt made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and ſtretched-out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee:* (too hard for omniſcient wiſdom to contrive, for omnipotent ſtrength to execute.)] And what difficulties ſoever fancy may ſuggeſt, can we doubt of that to be poſſible, which experience ſhews us to be done? Let that paſſage in the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſuffice, concerning very dry bones ſcattered about in an open field, which at God's word came together and united in order; the ſinews and the fleſh coming upon them, and the skin covering them; and laſtly, breath coming into them, ſo that they lived and ſtood upon their feet an exceeding great Army; whether we ſuppoſe it to be a parable or a hiſtory, to relate to the laſt reſurrection or not, implies yet a poſſibility of ſuch a reſurrection, and yields a lively reſemblance thereof: But more plainly do many inſtances of particular reſurrections, for the confirmation of our faith recorded in Scripture: *Women* (ſaith the Author to the *Hebrews*) *received their dead by reſurrection*; relating to the Widow of *Sarepta*'s child, who by *Elias*'s prayer did revive; and the *Shunamites* child raiſed by *Eliſha*; to which might be added the man, who being let down into *Eliſha*'s Sepulchre, and touching the bones of that Prophet, did revive and ſtand upon his feet: And in the New Teſtament we have likewiſe divers examples of perſons by our Saviour raiſed and reſtored from death to life, *Jairus* his daughter, the young man of *Naim*, *Lazarus* (who had been four days dead, in which time bodies come to putrefie and ſmell) and more remarkably 'tis ſaid in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, that at our Saviour's death *many tombs were opened, and many bodies of Saints, that had departed, roſe; and coming out of the tombs* (after our Saviour's reſurrection) *entred into the Holy City, and did appear to many* (or publickly; a clear and full experiment of a miraculous reſurrection, like to that we believe: But above all, our Saviour's reſurrection may confirm our faith herein, it being deſigned to that purpoſe, πίστιν παρεχόμενον πᾶσιν, *God holding forth* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *a convincing argument to all of the reſurrection* (and other appendant verities taught in the Goſpel) *raiſing him up from the dead: And if Chriſt be preached that he roſe from the dead; how ſay ſome, that there is no reſurrection of the dead?* how can any man deny that to be poſſible, which is ſo really exemplified? nay, how can we doubt that we ſhall follow, when we ſee him going before; as the *captain of life*; as *our fore-runner*; as *the firſt-fruits of them that ſleep*, and *firſt-born from the dead*, as that ſecond *Adam*,

Vid. Orig. c. Celſ. I.

Nat. Hiſt. II. 7. VII. 55.

* Puerile deliramentum.

1 Cor. 15. 36, &c.

Jer. 32. 17.

Eze. 37. 1, &c.

Heb. 11. 35.

1 King. 17. 23.

2 King. 4. 36.

2 King. 13. 21.

Joh. 11. 39.

Matt. 27. 52.

τοῖς πολλοῖς.

Act. 17. 32.

1 Cor. 15. 10.

1 Cor. 15. 21. 22. 49.

Adam, whom it is congruous that we ſhould all conform to in the reſtitution of our nature, as we did to the firſt *Adam* in the decay thereof; that we ſhould live by him, as we died by the other; and bear the image of the heavenly immortal man, as we did that of the earthly and mortal one: Neither (as not impoſſible ſo) can this reſurrection be ſhewed improbable, or implauſible, but rather very conſonant to the reaſon of the thing. Man, according to original deſign and frame, doth conſiſt of ſoul and body; thoſe parts have a natural relation, an aptitude, and an appetite (it ſeems by their unwillingneſs to part) to cohabit, communicate, and co-operate with each other: many actions very proper to man's nature cannot be performed without their conjunctions, concurrence, many capacities of joy and comfort (with their contraries) reſult thence: the ſeparation of them we ſee how violent and repugnant it is to nature; and we are taught that it is penal, and a conſequent of ſin; and therefore cannot be good and perfect. No wonder then, that God deſigning to reſtore man to his ancient integrity, and more (to a higher perfection) to reward him with all the felicity his nature is capable of, (on one hand I mean, as on the other hand to puniſh and afflict him according to his demerit) ſhould raiſe the body and re-join it to the ſoul, that it might contribute its natural ſubſerviency to ſuch enjoyments and ſufferings reſpectively: not to omit the congruity in juſtice, that the bodies which did partake in works of obedience and holineſs, or of diſobedience and prophaneneſs (which, in St. *Paul*'s language, were either ſlaves to impurity and iniquity, or *ſervants of righteouſneſs unto ſanctification*) ſhould alſo partake in ſuitable recompences; that the body which endured grievous pains for righteouſneſs, ſhould enjoy comfortable refreſhments; that which wallowed in unlawfull pleaſures ſhould undergo juſt torments. Rom. 6. 19. Tertul. Apol. &c.

I omit (the time ſo requiring) many conſiderations pertinent to this purpoſe: I ſhall only add, what we farther learn in Scripture (which alſo the reaſon of the thing would teach us) concerning this point; that as the bodies of men ſhall be raiſed the ſame in ſubſtance, ſo they ſhall be much altered in quality: for whereas according to their preſent temper and frame our bodies are frail and weak, apt by every ſmall impreſſion upon them to be broken, or impaired, needing continual reparation, and notwithſtanding all means uſed to preſerve them growing to decay and diſſolution; and whereas they are deſtined after their reſurrection, to a continual abiding in joy or pain; it is neceſſary they ſhould be ſo changed as that they may be fit without decay to enjoy thoſe everlaſting comforts, able without diſſolution to undergo thoſe endleſs pains: and particularly farther, whereas the body here doth clog the ſoul, doth excite troubleſome paſſions, doth incline to ſenſual deſire, doth require much care to preſerve and pleaſe it; ſuch things being inconſiſtent with or prejudicial to that ſtate of ſpiritual reſt and joy, which good men are deſtined to; a change muſt needs be made therein, preventive of ſuch inconveniencies: *for* (as St. *Paul* ſaith) *fleſh and bloud* (a body ſo brittle and paſſible, ſo apt to be affected by, ſo addicted to ſenſible goods) *cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*; *nor can corruption inherit incorruption*; *but this corruptible muſt put on incorruption, and this mortal muſt put on immortality*; *the dead muſt be raiſed incorruptible*; there muſt be a very ſudden mutation (ſo St. *Paul* in ſeveral places expreſsly tells us) a metamorphoſis into a reſemblance with Chriſt's glory; *a tranſfiguration of our vile body into conformity with his glorious body*. *Our body is ſown in corruption, it ſhall be raiſed in incorruption*; *it is ſown in diſhonour, raiſed in glory*; *ſown in weakneſs, raiſed in power*; *ſown a natural body, raiſed a ſpiritual*. But ſo much concerning the Reſurrection, I proceed to that which follows thereupon. 1 Cor. 15. 50, 53. 49. 52. 1 Cor. 15. 52. 1 Theſſ. 4. 15, 16, 17. 2 Cor. 3. 18. Phil. 3. 21. Vid. 1 Cor. 15. 42, 43, 44.

Life

Life everlasting.

THE immediate consequent of the Resurrection (common to just and unjust) is (as we have it in the Catalogue of fundamental doctrines, set down by the Apostle to the *Hebrews,*) κρῖμα αἰώνιον, that judgment, or doom by which the eternal state of every person is determined; *accordingly every man must bear the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether it be good or evil.* Now this state generally taken (as respecting both the righteous and blessed; the wicked and miserable) as it doth suppose a perpetual duration in being and sense, so it may be called everlasting life; although life (as being commonly apprehended, a principal good, and all men having naturally a strong desire to preserve it, with reference also perhaps to the phrases used under the law, wherein continuance in life is proposed as a reward to the obedient, and death threatned to transgressours) is used to denote peculiarly the blessed state; as death (the most extreme of legal punishments, and most abominable to nature) is also used to signify the condition of the damned; *the resurrection of life*, and *resurrection of damnation*; *everlasting life*, and *everlasting punishment (shame and everlasting contempt)* being opposed. Although I say life be commonly thus taken (as is also the resurrection sometimes for that which belongs only to the righteous, transmitting them into happiness) yet the reason of the thing requires, that here we understand it generally, so as to comprehend both states (both being matters of faith equally necessary, as it were, and of like fundamental consequence;) both yielding both the highest encouragements to a good, and determents from a bad life. For as on the one hand what can excite us more to the performance of duty than so happy a state; a state of highest dignity and glory, of sweetest comfort and joy; of joy, full in measure, pure in quality, perpetual in duration, perfect in all respects to the utmost capacity of our nature: wherein all our parts and faculties shall be raised to their highest pitch of perfection; our bodies become free from all corruptibility and decay; all weakness and disease; all grossness, unweildiness, defilement, and deformity, shall be rendred incorruptible, glorious, and spiritual: our souls in their nature perfected, in their inclinations rectified, in their appetites satisfied; the understanding being full of light, clear and distinct in knowledge of truth, free from error and ignorance; the will steadily inclined to good, ready to comply with God's will, free from all perverseness and weakness; our affections set in right order and frame, with constant regularity tending to that which is truly good, and taking full delight therein. Wherein we shall enjoy the blissfull presence and sight of God, smiling in love and favour upon us, of our gracious redeemer, of the holy angels, of the just made perfect; whose company and conversation how unconceivably sweet and delightfull must it be? wherein nothing adverse, or troublesome can befall us; no unpleasant or offensive object present it self to us; no want or need of any thing; no care, or fear, or suspicion; no labour or toil; no sorrow or pain; no regret or distast; no stir or contention; no listlessness or satiety: *God will wipe* (as it is in the Apocalypse) *every tear from their eyes*; and death shall be no more, nor sorrow, nor clamour (or complaint) nor pain any more; in fine a state surpassing all words to express it, all thoughts to conceive it, of which the highest splendours and choicest pleasures here are but obscure shadows (do yield but faint and imperfect resemblances) comparable to which *no eye hath seen, no ear hath heard,*

Heb. 6. 2. 2 Cor. 5. 10.

Vid. Deut. 5. v. ult.

Joh. 5. 29. Matt. 25. 45. Dan. 12. 2.

Phil. 3. 11. Luk. 20. 35.

Psal. 16. 11.

1 Cor. 15. 42, 43, 44. 2 Cor. 3. 18. Phil. 3. 21.

1 Cor. 13. 12.

1 Joh. 3. 2. Heb. 12. 22.

Apoc. 3. 4.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

heard, nor hath it aſcended into any heart to conceive the like, (as St. *Paul* out of the Prophet *Eſay* tells us) the firm belief, I ſay, and careful conſideration of the certainty by a pious and holy life, of acquiring right unto and poſſeſſion of ſuch a ſtate muſt needs be the greateſt excitement poſſible thereto; as muſt the loſs and falling ſhort thereof be of mighty efficacy to withdraw us from impiety: As on this hand, ſo on the other hand, the being perſuaded, that by neglecting our duty and tranſgreſſing God's law we ſhall certainly incurr intolerable pains and miſeries without eaſe or reſpit; without hope or remedy, without any end: that we ſhall for ever not only be ſecluded from God's preſence and favour, be deprived of all reſt, comfort, and joy; but detruded into utmoſt wretchedneſs; a ſtate more dark and diſmal, more forlorn and diſconſolate than we can imagine; which not the ſharpeſt pain of body, not the bittereſt anxiety of mind any of us ever felt, can in any meaſure repreſent; wherein our bodies ſhall be afflicted continually with a ſulphureous flame, not ſcorching the skin only, but piercing the inmoſt ſinews; our ſouls inceſſantly bit and gnawed upon by a worm (the worm of bitter remorſe for our wretched perverſneſs and folly; of horrid deſpair ever to get out of this ſad eſtate) under which vexations unexpreſſible, always enduring pangs of death, always dying, we ſhall never die: This perſuaſion, I ſay, muſt needs moſt effectually deterr us from thoſe courſes of impiety, which certainly lead to ſo miſerable a condition; if it cannot, what can do it? We muſt beyond all impreſſion that any reaſon can make upon us be irrecoverably ſtupid or obſtinate; infinitely careleſs of our own good, bent to our ruine. But theſe things the time will not permit me farther to dilate upon; and I did formerly (in treating upon our Saviour's coming to judgment) ſomewhat largely preſs conſiderations of this nature. I ſhall only therefore conclude with a Prayer to Almighty God, that according to his infinite mercy he by his gracious aſſiſtance leading us in the ways of piety and obedience would bring us into everlaſting life and happineſs; withdrawing us from impiety and iniquity would deliver us from eternal death and miſery: To whom be all praiſe and glory for ever. *Amen.* Eſ. 64. 4.

A N

AN EXPOSITION OF The Lord's Prayer.

AMong all the Duties prescribed to us by our Religion, the rendring due Worship to God is in nature, and for consequence the principal: God thereby being most directly honoured, and served, we from it immediately deriving most ample, and high benefits; to the performance of which duty we are furnished with excellent direction, and assistance from that Prayer, which our Lord (at several times, and upon several occasions) dictated, and recommended to his Disciples, both as a pattern, according to which they should regulate their devotions *(Pray thus*, or in this manner, saith he in St. *Matthew)* and as a form, in which they should express them *(When you pray, say*; that is, say this or in these words; so he enjoyns them in St. *Luke*): unto it therefore we should carefully attend as to our best rule; and we should frequently use it as our best matter of devotion; to the well-performing of both which duties, it is requisite that we should distinctly understand the particulars contained therein, in order to which purpose we shall endeavour to explain them; but first let us premise a few words in general about Prayer.

Matt. 6. 9. Luk. 11. 2.

Quamlibet alia verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis vel præcedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil aliud dicimus, quàm quod in ista Dominica Oratione positum est si rectè & congruenter oramus. Aug. *Epist.* 121. *Vide illum.*

Prayer in its latitude of acceptation doth comprehend all devotion, or worship immediately addressed unto Almighty God; consisting of praise, which we render to God in regard to his most excellent perfections, and glorious works; of submissive gratulation, declaring our satisfaction in all the dispensations of his most wise and just providence; of thanksgiving, for the numberless great benefits we have received from him; of acknowledging our total dependence on him, and our subjection to him; of professing faith in him, and vowing service to him; of confessing the sins we have committed against him, with the guilt and aggravation of them; of deprecating the wrath and punishment due to us for our offences; of petition for all things needfull and convenient for us; of intercession for others, whose good we according to duty or charity are concerned to desire and promote; Prayer, I say (although according to its most restrained sense it only doth signifie one of these particulars, namely the petition of what is needfull or expedient for us, yet) in its larger acception, as it commonly is used, it doth comprize them all; and so we may well take it here; this form, although so very brief, being with so admirable wisdom contrived, as without straining the words beyond their natural importance, we may, applying a moderate attention, discern them all, as to their main substance, couched therein; so that we may indeed reasonably regard this

1 Tim. 2. 1. ——δεήσεις, προσευχαὶ, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίαι.

Οὐ μόνον εὐχῆς ἐστι δεδασκαλία ἐκεῖνα τὰ ζήματα, ἀλλὰ βίου τελείου παιδαγωγία. Chrys. *Tom. V.* p. 185.

Totius Evangelii breviarium; Tert. *de Orat.* 1, 9. Prayer as a complete directory, and a full exerciſe of all our devotion toward God: of devotion, I ſay, the which (to engage, excite and encourage us to the carefull and conſtant practice thereof) we may conſider injoined us as a neceſſary duty, commended to us as a requiſite means of good, and a ſpecial inſtrument of all piety, and as a high privilege granted to us by God.

1. It is a natural duty and debt we owe to God (both in correſpondence to the deſign of our being made and endowed with rational capacities agreeable to our relations; and in requital for our being, and for all the good we have, and do continually receive from him) as moſt highly to love and reverence him in our hearts; ſo to declare our eſteem of his excellencies, and our ſenſe of his bounty toward us; to avow the dependence we have upon his will and providence; the obligations we are under to his mercy and goodneſs; to yield our due homage of reſpect, ſubmiſſion and obedience to him: if we do acknowledge a God, our Maker, our Lord, our continual Benefactour to be, we muſt conſequently acknowledge theſe performances in reaſon, juſtice and gratitude due to him; and God accordingly requires, and poſitively injoins them: He is *the Lord our God, whom we muſt worſhip and ſerve*; the God *whom praiſe waiteth for*; *who heareth prayers*, and *to whom* therefore *all fleſh muſt come*; the Scripture is very frequent in commanding the duty.

Deut. 10. 20. Matth. 4. 10. Pſal. 65. 2.

Εὐχῆς δικαίας ἐκ ἀνήκοος Θεός. Pſal. 34. 10. 145. 18, 19. 10. 17. Jer. 29. 13. 1 Joh. 3. 22. Matt. 21. 22. 7. 7. Luk. 11. 9. Joh. 14. 13. 15. 7. 16. 23.

2. It is a moſt uſefull means, or a condition requiſite for the procurement of benefits, and bleſſings upon us. God hath declared that he doth accept, he hath promiſed that he will reward all devotions with an honeſt intention, and pure mind offered up unto him; that he *is nigh unto all them that call upon him in truth*; that he will *be found of them who ſeek him with all their heart*; that *he will fulfill the deſire of them that fear him*; *he will hear their cry, and will ſave them*; that *they who ſeek him ſhall not want any good thing*; that, *whatever we aſk in prayer believing we ſhall receive*; that *if we aſk, it ſhall be given us, if we ſeek, we ſhall find*; *if we knock, it ſhall be opened to us*. Prayer is alſo a means of procuring a bleſſing upon all our undertakings; it ſanctifieth every performance, &c. There is no good thing ſo great and pretious, ſo high above the reach of common power; ſo ſtrange to expect or difficult to compaſs, which we may not eaſily and ſurely by this means obtain; relief in all diſtreſſes both of our outward and inward eſtate; ſupplies of all our needs both corporal and ſpiritual; comfort in all our ſorrows and ſadneſſes; ſatisfaction in all our doubts and darkneſſes of mind; help and ſtrength againſt all our temptations we may be confident to obtain, if we duly ſeek them from the Almighty diſpenſer of all good gifts: ſure promiſes there are and obvious examples hereof, too many to be now recited: as on the other hand; they that will neglect this duty, that will not vouchſafe to ſeek help and remedy of God, may be ſure to want it; ſhall certainly ſuffer for their proud contempt, profane diffidence, or fooliſh ſloth: *you will not* (ſaith our Saviour) *come to me, that ye may have life*: no wonder then if they do not receive it, if they will not go thither for it, where only it is to be had. All good things are in God's hand, and we ſhall never by any force or policy get them thence without his will, moved by intreaty; all good gifts come from heaven, and thence we ſhall never fetch them down, without aſcending thither in our hearts and affections, ſpiritual goods eſpecially are ſo high above us, that we can never reach them otherwiſe, than by God's help by humble ſupplication obtained.

Joh. 5. 40.

3. It

3. It is not only a means by impetration acquiring for us, but it is an effectual inſtrument working in us all true good; It is the chanel, by which God conveyeth ſpiritual light into our minds, and ſpiritual vigour into our hearts. It is both the ſeed and the food of ſpiritual life; by which all holy diſpoſitions of ſoul, and all honeſt reſolutions of practice are bred and nouriſhed, are augmented and ſtrengthned in us. It exciteth, it quickneth, it maintaineth all pious affections; the love of God can no otherwiſe than by it be kindled, fomented or kept in life (without it we certainly ſhall have an eſtrangement, and an averſation from him) it alone can maintain a conſtant reverence and awe of God, keeping him in our thoughts, and making us to live as in his preſence; it chiefly enliveneth and exerciſeth our faith and our hope in God; it is that which begetteth in our hearts a ſavoury reliſh of divine things; which ſweetneth and endeareth to our ſouls the practice of piety; which only can enable us with delight and alacrity to obey God's commandments: It alone can raiſe our minds from the cares and concernments of this world to a ſenſe and deſire of heavenly things. By it God imparteth ſtrength to ſubdue bad inclinations, to reſtrain ſenſual appetites, to compreſs irregular paſſions; to evade the allurements to evil, and the diſcouragements from good, which this world always preſenteth; to ſupport alſo with patience and equanimity the many croſſes and troubles we muſt ſurely meet with therein. It is, in ſhort, the only ſtrong bulwark againſt temptation and ſin; the only ſure guard of piety and a good conſcience; no man indeed can be a faithfull ſervant to God, a real friend to goodneſs, a ſerious practicer of duty without a conſtant tenour of devotion.

Difficillimum eſt opus orare. Luth.

Fervour of Spirit. Rom. 12. 11. τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.

4. It is a moſt high privilege and advantage to us, that we are allowed to pray and addreſs our devotions to God. To have a free acceſs to the preſence and audience of an earthly Prince (to the effect of receiving from him all that we could deſire) would be deemed a matter of great honour, and much advantage; how much more is it ſo to us, that we are admitted to the preſence and ear of the great King of all the world; ſo mighty in power, ſo large in bounty, ſo full of goodneſs and pity; ſo throughly able, ſo exceedingly willing to grant and perform our requeſts? How ſweet a thing, of what comfort and benefit is it, to have the liberty of *pouring out our ſouls and our hearts* (as the *Pſalmiſt* ſpeaks) before God; of diſburthening our minds of all their cares, their deſires, their doubts, their griefs and anxieties into the breaſt of ſo kind a friend, ſo wiſe a counſeller, ſo able a helper; who alone indeed can afford relief, eaſe, ſatisfaction and comfort to us? Conſidering which things we ſhall appear not only very diſobedient to God, and highly ingratefull toward him (who ſo infinitely condeſcends in vouchſafing to us *duſt and aſhes* (vile and unworthy creatures) leave to ſpeak and converſe with him) but very injurious and unfaithfull to our ſelves, and to our own good; if we neglect this duty commanded, or ſlight this privilege indulged to us:

Pſal. 62. 8. 42. 4.

Gen. 18. 27.

In the due performance of which we are directed and aſſiſted by this Form of Prayer, compoſed and dictated for that purpoſe by him, who beſt knew what we ought to pray for, and how we ought to pray; what matter of deſire, what manner of addreſs; what diſpoſition of mind would be moſt pleaſing and acceptable to his Father; would moſt become and befit us in our approaches to him. We might conſequently obſerve many things concerning thoſe particulars, diſcernible in this

Deus ſolus docere potuit, ut ſe vellet orari. Tert. *de Orat.* c. 9.

Form: the ſublimity, the gravity, the neceſſity, the ſingular choiceneſs of the matter; together with the fit order, and juſt diſpoſition thereof; according to the natural precedence of things in dignity or neceſſity; the full brevity, the deep plainneſs, the comely ſimplicity of expreſſion; the lowly reverence ſignified therein accompanied with due faith and confidence: theſe, and the like vertues directive of our devotion we might obſerve running generally through the whole contexture of this venerable Form; but we ſhall rather chuſe to take notice of them as they ſhall offer themſelves in their particular places, to the conſideration of which in order we now do apply our ſelves.

Our Father which art in Heaven.

Our Father; upon this title, or manner of compellation, we may firſt obſerve, that although our Saviour preſcribeth this Form as a pattern, and an exerciſe of private prayer to be performed in the Cloſet (and alone in ſecret as is expreſſed in the *Goſpel*) yet he directeth us to make our addreſſes to God in a ſtyle of plurality, ſaying, not *my* Father, but *our* Father; thereby, it ſeems, implying; 1. That we ſhould in our prayers conſider and acknowledge the Univerſality of God's power and goodneſs. 2. That we ſhould not in our conceit proudly and vainly appropriate or engroſs the regard of God unto our ſelves; but remember that our brethren have an equal ſhare with us therein. 3. That in all our devotions we ſhould be mindfull of thoſe common bands which knit us together as Men and as Chriſtians (the band of nature and humanity; the more ſtrict tyes of common faith and hope; of manifold relations unto God that made us, and our Saviour that redeemed us, and the Holy Spirit who animateth and quickneth us, and combineth us in ſpiritual union.) 4. That we ſhould bear ſuch hearty good-will, and charitable affection toward others, as not only to ſeek and deſire our own particular and private good, but that of all men; eſpecially of all good Chriſtians; who in a peculiar manner are God's children and our brethren; * *He did not bid us ſay* my *Father*, *but* our *Father*, *who art in Heaven*; *that being taught that we have a common Father, we might ſhew a brotherly good-will one toward another*, ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*.

Matt. 6. 6, 9.

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐπέλαβε λέγειν πατήρ μου, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀλλὰ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ἵνα κοινὸν πατέρα ἔχειν διδαχθέντες, ἀδελφικῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διακυρώμεν διάνοιαν. Tom. V. p. 186.

As for the appellation *Father*; it doth mind us of our relation to God, who upon many grounds, and in divers high reſpects is our Father; (by nature, for that he gave us our being, and made us after his own image; by providence, for that he continually preſerveth and maintaineth us; by grace, for that he reneweth us to his image in righteouſneſs and holineſs; by adoption, for that he alloweth us the benefit and privilege of his children, aſſigning an eternal inheritance to us;) of this relation, which as Creatures, as Men, as Chriſtians, we bear to God it mindeth us, and conſequently how we ought in correſpondence thereto to behave our ſelves; yielding to him all reſpect, affection and obſervance; demeaning our ſelves in all things as becomes ſuch a relation, and rank: This indeed of all God's names, titles and attributes is choſen as moſt ſutable to the nature of the preſent duty; as moſt encouraging to the performance thereof, as moſt fully implying the diſpoſitions required in us, when we apply our ſelves thereto. Our Saviour uſed to compare Prayer to a Son's asking nouriſhment of his Father; arguing thence what ſucceſs, and benefit we may expect from it: we come therein to God,

Matth. 7. 9. Luk. 11. 11.

God, not (directly) as to a Lord or Maſter, to receive commands; but rather as to a Father to requeſt from him the ſuſtenance of our life, and ſupply of our needs; to render withall unto him our thankfull acknowledgments, for having continuedly done thoſe things for us; and to demonſtrate our dutifull reſpect, and affection toward him. It is natural for children in any danger, ſtrait, or want to fly to their parents for ſhelter, relief and ſuccour; and it is ſo likewiſe for us to have recourſe unto God, in all thoſe caſes, wherein no viſible means of help appear from elſewhere: And to do ſo the title of *Father* doth incourage us, ſignifying not only power and authority over us, but affection and dearneſs toward us: The name *God*, importing his excellent perfections; the name *Lord*, minding us of his power and empire, over us, with the like titles declarative of his ſupereminent Majeſty, might deter us, being conſcious of our meanneſs and unworthineſs, from approaching to him; but the word *Father* is attractive and emboldning; thinking on *that* we ſhall be apt to conceive hope, that how mean, how unworthy ſoever, yet being his children, he will not reject, or refuſe us: For, *If men being evil do give good gifts unto their children; how much more will our Father, which is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?* Matth. 6. 11.

It alſo plainly intimates how qualified and diſpoſed in mind we ſhould come to God; namely, with high reverence, with humble affection, with hearty gratitude; as to the Authour of our being, to him that hath continually preſerved and brought us up; from whoſe care and providence we have received all the good we have ever enjoyed; from whoſe mercy and favour we can only expect any good for the future. By calling God *Father*, we avow our ſelves obliged to honour and love him incomparably beyond all things; We alſo declare our faith, and hope in God; that we believe him well affected toward us, and willing to do us good; and that we thence hope to receive the good deſireable from him (the which are diſpoſitions neceſſary to the due performance of this duty.) It alſo implyeth, that we ſhould come thereto with purity of mind and good conſcience, which is alſo requiſite to the ſame intent: for if we are conſcious of undutifull and diſobedient carriage toward God, how can we call him *Father?* with what heart, or face can we aſſume to our ſelves the title of children? *If* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *ye call upon him as Father, who impartially judges according to every man's work,* (that is, who only eſteemeth them for his children, who truly behave themſelves as becometh children) *paſs the time of your pilgrimage in fear* (or in reverence toward God.) We may add, that we alſo hereby may be ſuppoſed to expreſs our charity toward our brethren; who bear unto God, the Father of all men, the ſame common relation. But I proceed: Matth. 21. 22. Jam. 1. 6. 1 Tim. 2. 8. 1 Pet. 1. 17.

Which art in Heaven.

God Almighty is ſubſtantially preſent every where; but he doth not every where in effects diſcover himſelf alike, nor with equal ſplendour in all places diſplay the beams of his glorious Majeſty. The Scripture frequently mentioneth a place of his ſpecial reſidence (ſeated in regions of inacceſſible light, above the reach, not only of our ſenſe but, of our fancy and conception) where his royal Court, his preſence Chamber, his imperial Throne are; where he is more immediately attended upon by the glorious Angels, and bleſſed Saints; which place

is

Luk. 2. 14. 19. 38. Matt. 21. 9.

is called *Heaven*, the *higheſt heavens*; the τὰ ὕψιστα, the *higheſt places*; by his preſence wherein God is deſcribed here, as for diſtinction from all other parents here on earth, ſo to encreaſe reverence in us toward him (while we reflect upon his ſupereminent glory and majeſty) and to raiſe our hearts from theſe inferiour things unto deſire, and hope, and love of heavenly things; *withdrawing* (ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*) *him that prays from earth, and faſtning him to the places on high, and to the manſions above.* But ſo much for the Title.

Τῆς γῆς ἀπάγων τὸ δεόμενον, καὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς πρόσηλῶν χωρίοις, καὶ ταῖς ἄνω διαίταις.

The firſt ſentence of our Prayer is,

Hallowed (or ſanctified) be thy Name.

Let us firſt (with St. *Chryſoſtom*) obſerve the direction we hence receive in all our prayers to have a prime, and principal regard to the glory of God; not ſeeking any thing concerning our own good before his praiſe; that for the order. As to the ſubſtance of this particular we may conſider, that ſanctity implying a diſcrimination, a diſtance, an exaltment in nature or uſe of the thing, which is denominated thereby; and God's name ſignifying himſelf with all that we can know of him; himſelf, as however diſcovered or declared, with all that relates to him, and bears his inſcription; we do here accordingly expreſs our due acknowledgments and deſires; for by a rare complication this Sentence doth involve both praiſe and petition; doth expreſs both our acknowledgment of what is, and our deſire of what ſhould be: we do I ſay hereby partly acknowledge, and praiſe the ſupereminent perfections of God above all things, in all kind of excellency, joining in that ſeraphical Doxology (which to utter is the continual employment of the bleſſed Spirits above) who inceſſantly *day and night*, cry out, *Holy, Holy, Holy*; confeſſing with the heavenly hoſt in the *Apocalypſe*, that *he is worthy of all honour, glory and power*; we do alſo partly declare our hearty wiſhes, that God may be every where had in higheſt veneration; that all things relating to him may receive their due regard; that all honour and praiſe, all duty and ſervice may in a peculiar manner be rendred unto him by all men, by all creatures, by our ſelves eſpecially: that all minds may entertain good and worthy opinions of him; all tongues ſpeak well of him, celebrate and bleſs him; all creatures yield adoration to his name, and obedience to his will: that he be worſhipped in truth and ſincerity, with zeal and fervency; this particularly in the Prophet *Eſay*, and by St. *Peter* is called *ſanctifying God's Name* in oppoſition to idolatrous and profane Religion (*Sanctifie the Lord of hoſts himſelf, and let him be your fear, let him be your dread*, ſaith the *Prophet*; and, *Fear not their fear, nor be troubled, but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hearts*, ſaith the *Apoſtle.*) Thus do we here pray and wiſh in reſpect to all men, and to all creatures capable of thus ſanctifying God's Name; but more particularly we pray for our ſelves, that God would grant to us, that we by our religious and righteous converſation may bring honour to his name; ſo that *men ſeeing our good works may glorifie our Father, which is in Heaven.* (*Vouchſafe*, ſaith he, *that we may live ſo purely, that all men by us may glorifie thee:* ſo deſcants St. *Chryſoſtom.*)

Apoc. 4. 8. Apoc. 4. 11.

Τὸ ἁγιασθήτω αὐτὴ τῷ δεξασθήτω εἰρῆσθαι. Chryſ. *Tom. V. p.* 186.

Eſa. 8. 13. 29. 23. 1 Pet. 3. 14, 15.

Matt. 5. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 12.

Καταξίωσον φησὶν, ὅπως ἡμᾶς βίον καθαρῶς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν ἅπαντας σε δοξάζειν, &c. Chryſ. *in* Matt. 6.

Thy

Thy Kingdom come.

This Petition, or devout wiſh, being ſubordinate to the former, as expreſſing a main particular of that, which is there generally deſired (we here to the glory of God deſiring a ſucceſsfull and ſpeedy propagation of true Religion) ſeems in its direct; and immediate ſenſe to reſpect the ſtate of things in that time, more eſpecially befitting our Lord's Diſciples then, when the Kingdom of God (that is, the ſtate of Religion under the Evangelical Diſpenſation) was coming and approaching; (according to that of our Saviour in St. *Luke: I ſay unto you of a truth, there be ſome of you ſtanding here that ſhall not taſte death, till they ſee the Kingdom of God)* whence it did become them in zeal to God's glory, and charity for mens ſalvation, to deſire that Chriſtianity might ſoon effectually be propagated over the world, being generally entertained by men with due faith and obedience: that is, that all men willingly might acknowledge God as their Lord and Maker, worſhipping and ſerving him in truth; that they might receive his bleſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt as their King and Saviour, heartily embracing his doctrine, and humbly ſubmitting to his laws; to which purpoſe our Lord injoins his Diſciples to *pray, that the Lord of the harveſt would ſend labourers into his harveſt*; and St. *Paul* exhorts the *Theſſalonians* to *pray, that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified.* And in parity of reaſon, upon the ſame grounds, we are concerned, and obliged to deſire, that Chriſtian Religion may be ſettled and confirmed; may grow and be encreaſed; may proſper and flouriſh in the world; that God's authority may, to the largeſt extenſion of place, to the higheſt intention of degree, univerſally and perfectly, be maintained and promoted, both in external profeſſion and real effect; the minds of all men being ſubdued to the obedience of faith; and avowing the ſubjection due to him; and truly yielding obedience to all his moſt juſt and holy laws. Thus ſhould we pray that God's Kingdom may come; particularly deſiring that it may ſo come into our own hearts; humbly imploring his grace, that he thereby would rule in our hearts, quelling in them all exorbitant paſſions, and vicious deſires, protecting them from all ſpiritual enemies, diſpoſing them to an entire ſubjection to his will, and a willing compliance with all his commandments: for this is *the Kingdom of God*, which (as our Lord telleth us) *is within us*; the which *doth not* (as Saint *Paul* teacheth us) *conſiſt in meat and drink* (in any outward formal performances) *but in righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghoſt*; that is, in obedience to God's will, and in the comfortable conſequences thereof: this is *the Kingdom of God*, which we are enjoyned, before any worldly accommodations, *firſt to ſeek.*

Luk. 9. 27. Matt. 16. 28. 3. 2.

Matt. 9. 38. 2 Theſſ. 3. 1.

Τυραννούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ σώματος παθημάτων, καὶ μυρίας πειρασμῶν δεχόμενοι προσβολὰς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χρήζομεν βασιλείας, ἵνα μὴ βασιλεύσῃ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ σώματι ἡμῶν, &c. Chryſ.

Luk. 17. 21. Rom. 14. 17. Matt. 6. 33.

Thy Will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

This Sentence is likewiſe complicated of praiſe, good deſire, and petition: for we thereby firſt do acknowledge the wiſdom, juſtice and goodneſs of God in all reſolutions of his will, and diſpenſations of his providence.

1. We profeſs our approbation of all God's counſels, our complacence and ſatisfaction in all his proceedings, our cheerfull ſubmiſſion and conſent

ſent to all his pleaſure; joining our ſuffrage, and ſaying in harmony
Apoc. 15. 3. with that bleſſed Choire in the Revelation: *Great, and wonderfull are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; juſt and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.* We diſclaim our own judgments and conceits, we renounce our own deſires and deſigns, ſo far as they appear inconſiſtent with the determinations of God's wiſdom, or diſcordant with his pleaſure; ſaying
Luk. 22. 42. after our Lord, *Let not my will, but thine be done.*

2. We do alſo expreſs our deſire, that as in heaven all things with a free and undiſturbed courſe do paſs according to God's will and good-liking; every intimation of his pleaſure finding there a moſt entire and
Pſal. 103. 20. ready compliance, from thoſe perfectly loyal and pious ſpirits (*thoſe miniſters of his, that do his pleaſure*, as the *Pſalmiſt* calls them) ſo that here on earth the gracious deſigns of God may be accompliſhed with-
Luk. 7. 30. out oppoſition or rub; that none ſhould preſume, as the *Phariſees* and *Lawyers* are ſaid to do, ἀθετεῖν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, to diſappoint or defeat God's counſel; ἀπωθεῖσθαι, to thruſt away or repulſe *God's word*,
Acts 13. 46. as the *Jews* did in the *Acts*; to reſiſt, provoke, or defie God by obſtinate diſobedience; as many are ſaid to do in the Scriptures; but that every where a free, humble, hearty and full obedience be rendred to his commands.

3. We do alſo pray, that God would grant us the grace willingly to
Heb. 13. 21. perform whatever he requires of us, (*perfecting us*, as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaketh, *in every good work to doe his will*, and *working in us that which is well-pleaſing in his ſight*) contentedly to bear whatever he layeth upon us; that God would beſtow upon us a perfect reſignation of our wills unto
Phil. 4. 11. his will; a cheerfull acquieſcence in that ſtate and ſtation wherein he hath placed us; a ſubmiſs patience in all adverſities, whereinto he diſpoſeth us to fall; a conſtant readineſs with ſatisfaction and thankfulneſs (without reluctancy or repining) to receive whatever cometh from his will, whether gratefull or diſtaſtfull to our preſent ſenſe; acknowledging his wiſdom, his goodneſs, his juſtice in all his dealings towards us; heartily
1 Sam. 3. 18. ſaying with good *Eli*, *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good*;
2 King. 20. 19. with *Hezekiah*, *Good is the word of the Lord, which thou haſt ſpoken*;
2 Sam. 15. 26. with *David*, *behold here I am, let him do to me, as ſeemeth good to him*;
Job 2. 10. 1. 21. with *Job*, *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive*
Pſal. 37. 5. 55. 22. *evil?* and, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the*
Epict. *Ench.* 38. *name of the Lord:* Yea, it were well, if we could, after the Heathen *Phi-*
Plat. *Criton.* *loſopher*, upon all occaſions with our hearts ſay, εἰ ταύτῃ Θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ γενέσθω· *If God will have it ſo, ſo let it be:* if we could obſerve
Τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε, ὡς Θεοῖς ἐπιτετροφὼς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα, &c. Ant. *IV.* 31. Ἀσπαζόμενος τὰ συμβαίνοντα. Ant. *III.* 4, 16. *II.* 17. *X.* 11. *XII.* 1. Ant. *VII.* 31. *X.* 11. Sen. *De Or. Sap.* 32. *Ego ſecundum naturam vivo, ſi totum me illi dedo. Optimum eſt Deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt ſine murmuratione comitari*, &c. — *hic eſt magnus animus, qui ſe Deo tradidit*—— Sen. *Ep.* 37, 54, 71, &c. *de Prov.* 5.

those rules and precepts, which even the *Philoſophers* ſo much inculcate; to *commit all our affairs to God, to love and embrace (hugg) all events*; *to follow*, and *to accompany God*; to yield, deliver and reſign our ſelves up to him. (*Deo ſe præbere, dedere, tradere*, &c.) and the like.

Give us this day our daily bread.

I ſhall not ſtand to criticize upon the hard word here uſed, tranſlated *daily*; I only ſay, that of two ſenſes offering themſelves, both are probable, and by good authority countenanced; both are proper and ſutable to the matter or nature of the thing: according to one we pray for

for the bread τοῦ ἐπιόντος, *of the time to come*, or of that future life, which it ſhall pleaſe God to allow us; according to the other, we requeſt bread ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι, which is neceſſary for our being, and the preſervation of our lives; joining both together (which is more ſure and ſafe) we pray for a competent proviſion toward the maintenance of our life hereafter, during our appointed time: that for the ſenſe; upon the Petition it ſelf we obſerve,

Ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος διαβαίνοντα, καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ταύτην δυνάμενον, Chryſ: *Tom. V.* 187.

1. That after we have rendred our due tribute of praiſe and reſpect unto God, we are allowed and directed to requeſt of him good things for our ſelves; beginning, as nature prompteth, with the preſervation of our beings and lives; whereby we become capable of receiving and enjoying other good things;

2. By doing which we alſo do imply the ſenſe we have of our total dependence upon God; avowing our ſelves to ſubſiſt by his care and bounty; diſclaiming conſequently all confidence in any other means to maintain or ſupport us; in any ſtore we have laid up, or eſtate we pretend to; in any contrivance or induſtry we can uſe; in any ſuccour of friends or relations; for that notwithſtanding all theſe, we do need our daily bread to be dealt to us by God, and muſt continually beg it as a gift from his hands.

3. We are by that word, σήμερον, *this day*, taught our duty (ſignifying withall our performance thereof) of being willing continually to rely upon God; not affecting to be ever ſo much beforehand, as not to need God's conſtant aſſiſtance: we ask not, that God would give us at once what may ſerve us for ever, and may put us out of any fear to want hereafter; we ask not for that which may ſuffice for a long time, for many years, many months, many days; but that God would give us to day, or rather *day by day* (τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, as it is expreſſed in Saint *Luke*) that is, that he would continually diſpenſe to us, what is needfull for us; we ſhould not therefore deſire to have an eſtate ſettled upon us; to live by our ſelves, or on our own incomes; to be ſet out of God's houſe, or immediate protection and care; this in it ſelf cannot be (for God cannot alienate his goods from himſelf, nor can we ſubſiſt out of his hand) nor muſt we deſire it ſhould be: 'tis a part of Atheiſm, of Infidelity, of Heatheniſh profaneneſs and folly to deſire it (*theſe things*, ſaith our Lord, *do the Gentiles ſeek*; that is, they are covetous of wealth, and carefull for proviſions to live without dependance upon God) but we muſt eſteem God's providence our ſureſt eſtate, God's bounty our beſt treaſure, God's fatherly care our moſt certain and moſt comfortable ſupport; *caſting all our care on him*, as being aſſured that *he careth for us*; *will not leave nor forſake us*; will not withhold, what is neceſſary for our comfortable ſuſtenance.

Luk. 11. 3.

Matt. 6. 32.

Matt. 6. 25. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Heb. 12. 5. Phil. 4. 6.

4. It is here intimated, how ſober and moderate our appetites ſhould be, in regard both to the quality and quantity of the things we uſe: we are directed to ask τροφὴν οὐ τρυφὴν, (as S. *Chryſoſtom* ſays.) neceſſary food, not luxurious plenty or delicacy: it is bread (the moſt ſimple, homely, and common diet) that is, ſuch accommodations as are neceſſary to maintain our lives, and ſatisfie our natural deſires; not *ſuperfluities*, ſerving to pleaſe our wanton appetites, or humour our curious fancies; 'tis not variety, daintineſs, elegancy, or ſplendour we ſhould affect to enjoy, but be content to have our neceſſities ſupplied with the courſeſt diet, and the meaneſt apparel, if our condition requireth it, or God's providence in an honeſt way allotteth no other to us: we may ſoberly and thankfully enjoy what God ſends; but we ſhould not preſume to ask for, or deſire other than this.

And for the meaſure, we learn to ask only for ſo much as ſhall be fit to maintain us; not for rich, or plentifull ſtore; not for full barns, or for heaps of treaſure; not for wherewith to glut, or pamper our ſelves; but for daily bread, a moderate proviſion then to be dealt to us, when we need it.

It follows,

And forgive us our treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us (*our treſpaſſes*, 'tis *our debts* (ὀφειλήματα) in S. *Matthew*; *our ſins* (ἁμαρτίας) in S. *Luke*; and they who *treſpaſs againſt us* are in both *Evangeliſts* called *our debtors*: for he that injures another is obnoxious and in debt to him; owing him ſatisfaction, either by making reparation, or undergoing puniſhment.

After the preſervation of our beings (the foundation of enjoying other good things) our firſt care, we ſee, ought to be concerning the welfare of our better part and ſtate; which chiefly conſiſts in the terms, whereon we ſtand, toward God, upon whoſe favour all our happineſs dependeth; and from whoſe diſpleaſure all our miſery muſt proceed: ſince therefore we all do ſtand obnoxious to God's wrath and juſtice; having omitted many duties which we owe to him, having committed manifold offences againſt him; it is therefore moſt expedient, that we firſt endeavour to get him reconciled to us, by the forgiveneſs of our debts and offences; concerning which remiſſion, upon what account it is neceſſary, upon what terms it is granted, by what means it is obtained, in what manner it is diſpenſed by God, I have otherwhere touched, and it is not ſeaſonable now farther to inſiſt thereon; only it may be pertinent here to obſerve,

1. That this being the firſt of Petitions (formally ſuch, and) purely ſpiritual; we are hereby admoniſhed to lay the foundation of our devotions in humility; that we are obliged, before we preſume to ask any thing of God concerning our chief happineſs, and well-being, to reflect upon, acknowledge and confeſs our unworthineſs (not coming to our Prayers as the *Phariſee* did, doting upon our worthy qualities, and good deeds; but like the poor *Publican*, with a ſenſe of our infirmities and miſcarriages; ſo as to be ready to acknowledge our ſelves, as indeed we all are guilty of many and great ſins) this is here implyed; for in requeſting pardon for our ſins, we confeſs our ſelves to be ſinners, and to need God's mercy.

2. We may hence learn the neceſſity and the excellency of that benefit we here beg. When the *Pſalmiſt* applied himſelf to praiſe God for his benefits, this he ſet in the firſt place, as moſt needfull and conſiderable to him: *Bleſs the Lord, O my Soul* (ſaid he) *and forget not all his benefits* (or rather, not any of his benefits) *who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diſeaſes*; and anſwerably, it is the firſt particular benefit we pray for.

Pſal. 103. 2, 3.

3. We muſt take notice, that we are obliged to go to our devotions with univerſal charity, and good-will toward others; *to lift up* (as Saint *Paul* injoineth) *holy hands, without wrath and doubting* (or *without wrath and diſſention*) to depoſe all enmity (as our Lord adviſeth) before we bring our oblation *to the altar* of God; reſerving no ſpight, or grudge toward any man, but having a heart clear of all ill will, and deſire of revenge: being

1 Tim. 2. 8.

Matt. 5. 23.

being in affection of mind toward others as we do wiſh, and hope, and pray that God would be toward us: ſuch in all reaſon, equity and ingenuity ſhould our diſpoſition be; and ſuch God requires it to be; and ſuch we do aſſert and promiſe it to be; implying alſo a compact with God, no otherwiſe to deſire, or expect his favour and mercy toward us, than as we reſemble him in kind and mercifull intentions toward our brethren: It is implied on God's part, that he vouchſafes pardon only upon theſe terms; yea more, that he doth truly promiſe pardon upon our performing this condition; ſo our Saviour, purpoſely reflecting on this Petition, doth afterward expound it: *for*, ſaith he, *if you forgive to men their treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you*; it alſo implies a conſent on our parts, and ſubmiſſion to this condition, as moſt equal and reaſonable; ſo that if we break it, if we do retain any uncharitable inclinations, we deal falſely with God; we forfeit all pretence to favour and mercy from him; we are neither qualified for mercy, nor ſhall obtain it from God. Matth. 6. 14.

Lead us not into temptation.

Temptation is ſometime taken in a middle and indifferent ſenſe for any occaſion, by which the moral quality of perſons (their vertue, or vice) is examined and diſcovered: ſo God is ſaid to have *tempted Abraham*, when he propounded to him the offering up of his Son; ſo he tempted the *Iſraelites*, by leading them in that long journey through the wilderneſs, *that he might know what was in their heart, whether they would keep his commandments, or no*: ſo he likewiſe tempted them by permitting Seducers to do wonderfull things, *that he might know, whether they did love the Lord with all their heart, and with all their ſoul*: And becauſe affliction is of ſuch a nature, as to try the temper, diſpoſition and intentions of men, therefore temptation often is uſed for affliction. It ſeemeth alſo ſometimes put in a good ſenſe, for an occaſion deſigned to exerciſe, or to improve, or to declare the vertues of a perſon; ſo the inconveniences and croſſes incident to our nature and condition here, the which our Lord did undergo, are by Saint *Luke*, and others of the *Apoſtles* ſtyled temptations; ſo *the fiery trial* in Saint *Peter* was εἰς πειρασμὸν, to exerciſe and refine them, *that* (ſaith he) *the trial of their faith might be to praiſe, and honour, and glory*; ſo Saint *James* biddeth Chriſtians to *rejoice, when they fall into divers temptations*; that is, when they meet with opportunities of exerciſing their faith and patience; and ſo we may underſtand that place in *Deuteronomy*: *Who* ('tis ſaid) *fed thee with Manna, that he might humble, and prove thee* (or *tempt thee*, ἵνα ἐκπειράσῃ σε, ſay the LXX.) *to do thee good at thy latter end*; *that he might tempt thee*, that is, that he might render thee approved; might exerciſe and improve thy dependance on God, thy patience, thy obedience. But the word is commonly taken in a worſe ſenſe, for an occaſion preſented with ill purpoſe, or naturally tending and not eaſily avoided, of falling into ſin; a ſtumbling block, a ſnare; as when Saint *Paul* ſaith, that *they who will be rich, do fall* εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα, *into temptation, and a ſnare*; thus Saint *James* aſſureth us, that *God tempteth no man*; that is, doth not intend to ſeduce or inveagle any man into ſin. Yet becauſe nothing in the world, either good or bad, doth happen without God's permiſſion and governance; and the Devil himſelf muſt obtain licence from God, before he can tempt any man, or do any miſchief (as we ſee in *Job*'s caſe, and in the hiſtory of *Ahab*) ſince God ſeeth whatever is done, and with greateſt eaſe could hinder it; and doth not otherwiſe than for ſome good end ſuffer any evil to be deſigned, or atchieved; it is the ſtyle of

Deut. 8. 2. ἵνα πειράσῃ σε
Deut. 13. 3.
Luk. 22. 28. Heb. 2. 18. 4. 15. 1 Pet. 4. 12. 1. 6, 7.
Jam. 1. 2.
Deut. 8. 16.
1 Tim. 6. 9.
Jam. 1. 13.
Job 2. 6. 1 King. 21. 22.

of Scripture to attribute ſuch things in ſome ſenſe to him; as when God
Gen. 45. 5. is ſaid to *ſend Joſeph into Egypt to preſerve life*; whenas in truth his brethren out of envy and ill-will did ſell him thither; and, God is ſaid to
2 Sam. 24. 1. *move David to number the people*; whenas indeed *Satan* (as it is otherwhere
1 Chr. 21. 1. affirmed) *provoked him to number them*; and that horrid Tragedy acted
Act. 2. 23. by the *Jews* upon our *Bleſſed Saviour* is ſaid to be brought to paſs by the
4. 28. *hand and definite counſel of God*; becauſe God foreſeeing the temptations, which thoſe men ſhould incurr of committing ſuch acts, and their inclinations to perform them, did reſolve not to interpoſe his power in hindrance of them, but ſuffering them to proceed, would turn their miſchievous practices to an excellently good end, and uſe them as inſtruments of his juſt, holy and gracious purpoſes: Thus then whereas by *temptation* here is meant any occaſion alluring or provoking to ſin, or withdrawing from duty, with a violence, all things conſidered, exceeding our ſtrength to reſiſt or avoid; (or however ſuch an one, that is apt to overthrow us) God may be ſaid to bring them into it, whom in juſtice he permits to be expoſed thereto; although he do no otherwiſe intermeddle, or concur therein, than by not affording, or by withdrawing his eſpecial direction and aſſiſtance; leaving them without check blindly or wilfully to follow the ſway of their own tempers, the inſtinct of their vain minds, the bent of their corrupt wills; the violence of their unruly paſſions and appetites; letting them to fall into the manifold ſnares of falſe opinion, evil cuſtom, and contagious example, which the World ſets before them; (the *World*, which by its fair promiſes and pleaſing flatteries enticeth to ſin, or by its angry frowns and fierce threats diſcourageth from goodneſs) permitting the Devil, without controll or impediment, by his wiles to delude and ſeduce them; which kind of proceeding of God with men is clearly repreſented in the 81 *Pſalm*; where, of the *Iſraelites* God ſays, that having ſignally declared his pleaſure to them, and by promiſe of great benefits invited them to obſerve it; upon their wil-
Pſal. 81. 11, 12. full neglect, he dealt thus with them: *But* (ſays God there) *my people would not hearken to my voice, and Iſrael would none of me; So I gave them up unto their own hearts luſts; and they walked in their own counſels.* In ſuch manner, if God, provoked thereto by our heinous miſcarriages, doth juſtly bring us into, or doth let us *enter into temptation* (as our Lord
Luk. 22. 40, 46. otherwhere expreſſeth it, *Pray*, ſaith he, *that ye enter not into temptation*) we ſhall infallibly run into many grievous ſins and deſperate miſchiefs; no leſs ſurely, than we ſhall wander and ſtumble in the dark, than we ſhall ſlide and fall in the moſt ſlippery places; and ſometimes be entangled, when we do walk in the midſt of ſnares, ſurrounded with traps
Jer. 10. 23. innumerable, moſt cunningly laid to catch us: *It is not* (ſaith the *Prophet*) *in man to direct his ſteps*; ſo as to go ſtreight and upright; 'tis not in him to ſee his duty, to bend his inclinations to compliance therewith; to reſtrain his appetites, when ſenſible objects forcibly preſs on them; to govern his paſſions, when they are vehemently ſtirr'd to diſorderly motion: we do
Pſ. 37. 23, 24. continually need God's inſtruction to guide us, God's *hand to uphold us*, God's care and help to guard us; when therefore, I ſay, our condition and circumſtances do miniſter dangerous occaſions of ſin; when our vain and weak tempers do incline or betray us thereto; when the world would ſmile, or frown us into it; when the Devil violently ſolicits, or thruſts on toward it; thus to be deſtitute of God's grace, thus to be left to our ſelves, is the moſt horrible judgment that can be. In ſuch caſes and ſeaſons God's interpoſal is neceſſary either to remove thoſe temptations, or to ſupport and defend us from the prevalence of them, φυλάσσων ἀπλάϛως, *keeping*

us

us from ſtumbling and falling (as Saint *Jude* ſpeaks) *not ſuffering us* (as Saint *Paul* expreſſeth it) *to be tempted above what we are able, but making with the temptation alſo a way to eſcape, ſo that we ſhall be able to ſuſtain it.* Jude 24. 1 Cor. 10. 23.

That God would pleaſe to do this for us, we do here pray; and in purſuance of this Petition we ſubjoin that, which in part may paſs for an illuſtration thereof; (implying an *antitheſis* ſerving to that purpoſe: for, delivering from evil importeth the ſame with ῥύεσθαι ἐκ πειρασμοῦ, being reſcued from temptation, in Saint *Peter*; *The Lord*, ſaith he, *knoweth how to reſcue the godly out of temptation*, and τηρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὥρας πειρασμοῦ, *to preſerve from the time of temptation*, in the *Revelation*; which are oppoſed to bringing into temptation) partly it may be ſuppoſed an improvement thereof; *delivering from evil* ſignifying perhaps ſomewhat more, than not permitting us to incurr occaſions ſtrongly inviting us to evil; even the effectual keeping us from being overborn or complying with it; but let us conſider that Petition it ſelf. 2 Pet. 2. 9. Apoc. 3. 10.

But deliver us from evil.

From evil, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. S. *Chryſoſtom* takes it for the *Devil*; who is the ὁ πονηρὸς, *the Evil one*, the tempter; who ſeduceth us to evil: but we ſhall take it, according to the more common acception: *from evil*, that is principally, from ſin or evil moral and ſpiritual; the only evil, ſimply and in its own nature ſuch; and the root of all other evil; from that, and conſequently from all miſchief (evil natural and temporal; or evil penal and afflictive) which may grow upon, or ſprout from thence. As for ſuch evils as theſe, the want of things neceſſary or convenient for us, bodily diſeaſe and pain, diſappointment in our deſigns and ill ſucceſs in our undertakings, diſgrace and reproach upon our good names, dangers, difficulties and diſtreſſes concerning our outward eſtate, diſtractions, vexations and troubles of mind about temporal matters, with the like evils, (in ſome ſenſe, in ſome degree evils, or appearing ſuch to our natural ſenſe and fancy) we may indeed deprecate them (as even our Lord himſelf did) with ſubmiſſion (as he did) to the wiſdom and will of God, in caſe it pleaſeth him, and he thinketh fit to remove them; but all theſe things, being but names and empty ſounds in compariſon to ſpiritual and eternal evils (ſuch as are vicious diſtempers of mind, indiſpoſitions to ſerve God, ill progreſs in our ſpiritual affairs, diſſatisfaction concerning our ſtate in reſpect to God; actual tranſgreſſion of God's holy will and law; incurring God's diſpleaſure and diſfavour; being deprived of his grace and aſſiſtance; wanting the communion and comfort of his Holy Spirit; remorſe of conſcience, and anguiſh of ſpirit for having violated or neglected our duty; blindneſs of mind, hardneſs of heart; want of love, reverence, devotion toward God, of charity and good-will toward our neighbour; of ſobriety, humility, regularity of paſſion, and calmneſs of temper in reſpect to our ſelves and the inward frame of our ſouls; theſe, I ſay, and ſuch like evils) we ſhould abſolutely requeſt of God, that he in mercy would deliver and free us from them; they being irreconcileably repugnant to his will and glory; and inconſiſtent with our eternal welfare. Yet even theſe and all other things we do requeſt only in general terms, leaving the diſtinct matter, and manner, and meaſure, according to which they ſhould be diſpenſed, to the wiſdom and goodneſs of God; who *doth* (as our Lord telleth us) *know what things we have need of before we ask him*; and is not only *able* (as St. *Paul* ſays, Matth. 6. 8. Eph. 3. 20.

but

but willing alſo) *to do* for us *ſuperabundantly above what we can ask or think.* We are hereby (it ſeems) taught this point of good manners in our devotion, not to be tediouſly punctual and particular in our prayers, as if God needed our information, or were apt to neglect the particulars concerning our good.

We ſhut up all with a *Doxology*, moſt ſutable to the nature of devotion, ſignifying our due faith, our affection, and our reverence toward God.

For thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever, and ever. Amen.

That is, For thou haſt a perpetual and unmoveable authority whereby juſtly to diſpoſe of all things; thou haſt an indefectible and irreſiſtible power, whereby thou canſt effect whatever ſeems juſt and good to thee; wherefore we profeſs only to rely upon, and ſeek help from thee; with hope and confidence we addreſs our ſelves to thee for the ſupply of our needs; *thine is the glory*; all honour and reverence, all love and thankfulneſs are due unto thee, therefore we render our adorations and acknowledgments to thee. Even ſo to thee, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt be for ever aſcribed all glory and praiſe. Amen.

A N

AN EXPOSITION OF The Decalogue.

ALthough this *Syſtem* of Precepts may ſeem to have been in its deſign rather political, than moral; to regard publick, and external, rather than private, and interiour action; that great branch of morality, which reſpecteth our ſelves in our private retirements, or in our particular converſation, ſobriety of mind and manners, being ſcarce touched herein, at leaſt not openly and plainly expreſſed; as alſo devotion toward God (in any of its kinds, of praiſe, thankſgiving, confeſſion of ſin, prayer and interceſſion) that great part of natural Religion, being not explicitly, and poſitively injoined: Although alſo, (as by the introduction thereto, and ſome paſſages therein, eſpecially as it is delivered in *Deuteronomy*, may appear) it ſeemeth particularly to concern the *Jewiſh* Nation; a people called, and choſen by God out of all Nations, to be governed in a more ſpecial, and immediate manner by God himſelf, obliged to him by peculiar benefits and favours, deſigned by him to a ſeparate manner of living; being alſo perhaps in temper and diſpoſition as well as in condition and circumſtances of life different from other people; whence Laws convenient (or in a manner neceſſary) for them, might not ſo well ſute to all others; upon which accounts as other of their Laws, ſo perchance ſome paſſages in this notable part of them may not unreaſonably be deemed peculiarly to concern them; Although however this *Syſteme* doth more directly and immediately oblige that people, all being formally, and in ſtyle of Law directed only to them, promulged in their ears, expreſſed in their language, inſerted into the body of their Laws as a principal member of them; it being alſo expreſly called a *Covenant* with that people (*He declared unto you*, ſays the text, *his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments*) and accordingly was repoſed in the Ark, hence it ſeems named *the Ark of the Covenant*, the which, when all Nations ſhould be converted to God, and admitted into the Church, was (as the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold) to be utterly diſcarded and laid aſide. (*In thoſe days*, ſaith God in him, *they ſhall ſay no more the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord; neither ſhall it come to mind, neither ſhall they remember it, neither ſhall they viſit it; neither ſhall* that *be done any more.*) Hence although ſome paſſages herein, according to their primary, ſtrict and literal meaning might never have been intended univerſally and perpetually to oblige;

Ὁ γὰρ ἐν χωρῇ παλαιὸς ἤδη νόμος καὶ ὑμῶν μόνον, &c. Juſt. M. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 228.

Deut. 4. 13. 10. 2. Exod. 34. 1, 28.

Jer. 3. 16, 17.

Yet notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, if we conſider,

1. The manner of its delivery; with what extraordinary ſolemnity it was proclaimed; how it was dictated immediately from God's own mouth; and written with his finger; or

2. The matter of it, containing the prime dictates of natural reaſon, the chief rules of piety toward God, and equity toward our neighbour (whence

Neh. 9. 13. (whence thoſe elogies conferr'd on it, in *Nehemiah: Thou cameſt alſo down upon mount Sinai, and gaveſt them right judgments, and true laws, good*
Rom. 7. 12. *ſtatutes and commandments*; and by St. *Paul: The law is holy; the commandment holy, juſt and good*; for that commendation doth I ſuppoſe eſpecially reſpect this part of the *Jewiſh* Law; out of which he takes his inſtance,
Rom. 7. 7. *Thou ſhalt not covet)* if we alſo conſider,

3. The end and deſign of theſe Precepts, which was to ground them in true notions of Religion, and to diſpoſe them to the practice of righteouſneſs; to render them loyal and acceptable ſubjects to God; to pro-
Deut. 10. 12. mote God's glory, and their own good; which being expreſſed in general concerning their Law, doth more eſpecially agree to this *Syſteme*; being as the baſe and platform, the heart and quinteſſence of all their other Laws; the which ſeem added as ſuperſtructures on it, or *fences* thereof:

4. If we alſo conſider, that our Saviour did not derogate from this Law; but declared his intention only to expound it, or to ampliate, and extend it (they are the words of *Tertullian* and *Irenæus*) and how the
Rom. 7. 7. Eph. 6. 2. Apoſtles do ſometimes alledge ſome paſſages in it, as retaining ſome authority, and force to oblige.

5. Conſidering alſo farther, that there is no commandment herein (howſoever, according to its immediate and direct ſenſe ſeeming peculiar to that people) which may not in a larger, or in a myſterious and ſpiritual meaning; which at leaſt may not according to good analogy, or parity of reaſon concern us; obliging us, if not by direct authority in punctual manner to the very ſame thing, yet, as a ſignification of God's pleaſure and approbation, to ſomewhat anſwerable and like thereto;

6. *Laſtly*, If we conſider that all, or the greateſt part of, the main duties concerning us are either plainly expreſſed, or cloſely inſinuated in them; or may at leaſt be conveniently reduced to them; our Saviour himſelf having gone before, directing us in the matter and manner of doing it;

Conſidering, I ſay, theſe things, we have no ſmall reaſon to yield great veneration to this ancient *Syſteme* of Precepts; and to acknowledge the great uſe thereof in order to the guidance of our life and practice: we accordingly ſhall ſo deſcant thereon, as by conſidering the main drift, intrinſick reaſon, and ſpiritual intention of each particular, to reduce the chief Precepts of *Chriſtian* Doctrine, which oblige us thereto.

Premiſing thus much I addreſs my diſcourſe to the particulars; omitting all controverted niceties concerning the diviſion thereof; and all circumſtantial queſtions; touching only ſuch things, as ſhall appear ſubſtantial, and uſefull.

God ſpake all theſe Words, ſaying:

This is a title, or ſuperſcription like the *Par de le Roy, (by the King)* at the head of a Proclamation, declaring from whom, and in what manner, that which follows doth come; and therefore implying what it is, and how it ſhould be received.

God ſpake; It comes from God as Authour; and that moſt immediately, as it were from his own mouth; and hath conſequently the nature and force of a Law, obliging to higheſt regard and obedience; as that which proceedeth from the moſt ſovereign, unqueſtionable, and uncontrollable authority; which is promulged in a way moſt evident,

and

and moſt direct: every ſignification of God's purpoſe, or pleaſure is uſually called God's word; for *God* (as the *Apoſtle* ſays) *in divers kinds, and manners did ſpeak unto the fathers*; and to every ſuch word our ear ſhould be attentive, our heart ſhould be ſubmiſſive, our hand ſhould be obedient; but eſpecially they ſhould be ſo, when God himſelf immediately declares his mind and will; as he did notoriouſly in this caſe, by a great voice, diſtinctly audible and intelligible, miraculouſly formed by himſelf: *Behold*, ſay the People, *the Lord our God hath ſhewed us his glory, and his greatneſs, and we have heard his voice out of the midſt of the fire; we have ſeen this day, that God doth talk with man, and he liveth:* and if whatever is in God's name (by meſſage of Angels, by inſpiration of men, or by any other ways) revealed muſt be entertained with all ſubmiſs reſpect, what regard is due to that word, which God is pleaſed, not by his Miniſters and inſtruments, but himſelf in perſon, as it were, to pronounce?

Heb. 1. 1.

Deut. 5. 24.

These words: that is, theſe ſpeeches, or ſentences; (for ſo a *Word* in Scripture-ſtyle ſignifieth) or theſe things, and matters (for the *Hebrew* word *debarim*, as the *Greek* ῥήματα, ſignifieth both words and things: they are ſeveral times in the *Pentateuch* called the *ten words*, or *ten things*; whence the *Syſteme* of them is named the *Decalogue*.

Exod. 34. 28. Deut. 4. 13. 10. 2.

All theſe words: all, without diſtinction or exception, did proceed from the ſame authority, and in the ſame manner; and all therefore do require the like regard and obſervance to be yielded to them.

Jam. 2. 10, 11. Matth. 5. 19.

I am the Lord; or, *I am Jehovah, thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt:*

Theſe words are by ſome taken for a Precept, injoining the acknowledgment, and acceptance of God, anſwerable to what is here implied; and conſequently all the poſitive duties of Religion, deducible hence; but we ſee the ſtyle is declarative, and aſſertive, not directly imperative; and ſo it may paſs rather as a Preface farther enforcing obligation to obedience; wherein are expreſſed, or intimated the chief reaſons, upon which it is grounded; every word containing in it ſomewhat of remarkable *emphaſis*:

I am Jehovah; or that very ſame God, who under this appellation diſcovered my ſelf to thy forefathers; who enacted a ſpecial Covenant with them; who received homage, worſhip, and engagements to ſervice from them; who promiſed eſpecial protection and favour to them, and to their ſeed; that *Jehovah*, who indeed *am*, what this name importeth, the only true and real God; eternal, independent, and indefectible in eſſence; true and infallible in word; conſtant and immutable in purpoſe; firm and faithfull in performance of whatever I promiſe, or threaten: that ſame *Jehovah* I am; to whoſe words therefore, upon all accounts of reaſon, of duty, of intereſt thou particularly doſt owe muſt ſubmiſſive attention and obedience.

Thy God: that ſupereminent being, and power, to whom thou peculiarly doſt owe worſhip and honour, love and affection, duty and ſervice: who although he be indeed the Lord of all the world, yet beareth a ſpecial relation unto *thee*; as *having choſen*, and avouched *thee to be a ſpecial people to himſelf, above all the people, that are upon the face of the earth*; having promiſed thee to *make thee high above all nations, which he hath made, in praiſe, and in name, and in honour*; and having by many ſignal demonſtrations of favour and mercy confirmed to thee the performance

Deut. 7. 6. 4. 2.

of his covenant, and promiſe; thou alſo reciprocally having *avowed me*
Deut. 26. 16. *to be thy God, to walk in my ways, to keep my ſtatutes, my commandments, my judgments, and to hearken to my voice.*

Who brought thee out of the land of Egypt; out of of the houſe of bondage:

This is a particular, and moſt remarkable inſtance, by which it appeareth what God it is, that doth thus impoſe law upon them; and how they are obliged to entertain it: that God it is, who in purſuance of his ſingular favour toward thee, and of his Covenant made with thee, hath particularly obliged thee by ſo eminent a benefit, in a manner ſo full of wonder in it ſelf, ſo full of grace toward thee, delivering thee from ſaddeſt oppreſſion and ſlavery, bringing thee into a deſirable ſtate of preſent liberty, and of ſure tendency (not otherwiſe than by thy fault to be fruſtrated) toward enjoyment of reſt, of plenty, of all joy and comfort in the promiſed land; declaring hereby, as his glorious and divine perfections of wiſdom, and power, ſo his exceeding goodneſs toward thee, his faithfull care over thee, his readineſs and ſufficiency in all thy needs and exigencies to protect, preſerve and deliver thee:

I then being ſuch, *Jehovah*, the only true God; *thy God*, by particular engagement, and endearment; thy gracious and bountifull benefactour not in will only, but in deed; do thus propound my will unto thee; and upon all accounts of general and ſpecial duty; of reaſon, of juſtice, of gratitude require thy regard, and obſervance of what follows.

Now what God in a direct, and literal ſenſe thus ſpeaketh to the Jewiſh people, may according to likeneſs of caſe, and parity of reaſon (eſpecially in a myſtical and ſpiritual way) upon more conſiderable, and effectual accounts be applied unto us: The Lord *Jehovah* is ſuch no leſs to us than to them; He is *the ſame yeſterday, to day, and for ever*; to him, as to the
Heb. 13. 8. only, true, eternal and Almighty God, the eſſential Authour, Lord and Governour of all things, our higheſt reſpect, and obſervance are due; He alſo, in a ſtricter relation, founded on higher grounds, is *our God*, having choſen us, and conſecrated us more eſpecially to himſelf; having received
Heb. 8. 6. 7. 22. us into a cloſer confederacy *(a new and better covenant*, as the *Apoſtle* calls it, *eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes)* having obliged us by granting nobler privileges, and diſpenſing more excellent benefits to us: who likewiſe hath brought us up out of a ſpiritual *Egypt*, and ſtate of infinitely more wretched bondage; hath reſcued us from the tyrannical dominion of *Satan* (a far more intolerably cruel and hard Maſter, than any *Pharaoh)* hath freed us from ſerving ſin in our ſouls and bodies, a far harder ſervice, than making bricks, or any bodily toil can be; who hath conducted us in the way, and conferr'd on us an aſſured hope (if we be not wanting to our ſelves, and our duty) of entring into the heavenly *Canaan*, a place of perfect reſt, and unconceivable bliſs: who (as Saint *Paul* expreſſeth it) *hath*
Coloſſ. 1. 13. *delivered us from the power of darkneſs, and tranſlated us into the kingdom of his moſt beloved Son:* who therefore here, according to ſpiritual intent, may be underſtood to ſpeak in a higher ſtrain to us; juſtly exacting a more *punctual* and accurate obedience to his commandments. But ſo much for that part, which ſeems introductory.

Thou

Thou ſhalt have no other Gods before me.

I. Commandment.

'Tis in the *Hebrew*; there ſhall be to thee no other Gods (or no ſtrange Gods; for *alii* ſome render it, ſome *alieni*) על פני *(al panai)* to my face, or at my face; that is in compariſon, or competition with me; ſo as to be confronted to me; or together and in conſort with me: *I am He* (ſaith God otherwhere) *and there is no God* עמדי *(immadhi) with me*; or beſide me; πλὴν ἐμοῦ, the LXX. render it; and ſo the phraſe commonly importeth; as in that ſaying of the Scribe, anſwering to this: *There is one God*, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ, and *there is no other* God *beſide him*: but we need not criticize on the words, the ſenſe being plain; as containing a prohibition of aſſuming any other into partnerſhip with the one true God; acknowledging in mind, or in outward expreſſion any other for God. The Precept, as moſt of the reſt, is in form negative, and prohibitive, but ſuppoſeth and implieth ſomewhat affirmative and poſitive; as the reſt alſo may be conceived to do. It implies this affirmative Precept, Thou ſhalt have me for thy God: Now to have for our God, ſignifies as to internal diſpoſition of mind a moſt high eſteem, honour, dread and love of that Being, as endued with attributes, and perfections ſuperlatively excellent; the admiring all his works, approving all his actions, acquieſcing in all his proceedings and dealings with us; the repoſing our hope and truſt in him as moſt able and willing to help us, and do us good; in outward expreſſion to acknowledge, praiſe and bleſs him as ſuch; to yield all fitting demonſtrations of reſpect to his name, and to whatever is ſpecially related to him; patiently to ſubmit to his will, and readily to obey his commandments: theſe principally and the like acts of internal devotion, and external piety are comprized in the words, having him for our God, and we are to underſtand them here injoined to us; the ſame, which is in Scripture called the *fearing*, the *ſerving*, the *worſhipping*, the *loving God with all our heart, and all our ſoul, and all our mind, and all our might*.

Matth. 4.
Deut. 32. 39.
Mark 12. 32.
Matt. 22. 37.
Luke 10. 27.
Deut. 6. 5.

This is implied; and it is expreſly prohibited us to yield to any other, beſide him, the like eſteem, acknowledgment, or ſervice: That there is in truth but one ſuch Being, to whom eminently thoſe acts are due, nature, ancient tradition, general conſent, and eſpecially divine revelation do aſſure us; whereupon is conſequent, that yielding them (yielding, I ſay, thoſe opinions, eſtimations and affections of our mind, or thoſe acknowledgments and expreſſions in word, or thoſe performances in deed or work, which we before ſpecified) to any other Being whatever, whether really exiſtent in the world, or merely formed by our imagination, is highly unreaſonable, unbeſeeming us, and unjuſt toward him.

1. It is highly unreaſonable, as falſe and groundleſs in it ſelf; as vain and unprofitable to us; as productive of many bad effects. It is from errour in a matter of the higheſt nature, and maineſt conſequence; and ſo beyond any other miſtake hurtfull to us, as reaſonable and intelligent creatures; the μετάλλαξις τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, *the tranſmuting the truth of God into a lye*, Saint *Paul* calls it; reckoning it for a grievous folly, and crime. It is a vanity of all moſt lamentable; a purſuance of ſhadows, an embracing of clouds; a building in air, or mere vacuity; a leaning upon that, which hath no ſubſtance, or no ſtrength to ſupport us; a dreaming and doting upon mere nothing; whence thoſe falſe Deities well in Scripture are termed μάταια, *vanities*, for that as they have no truth, or ſubſtance, or efficacy conſiderable in them, ſo all our thoughts, affections, expectations and labours are idlely miſemployed, and unprofitably miſpent upon them.

Rom. 1. 25.
Jer. 2. 13.
Jer. 8. 19, &c.
Act. 14. 15, &c.

2. It is alſo a thing moſt unbeſeeming us men, (whom God hath placed in ſo high a rank of worth and dignity, among his creatures; who are in our original ſo near of kin, ſo like in nature, ſo dear in relation and regard unto God himſelf) to admire and worſhip, to place our choice affections upon, to afford lowly ſubmiſſions unto, to reſt our hope and confidence in any other but him, who alone truly ſo far excels us, and can worthily challenge ſuch reſpects from us; all flattery is baſe and unworthy, but this of all is the worſt and moſt unbecoming.

3. To do ſo, is alſo moſt unjuſt and injurious to God; to whom as to the Authour of our being, and of all our good received ſince, we do owe all that our mind can yield of reverence, all that our heart can hold of affection, all that our tongue can utter of praiſe, all that our utmoſt might can perform of ſervice; and ſince the exhibiting to any other thing part of theſe muſt needs not only by that communication debaſe, and derogate from their worth, but alſo withdraw them in great meaſure from him, ſo diminiſhing and embezilling his due (for we cannot, as our Saviour teacheth us, together adhere unto, or ſerve divers Maſters) therefore having any other God, but the true *one*, is a high indignity, and a heinous injury to him.

Οὐ περισπᾶται πρὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δουλεύειν μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν. Orig. *l.* 8. *p.* 382.

This command therefore is moſt reaſonable upon many accounts; which as it hath been in groſſeſt manner violated by thoſe who have not acknowledged, or worſhipped any God at all, and by thoſe who have acknowledged and adored many Gods (by all *Atheiſts* and *Polytheiſts*) from which tranſgreſſions thereof we Chriſtians may ſeem totally exempt, who in formal profeſſion and practice have but one God (the Maker and Lord of all things, infinitely perfect, and glorious) yet there are many ſubtile, and perchance no leſs miſchievous tranſgreſſions thereof, of which even we may be very guilty, and to which we are very obnoxious. If we do not with all our hearts reverence, and love the moſt wiſe and powerfull, the moſt juſt and holy, the moſt good and gracious God; if we do not truſt and hope in him as the fountain of all our good; if we do not diligently worſhip and praiſe him; if we do not humbly ſubmit to his will, and obey his Laws, we break the poſitive intent of this Law, not having him for our God; being indeed like thoſe, of whom Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, *who profeſs to know God* (that is, who in words and outward pretence acknowledge him) *but in works deny him, being abominable, and diſobedient, and to every good work reprobate.* Likewiſe if we frame in our fancy an *Idea* untrue, diſagreeable unto, or unworthy of that one moſt excellent Being, and to ſuch a phantaſm of our own creation do yield our higheſt reſpects, and beſt affections, we break this Law, and have another God to our ſelves. If upon any creature (whether our ſelves, or any other thing) we impart our chief eſteem, or affection; or employ our moſt earneſt care and endeavour; or chiefly rely upon it, or moſt delight in it, that thing we make a God unto us, and are guilty of breaking this Law; hence Saint *Paul* more than once calls the *covetous* (or wrongfull) perſon *an Idolater*; and our Lord calls the immoderate purſuit of riches, the ſerving (or worſhipping) of *Mammon*; and Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh of ſome perſons, who were φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον, ἢ φιλόθεοι, *lovers of pleaſures, rather than lovers of God*; of whom otherwiſe he ſays, *that their God was their belly*: we meet with thoſe in the Scripture, who *put their truſts in their horſes, and their chariots*; with thoſe, who *ſacrifice to their net, and burn incenſe to their drag*; with them who *truſt in man, and make fleſh their arme* (men of *Mezentius* his faith; ready to ſay with him, *Dextra mihi Deus eſt, & telum quod miſſile libro*) with thoſe, *whoſe heart is lifted up* (as the Prince of *Tyre* in *Ezekiel*)

Λέγει ὁ Ξήνων, ὁ τῆς Στωϊκῆς κτίστης αἱρέσεως·-- μήτε ναοὺς ποιεῖν μήτε ἀγάλματα· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἄξιον κατασκεύασμα. Clem. Alex. *Strom. V.* *p.* 426. *Id. de* Numa. *p.* 223. *Strom. I.* *Vid.* Aug. *de C. D.* 4. 31. Tit. 1. 16.

Eph. 5. 5. Coloſſ. 3. 5. Matth. 6. 24. 2 Tim. 3. 4. Phil. 3. 19. Pſal. 20. 7. Hab. 1. 16. Jer. 17. 5. Virgil *Æn.* 10.

kiel) and who *ſay they are Gods*; theſe, and whoever practiſe in like manner, are ſo many tranſgreſſours of this Covenant: In ſhort, whoever chiefly regards and affects, ſeeks and purſues, confides and delights in wealth, or honour, or pleaſure; wit, wiſdom, ſtrength, or beauty; himſelf, friends, or any other creature, he hath another God, againſt the deſign, and meaning of this holy Law. Ezek. 28. 2. Iſa. 10. 13.

Thou ſhalt not make unto thee any graven image, &c. II. Commandment.

The *firſt* Commandment determined the final object of our Religion; this doth limit the manner of exerciſing and expreſſing it; as to the chief intent of it, interdicting that mode, which in the practice of ancient times had ſo generally prevailed, of repreſenting the Deities (apprehended ſo) in ſome corporeal ſhape, and thereto yielding ſuch expreſſions of reſpect, as they conceived ſutable and acceptable to ſuch Deities. I cannot ſtand to declare the riſe, and progreſs of ſuch a practice; how the Devil's malice, and ſome mens fraud conſpiring with other mens ſuperſtitious ignorance and fondneſs, prevailed ſo far to impoſe upon mankind; I ſhall only obſerve, that men naturally are very prone to comply with ſuggeſtions to ſuch guiſes of Religion: for as the ſenſe of want, and pain, and manifold inconvenience, not to be removed or remedied by any preſent ſenſible means, doth prompt men to wiſh, and ſeek for help from otherwhere; and this diſpoſes them to entertain any hopes propounded to them (with how little ſoever ground of probability) of receiving it from any abſent, or inviſible power; as it alſo conſequently engageth them to undertake any conditions required by thoſe, who propound ſuch hopes, as needfull for obtaining thereof; whence the ordinary ſort of men are very apt to embrace any way of Religion ſuggeſted to them, eſpecially by perſons of credit, and authority for knowledge; ſo alſo, when the propoſition thereof doth come attended with circumſtantial appearances, and ſhews gratifying their ſenſes, or humouring their paſſions, or delightfully amuſing their fancies, it moſt eaſily allures, and takes them; as likewiſe on the other ſide, when abſtraction of mind, and reſtraint of paſſion are required, and ſenſe or fancy are little entertained thereby, men are ſomewhat averſe from ſuch propoſals of Religion, and are not ſo eaſily brought heartily to like, or earneſtly to embrace them; wherefore ſince the propounding of images and ſenſible repreſentations (relating to ſomewhat not immediately diſcerned, from whence men are promiſed the ſupply of their needs, or relief from the inconveniences, which they endure) by their magnificency, beauty, curioſity, ſtrangeneſs, or even by their ſenſibility it ſelf, do make ſo facile, and pleaſant impreſſions upon the dull and low conceits of men, it is the leſs wonderfull, that men commonly have been ſo eaſily inveagled into ſuch idolatrous ſuperſtitions; ſo unreaſonable in themſelves, and of ſo miſchievous conſequence. For what can be more ſenſeleſs, than to imagine, that that Being, which in wiſdom and power is ſufficient to over-rule nature, and thereby to afford us the aſſiſtance we need, may be reſembled by any of theſe corporeal things, the beſt of which we cannot, without debaſing our ſelves, eſteem ſuperiour to our ſelves? how unreaſonable is it to conceit thus, how unworthy is it, and unſutable to the dignity of our nature, derived from heaven, to crouch unto ſuch mean repreſentations? it is Saint *Paul*'s diſcourſe: *Being* (ſaith he) *the off-ſpring of God, we ought not to think, that the Godhead is like unto gold, or ſilver, or ſtone graven by art, and man's device.* How injurious alſo to that

Κοινὸς ἁπάντων νόμος. Max Tyr. *diſſ.* 38. Where he defendeth Idolatry.

Act. 17. 29.

that moſt excellent nature muſt it be to frame, and expoſe to view ſuch not only homely and mean, but in reſpect of the divine nature, moſt foul and ugly portraictures of him, which cannot but tend to vilifie him in mens conceit? * He that ſhould form the image of a ſerpent, or a toad, and exhibit it as the ſimilitude of a King, would ſurely derogate much from his Majeſty, and beget very mean and unbeſeeming conceits of his perſon in their minds, whom he ſhould perſuade to take it for ſuch; and infinitely more muſt he detract from the dignity, and diminiſh the reverence due to that immenſe, almighty, alwiſe, moſt pure and perfect being, who ſhall preſume to preſent any ſenſible, any finite, any corruptible thing as a reſemblance of him; Rom. 1. 23. *changing* (as St. *Paul* expreſſeth it) *the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beaſts, and creeping things*; as the *Iſraelites* are ſaid to have *changed their glory* Pſal. 106. 20. (that is, their glorious God) *into the ſimilitude of an ox, that eateth graſs*: No wonder it was, that they, who uſed ſuch expreſſions of their Religion, had ſo low opinions concerning thoſe ſuppoſed Deities whom they worſhipped; that they ſuppoſed them liable to ſuch paſſions, fathered ſuch actions upon them, deſcribed them as vile in their diſpoſitions and their doings, as they repreſented them in their ſhape: Moſt reaſonable therefore is this prohibition of making any reſemblance of what kind ſoever (by *picture*, *ſculpture* or *fuſion*) in order to religious adoration; and yielding to them any ſuch ſignification of reſpect, which the cuſtom or conſent of men hath appropriated to Religion; as bowing, falling down, lying proſtrate before them, or the like: moſt reaſonable I ſay, for ſince there is but one proper, and allowable object of our worſhip, as the *firſt* Commandment declares and enacts, the making an image of any other exiſtent in nature, or deviſed by our own fancy in order to the worſhip thereof, is but a purſuance of that unreaſonable, unhandſom, and unjuſt ſuperſtition there forbidden; adding ſome abſurdity in the manner to the pravity in the ſubſtance of ſuch worſhip.

And as for that one true object of our devotion, the eternal, immenſe, and all perfect God; the glorious excellency of whoſe nature doth infinitely tranſcend our comprehenſion, and conſequently of whom we cannot deviſe any reſemblance not infinitely beneath him, unlike to him, unworthy of him (whereby we ſhall not diſparage him, and expoſe him to irreverent apprehenſions, eſpecially with the groſs vulgar; whereby indeed we ſhall not cloud his true inimitable perfections, and affix imperfections to him; blending inexpreſſible truth with apparent falſhood) it muſt be therefore a profane folly to pretend the repreſenting him by any image; and the doing of it is upon ſuch accounts in many places of Scripture forbidden; and that it is ſo here, according to the intent of this Precept is plain by that place in *Deuteronomy*, where *Moſes* reports Deut. 4. 15. the ground of this prohibition: *Take ye therefore* (ſaith he) *good heed unto your ſelves; for ye ſaw no manner of ſimilitude on the day, that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb, out of the midſt of the fire, leſt you corrupt, and make you a graven image:* No ſhape repreſenting God did appear at his utterance of theſe Laws, to prevent their framing any reſemblance of God, and taking occaſion to practiſe this ſort of worſhip; thereby implied to be unreaſonable. And the Prophet *Eſay* having in ſublime language and diſcourſe ſet out the incomparable greatneſs, power, and majeſty of God (*who hath meaſured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and*

* Ἐξυτελίζει τὸν θεὸν σεμνότητα ἡ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῇ ὄψεως σωμάτεια, καὶ τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν διὰ ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι ἀπαμάζειν ἔστιν αὐτὴν διὰ αἰσθήσεως. Clem. Strom. V. p. 408.

The being ordinarily expoſed to view doth (ſaith Clem. Alex.) *extenuate the venerability of God; and to worſhip the intelligible nature by matter doth vilifie it through the ſenſe.*

and meted out heaven with a ſpan, and comprehended the duſt of the earth in a meaſure, and weighed the mountains in ſcales, and the hills in a balance; before whom the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the ſmall duſt of a balance---yea before whom all nations are as nothing, and are counted to him leſs than nothing and vanity; who ſitteth upon the circle of the earth; and the inhabitants thereof are as graſhoppers; who ſtretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and ſpreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in) having, I ſay, in this, and more ſuch language endeavoured to deſcribe the might, and majeſty of God, he inferrs: *To whom then will ye liken God; or what likeneſs will ye compare unto him?* and thereupon he proceeds to diſcourſe againſt making images for religious uſe. Like whereto is the diſcourſe of Saint *Paul* to the *Athenians*: *God* (ſaith he) *who made the world, and all things that are therein, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; nor is worſhipped by the hands of men, ---we therefore being the off-ſpring of God, ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or ſilver, or ſtone, the engravement of art, and man's device*; in which place, as the forming any image to repreſent divine things is manifeſtly prohibited, ſo the reaſons which we touched againſt ſuch practice, are diſcernibly enough inſinuated.

Eſa. 40. 12. —25.

Act. 17. 24. —29.

Neither ſhould we omit, that this Law is confirmed in the New Teſtament, and there made a part of God's new Law: for we are therein often commanded *to flee idols*, not to *be idolaters*, to *ſhun idolatry* as a moſt heinous crime, of the higheſt rank, proceeding from fleſhly pravity, inconſiſtent with good conſcience, and expoſing to damnation: for the meaning and notion of Idolatry in which places, why ſhould we underſtand it otherwiſe, than according to the plain ſenſe of the word, which is the worſhip of images, or reſemblances? why ſhould we take it otherwiſe, than as oppoſite to God's Law, then in force? why ſhould we otherwiſe expound it, than according to the common notion and acceptance of God's people at that time? The word Idolatry was unknown to other people than the *Jews*; among the *Jews* it ſignified the violation of the *ſecond* Commandment; wherefore the obſervance of that Commandment is eſtabliſhed and enforced by the Apoſtles. The *Jews* deteſted the worſhipping any images; their deteſtation was grounded on this Law; they therefore, who earneſtly exhort them to continue in deteſtation thereof, do confirm, and enforce the obligation of this Law; nor can we reaſonably ſuppoſe any diſtinction, or reſervation for any Idolatry (or any worſhipping of images) as lawfull, or allowable to Chriſtians; ſince the Apoſtles as they found it univerſally prohibited to the *Jews*, ſo they continued to charge Chriſtians againſt it. This diſcourſe hath more force, conſidering that the ſame reaſon, upon which this Law was enacted, doth ſtill apparently continue; men ſtill unmeaſurably affecting this fancifull way of Religion, being apt in the exerciſe thereof (if not curb'd by a Law) to dote upon ſenſible repreſentations; being averſe from raiſing up their minds to the only true object of worſhip, as endued with intelligible, and ſpiritual perfections: this, the experience of mens wild eagerneſs for images, reliques, and other ſuch fooliſh trinkets, which had almoſt quite oppreſſed our Religion (as in many ages the beſt and wiſeſt men did obſerve and complain) doth plainly evince.

1 Joh. 5. 21. 1 Cor. 10. 7. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 10, 11. 6. 9. Gal. 5. 20. Apoc. 9. 20. 21. 8. 22. 15.

We may add, that if the common tradition and conſent of the ancient Church is in any caſe a ground of perſuaſion, or rule of practice to us, we are thence obliged to diſapprove, and decline the worſhipping images; for nothing can be more evident than that all ſuch worſhip was not only carefully eſchewed, but zealouſly deteſted by the primitive Chriſtians;

Chriſtians: This is manifeſt from moſt expreſs words of the *Fathers* generally impugning and condemning all worſhip of images; which are as applicable to that worſhip, which hath been practiſed among *Chriſtians*, as to that of the *Heathens*; their expreſſions do not ſignify, nor their arguments prove any thing, if any worſhip of images be allowable, if they do not as well condemn and confute the *modern*, as the *ancient Romans*; They could not with any reaſon, or modeſty have uſed ſuch words, or urged ſuch reaſons, if their practice had been like that, which afterward crept into the Church; their darts then againſt *Pagan* Idolatry eaſily might, ſurely would have been, retorted on themſelves; which is ſo far from having been done, that the *Pagans* accuſed them for having no * Images (*Celſus objecteth*, † ſaith *Origen*, *that we ſhun making altars, ſtatues and ſhrines, thinking this to be a faithfull pledge (or mark) of our ſecret communion together:* this *Origen* anſwers by confeſſing the matter of fact; but defending the right; not for your reaſon, ſaith he, we ſhun theſe things, but * *becauſe we by the doctrine of Jeſus, having found the true manner of piety toward God, do eſchew thoſe things, which in conceit or appearance of piety do make men impious*—— and *the images of Chriſtians are* (ſaith he) *their vertues, whereby they reſemble God; and truly worſhip him; and every good Chriſtian, carefully imitating God, is his beſt ſtatue.*

* *Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota ſimulacra?* Minut.

Conſueſtis crimen nobis maximum impietatis affingere, quòd neque ædes ſacras venerationis ad officia conſtruamus, non Deorum alicujus ſimulacrum conſtituamus, aut formam, &c. Arnob. 6.

† ——Κέλσός φησιν ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς, καὶ ἀγάλματα, καὶ νεὼς ἱδρύσθαι φεύγειν ἐπεὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας οἴεται εἶναι σύνθημα. 8. p. 389.

Ὁ Μωσῆς τὰς δοκίμους καὶ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας ζωγραφίαν καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιΐαν ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν πολιτείας ἐξήλασε. Philo *de* Gig.

* ——ἀλλ' ὅτι εὑρόντες, διὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, φεύγομεν τὰ φαντασίᾳ εὐσεβείας ἀσεβεῖς ποιοῦντα, &c.

Vid. Tert. *de Idol.* 3. 4. p. 389. 390.

Yea the *Fathers* were ſo far from practiſing worſhip of Images, that ſome of them condemn the ſimple making of them; calling the art of doing it a fallacious art, introduced by the Devil and forbidden by God; expounding this Commandment ſo, as that in it not only the worſhipping, but the forming any ſimilitude is forbidden: * *Moſes*, (ſaith *Clem. Alex.*) *did of old expreſly give law, that no carved, or fuſile, or plaiſtered, or painted portraicture, or imagery ſhould be made; that we ſhould not attend to ſenſible things, but paſs to things intelligible:* and † *Tertullian* in ſeveral places ſaith the ſame. Whether their expoſition (concurring it ſeems with the common opinion of the *Jews* in their time) were true, I ſhall not now diſcuſs; that making any ſimilitudes in order to worſhip is prohibited, is moſt evident.

* Μωσῆς πρόπαλαι διαῤῥήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν, ἢ χωνευτὸν, ἢ πλαστὸν, ἢ γραπτὸν ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι· ὡς μὴ αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχοιμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετίωμεν, &c.

Clem. *Strom. V.* p. 408.

Οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε ὁ μηδὲ γλυπτὸν εἴδωλον δημιουργεῖν παραινέσας, αὐτὸς ἀπεικόνιζεν τῶν ἁγίων ἄγαλμα. p. 411.

† Tertul. *de Spectac. cap.* 23. *de Idol.* 3, 4, 5, *&c. Contra* Marc. 2. 22. *Vid.* Iren. 4. 31, 32. Tertul. *de Idol. per tot.* Aug. *contra* Fauſt. 15. 4, 7. *&* 19. 18. *Contra* 2 *Epiſt.* Pet. 3. 4.

In fine, divers of the Fathers ſay, that all the commands in the Decalogue, excepting the Sabbath, do continue in force, as naturally obligatory, and as confirmed by the Chriſtian Law: for inſtance St. *Auguſtine* in his 119 *Epiſtle* ſpeaketh thus: *The other precepts* (excepting the Sabbath) *there* (in the Decalogue) *we do obſerve properly as they are commanded without any figurate obſervation; for we have manifeſtly learnt, not to worſhip idols, and not to take the name of the Lord our God in vain, to honour father and mother,* &c. *do not figurately pretend one thing and myſtically ſignify another thing, but are ſo obſerved as they ſound.*

But ſo much for the prohibition: I ſhall add, that we may conceive this poſitive Precept implied, and intended here, that in our devotions and religious ſervices of God we ſhould raiſe our mind above groſs ſenſe and fancy; that we ſhould entertain high and worthy conceptions of God; that we ſhould apprehend him incomparably ſuperiour to all things,

things, which we do ſee or know; that we direct our minds unto him as to a being tranſcendently perfect in goodneſs, juſtice, wiſdom and power, above what we can comprehend and think; that which our Saviour calls *worſhipping God in ſpirit and truth*; which is (as I take it) the ſpecial poſitive duty of this Commandment. Joh. 4. 23, 24.

I need not farther to urge, how preſumptuous and dangerous the practices of thoſe men are, who (to the great danger, and ſcandal of Chriſtianity among Jews, and Mahometans, and men of other Religions) notwithſtanding theſe commandments of God, backed with others, of the ſame import, frequently occurring in the holy Scripture, (never that we find any intimation of, repealed or relaxed) particularly againſt that ſignal one made uſe of by our Saviour, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord, thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerve*; without any ancient good authority, or example, without any neceſſity or good reaſon inducing, do not only yield themſelves, but violently force others to yield unto Angels, and unto the ſouls of dead men (men of dubious ſtate in reference to God, not having paſt the laſt trial and judgment, the reſult whereof 'tis a profane temerity in us peremptorily to anticipate) all kinds of worſhip, both internal (repoſing truſt and hope in them of obtaining benefits from them; attributing unto them in their eſteem the knowledge and power, which for all that we can know are incommunicably proper unto God himſelf) and external, of prayer and invocation, of praiſe and thankſgiving; and not only thus as to the ſubſtance imparting a kind of divine worſhip to them, but as to the manner, erecting images of them, even in the places devoted to God's own ſervice, and affording to them the ſame expreſſions of reverence and reſpect, that we do or can preſent unto God himſelf (with great ſolemnity dedicating ſuch Images to them, with huge care and coſt decking them, with great ſemblance of devotion ſaluting them, and caſting themſelves down before them; carrying them in proceſſion, expoſing them to the people, and making long pilgrimages to them;) ſo that inſtead of the ſpiritual worſhip of God himſelf, peculiarly required of Chriſtians, and to which our Religion is perfectly ſuted, a Religion chiefly employing ſenſe, and fancy, and for the greateſt part directed unto the repreſentations of creatures is ſubſtituted, in deſpight, as it were, and in defiance of theſe Commandments: the plain force of which they endeavour to elude and evade by ſlender pretences, and ſubtile diſtinctions, by the like to which there is no Law, which may not as eaſily be rendred inſignificant, and invalid; never in the mean time conſidering, that theſe Laws were not given to employ the wits of Sophiſters and Schoolmen; but to direct the practice of rude and plain people; to which purpoſe no Law, after ſuch Artiſts have had the handling of it, can ſignify any thing: nothing being ſo clear which by their cavillations and quirks they cannot confound; nothing ſo ſmooth wherein they cannot find or make knots.

There is ſubjoined to theſe two Commandments (as we reckon them; others * have accounted them but one; and their opinion is ſomewhat countenanced, by what is added here ſeeming to bear a common reſpect to both, there is I ſay ſubjoined) a reaſon, or rather a contexture of reaſons ſtrongly preſſing and encouraging to obedience, deterring and diſcouraging from diſobedience to them; or indeed generally to all God's Commandments, but eſpecially unto theſe, moſt immediately relating to Him: * *S.* Auſtin, Bede, *&c.*

For I the Lord thy God am a jeaſous God. (am *El kanah, fortis zelotes*, as the *Vulgar Latine* reads it: it may ſeem to have been a name of God, implying, as all the other names of God do, ſome attribute of God; for it is in the 34th of *Exodus*, ſaid: *Thou ſhalt worſhip no other God for the Lord, whoſe Name is Jealous*, or *Kana, is a jealous God*;)

Exod. 34. 14.

I am a jealous God, that is, a God very tender of my honour, and of my right; who am impatient of any mate, or competitour in reſpect to thoſe duties, which properly and incommunicably belong unto me; *I am* (ſaith God in the Prophet *Eſay*) *the Lord, that is my name, and my glory I will not give to another, nor my praiſe to graven images*: this *Jealouſie* doth contain in it not only a ſtrong diſlike, but a fierce diſpleaſure, againſt the infringers of theſe Laws: *For the Lord thy God* (ſaith *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, preſſing the obſervance of this ſame Precept, concerning the worſhip of Images) *is a conſuming fire, he is a jealous God*: And if God be thus jealous, ſo eaſily provoked to indignation by our detracting his due honour, and imparting it to any other, we have great reaſon to be afraid of incurring the guilt of either; for *who can ſtand in his ſight, when he is angry?* who can ſupport the effects of his diſpleaſure?

Iſa. 42. 8.

Deut. 4. 24.

Pſal. 76. 7.

Viſiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me.

Viſiting the iniquities of fathers upon the children; God doth not only puniſh thoſe perſons themſelves, who commit notorious and heinous ſins (ſuch as theſe of idolatry and profaneneſs, whereby he is publickly wrong'd and diſhonoured) but the more to deterr men (who naturally bear much regard to their poſterity, and are afraid to be, aſhamed to appear the cauſes of ruine and calamity to their family) he declareth that in reſpect to their doings it ſhall go ill with their poſterity; they ſhall therefore be more ſtrictly and ſeverely dealt with; they ſhall upon this ſcore be capable of leſs favour and mercy from God, than otherwiſe they might have been: for we muſt not hereby underſtand, that God will arbitrarily inflict undeſerved pains upon the children of bad men for the faults of their anceſtours (God doth expreſly diſclaim ſuch kind of proceeding; *The ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of the father; the ſoul that ſinneth it ſhall die*; ſaith he in the Prophet: and, *Every one ſhall die for his own iniquity*; *every man that eateth the ſowre grape, his teeth ſhall be ſet on edge*) but that he will upon that account withdraw his free favours from them; that meaſure of grace and indulgence, which otherwiſe the ſon of ſuch a perſon (had he not been a great Traitour againſt God) might according to the general courſe of God's goodneſs have received, the which might have more effectually reſtrained him from ſin, and conſequently have prevented his guilt and his puniſhment, God may well (in conſiſtence with his juſtice and goodneſs, to manifeſt his deteſtation of heinous wickedneſs) withhold from him. Such a ſon, if he do fall into perſonal offences (for that alſo is to be underſtood; otherwiſe ſuch is the goodneſs of God, that he hath declared, *if a ſon ſeeing his fathers ſins, and*

Ezek. 18. 20.

Deut. 24. 16. Jer. 31. 30.

Ezek. 18. 14. 17.

and conſidering doeth not the like, he ſhall not die for the iniquity of his father, but ſhall ſurely live; if I ſay he falleth into perſonal ſins) God will viſit; that is, will uſe a cloſe inſpection and animadverſion upon him, will ſeverely puniſh and avenge his ſin; not only upon his own, but on his father's account; examples of which proceeding do in the divine hiſtories frequently occurr; * in *Solomon*, in *Jeroboam*, in *Baaſha*, in *Ahab*, in *Jehu*, and in others.

*1 King. 11. 35. 1 Kings 14. 13. 13. 34. 14. 10. 16. 3. 21. 29. 2 Kings 9. 8. 10. 30. 15. 12. Job 27. 14.

Of them that hate me. We may obſerve that in the Scripture ſtyle the tranſgreſſours of God's Laws are termed haters, and enemies of God; becauſe their actions ſignify a diſpoſition of mind in them repugnant to the mind of God; and becauſe by them they reſiſt, and oppoſe God's will; no wonder then if God deal thus ſeverely with them.

But God not only deterrs from diſobedience by threatning a train of puniſhments, but he encourageth to obedience by a declaration of his intention (or promiſe) graciouſly to reward not only upon the obedient perſons themſelves, but upon their poſterity for ever (in a manner) unto thouſands, that is unto a thouſand deſcents:

Shewing mercy unto thouſands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

Shewing mercy; God doth not abſolutely promiſe, that he will forbear to puniſh the poſterity of good men, in caſe they offend, but that he will ſhew mercy, and deal the more favourably with them in that reſpect: his meaning and method in theſe caſes are plainly repreſented in thoſe words concerning *David*, *If his children forſake my law, and walk not in my judgments, if they break my ſtatutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I viſit their tranſgreſſion with the rod, and their iniquity with ſtripes; nevertheleſs my loving kindneſs will I not utterly take from him*-----: God declares he will puniſh the offending children of very good men, yet ſo as their miſdeeds ſhall not interrupt his kindneſs toward the reſt of their poſterity, or aboliſh his remembrance of their goodneſs: ſo we may ſee God dealt with *Abraham*, and the *Patriarchs*, paſſing by (in memory of their love and reverence to him; and their faithfull obedience to his will) the manifold provocations of their poſterity; ſo that he did not for a long tract of time, and after many generations paſt ſuffer them (according as their perſonal demeanour highly deſerved) to incurr ruine; upon this conſideration he brought them out of *Egypt*, he ſettled them in *Canaan*, he frequently delivered them from their enemies, he reſtored them from oppreſſions, and captivities; as is often expreſſed, and inſinuated in *Scripture*. So alſo it is frequently mentioned, that for *David*'s ſake, his poſterity, although highly provoking God by their miſcarriages, was protected and preſerved; I cannot ſtand to mention places. I ſhall only farther note that which is very obvious, and moſt remarkable here; the difference between God's proceeding in way of ſeverity, and in way of favour; by a vaſt proportion the expreſſions of God's mercy do exceed thoſe of juſtice, although both inſiſting upon like, or correſpondent grounds: *he viſiteth the iniquities* of diſobedient fathers *unto the third or fourth generation*, but *he ſheweth mercy to a thouſand generations of thoſe* that love and obey him; he ſoon forgetteth the wrongs done, but he long retaineth in memory the ſervices performed to him; which conſideration ſhould work upon our ingenuity, and engage us willingly to obey ſo gracious a Lord.

Vid. Deut. 7. 9.

Pſal. 89. 30. 2 Chron. 21. 7.

Iſa. 45. 4. Pſal. 105. 42. Deut. 4. 37. Levit. 26. 42. Exod. 2. 34.

1 King. 11. 12, 34. 15. 4. Pſal. 18. 50. Iſa. 37. 35.

It is alſo obſervable, that as diſobedience is ſtyled hatred of God, ſo *loving God* and *keeping his commandments* are conjoined as terms equivalent: they are indeed inſeparably connected, love being a certain cauſe of obedience, obedience an infallible ſign of love: *He that hath my commandments, and obſerveth them, he it is* (ſaith our *Saviour*) *that loveth me:* and, *If any man loveth me, he will keep my word.* But I paſs forward to the next,

Joh. 14. 21, 15. Joh. 23. 24.

III. Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain.

It conſiſteth we ſee of a Precept, and of a reaſon deterring from diſobedience thereto, by declaring or threatning the miſchief enſuing thereon.

The Precept is: *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain:* it might be rendred, Thou ſhalt not bring the name of the Lord thy God to a vanity (or to a lye, for ſo the word שוא *ſhaveh*, frequently importeth) that is (as it ſeems interpreted in a parallel place, where moſt of theſe Laws are repeated, inculcated and fenced by additional injunctions) *Thou ſhalt not ſwear in my name to a falſhood*; and in the 24th *Pſalm*, *to lift up one's ſoul to vanity*, is explained by *ſwearing* למרמה *(lemirmah) to deceit, or falſhood.* *Joſephus* expreſſeth it by ὅτι μηδενὶ ψεύδῳ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύναι, To *adjure God to no bad matter* (or to no falſe matter, as the word ψεῦδος commonly in good Writers is taken.) And our Lord himſelf in his *Sermon* on the Mount ſeemeth to reſpect this Law, when he ſays; *Ye have heard that it was ſaid to the ancients,* οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, *ye ſhall not forſwear, but ſhall render to the Lord your oaths*; For he doth immediately before cite other paſſages out of the *Decalogue (thou ſhalt not kill, thou ſhalt not commit adultery)* with intention to explain or extend them; and therefore probably he proceeds reſpecting this Law, the moſt conſpicuous of all thoſe, which relate to this matter; and if this Law be (as ſome conceive) ſuppoſed to ſignify more ſtrictly, it had been more ſutable to his purpoſe to cite it, than any other of more lax importance; his drift being plainly to extend in matter, and to ſtraiten in obligation even the fulleſt, and ſtricteſt of ancient Laws, at leaſt as they were then commonly expounded, and underſtood; yea even in this caſe our Lord ſeemeth to affirm that the ancients had no Law ſtrict and perfect enough for Evangelical practice; conſidering which things, it is probable, that the prime intent of this Law is to prohibit that great ſin of *Perjury*, that is of invoking God's atteſtation to a lye; thereupon appealing to him as witneſs, and judge, that what we aſſert is true; as a ſurety, that what we promiſe we do ſtedfaſtly reſolve, and ſhall faithfully endeavour to perform; implying alſo, that we do expect a curſe, and vengeance from him upon us, if we be found knowingly to falſify in our affirmation, or wilfully to violate our promiſe.

Levit. 19. 12. Pſal. 24. 4. Joſ. *Arch.* 3. 4. Matth. 5. 33. Πᾶς ὅρκος εἰς κατάραν τελεῖται τῆς ἐπιορκίας.

Swearing is in its own nature immediately an act of Religion, and as ſuch was injoined by God (*Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy God, and ſerve him, and ſhalt ſwear by his name*; It expreſſeth the pious perſuaſion we have concerning God's chief attributes and prerogatives; of his omnipreſence and omniſcience (extending to the knowledge of our moſt inward thoughts, and ſecret purpoſes; of his watchfull providence over what we do; of his juſtice, and fidelity in maintaining truth and right, in avenging iniquity and falſhood: the reaſon of uſing it, was derived from, or grounded upon

Deut. 6. 13. 10. 20.

upon a perſuaſion, about God, which hath ever been common among men, that God the governour and judge of the world, the protectour and patron of right, is always ready upon our invocation and reference unto him to undertake the cognizance of matters in debate and controverſie between men, for the protection of truth, the maintenance of right, and preſervation of peace among them (*An oath*, ſaith the *Apoſtle*, *for confirmation is to men an end of all ſtrife*) ſo that the uſe thereof becometh a main inſtrument of promoting thoſe purpoſes, the ſtrongeſt tye of fidelity, the ſureſt ground to proceed upon in adminiſtration of juſtice, the moſt ſacred band of all ſociety; which therefore he that ſhall preſume to violate, doth not only moſt unworthily wrong this or that perſon, this or that ſociety of men, but doth what in him lies to ſubvert the foundations of all publick juſtice and peace; withall moſt impiouſly abuſing, and affronting God Almighty himſelf; profaning his moſt ſacred ordinance, making his name inſtrumental to the compaſſing his deceitfull and baſe purpoſes, deſpiſing his judgment, and defying his vengeance. Heb. 6. 16.

This ſeems to be the firſt, and direct meaning of this Law; but it may by parity of reaſon well be extended farther, ſo as we may hereby underſtand all light and vain ſwearing, all wanton and irreverent uſe of God's holy name: and hitherto our Lord hath plainly extended it, forbidding us to ſwear at all, and charging us in our converſation to uſe only the ſimple and plain manner of aſſertion, or promiſe, ſaying only *yea, yea*, or *nay, nay*; without preſuming upon any ſlight occaſion to introduce the holy name of God; which indeed we ſhould not without extreme awe of ſpirit ever think upon, nor without high veneration dare to mention: 'tis an inſtance of the moſt ſottiſh folly, 'tis an argument of the moſt horrible impiety that can be thus (without any cauſe, or temptation thereto, without any profit or pleaſure thence) to trifle with the divine Majeſty; to abuſe his glorious Name, and provoke his dreadfull vengeance; *who will no-wiſe hold him guiltleſs, that taketh his name in vain.* Matth. 5. 37.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, &c. IV. Commandment.

The *Decalogue* is in ſeveral places of Scripture (as we before noted) called a Covenant with the *Jewiſh* People, and the obſervation of this Law is likewiſe ſo called in a particular and ſpecial manner: It is expreſſed to have been appointed as a ſign, or characteriſtical note, whereby their peculiar relation to God might be diſcerned, and they diſtinguiſhed from all other People. As *Circumciſion* was a ſeal of the Covenant made with *Abraham* and his poſterity; ſo keeping the *Sabbath* did obſignate the Covenant made with the Children of *Iſrael* after their delivery out of *Egypt*: *The children of Iſrael* (ſaith the text) *ſhall keep the Sabbath to obſerve the Sabbath, throughout their generations for a perpetual Covenant, it is a ſign between me, and the Children of Iſrael for ever*: and, *I gave them* (ſaith God in *Ezekiel*) *my ſtatutes, and ſhewed them my judgments, which if a man do, he ſhall live in them*; *moreover I gave them my Sabbaths to be a ſign between me, and them, that they might know, that I am the Lord, who ſanctifies them*: and, *Thou cameſt down from mount Sinai* (ſay the Levites in *Nehemiah*) *and ſpakeſt with them from heaven, and gaveſt them right judgments, and true laws, good ſtatutes, and commandments*; *and madeſt known unto them thy holy Sabbaths*: where *making known to them the Sabbaths*, as alſo otherwhere *giving them the Sabbath* are expreſſions together with the ſpecial ends of the *Sabbath*'s appoint- Exod. 31. 16. Ezek. 20. 11, 12, 20. Neh. 9. 13, 14. Exod. 16. 29.

Καὶ γὰρ μὴ Σαββατίσαντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν δίκαιοι τῷ Θεῷ ἐπηρέσησαν, &c. Juſt. p. 236.

Ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἤρξατο περιτομὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Μωσέως Σάββατον, καὶ θυσίαι, καὶ προσφοραὶ, &c. 261.

Abraham ſine circumciſione, & ſine obſervatione Sabbatorum credidit Deo, &c. Iren. IV. 30.

Tertul. *adv.* Jud. 2. 4.

appointment, which are mentioned in thoſe places) confirming the judgment of the ancient *Chriſtians*, *Juſtin M. Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, &c. who referr the firſt inſtitution of the *Sabbath* to *Moſes*, affirming (that which indeed the hiſtory by its total ſilence concerning the Sabbath before him ſufficiently doth ſeem to confirm) that the *Patriarchs* were not obliged thereto, nor did practiſe it.

And we may obſerve, that the Law concerning the *Sabbath*, is mentioned and inſiſted upon ſeparately from the body of their Laws, as being in nature different from the reſt, and enacted upon a ſpecial deſign; as from the forecited paſſages appeareth; and farther may appear from con-

Iſa. 56. 6. (4.) ſidering how the condition of *Proſelytes* (thoſe of the ſtricter ſort, called *Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs*) is deſcribed in *Eſay*; *The ſons of the ſtrangers*, (ſaith God in that Prophet) *that join themſelves to the Lord, to ſerve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his ſervants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my Covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyfull in my houſe of prayer:* where to undertake the obſervance of the Sabbath, and to lay hold of the *Jewiſh* Covenant are ſignified to be coincident, or eſpecially coherent.

All the other Precepts indeed (one paſſage in the *Second* Commandment as it may be underſtood to prohibit abſolutely the making of any ſimilitude, being liable to exception) are immediately grounded in the reaſon of the thing, and have a neceſſary obligation even viſible to natural light; they conſequently have been acknowledged as reaſonable, and obliging by the general conſent of men; or might be ſo propounded and aſſerted by argument, as eaſily to extort ſuch conſent: but this *Command*, (although as to its general and remote matter it is moſt evidently reaſonable, and requireth that, which no man can deny to be matter of neceſſary duty, yet) as to the more immediate matter, as to the determinate meaſure, and manner of performing thoſe general duties, no reaſon can diſcern an obligation diſtinct from, or antecedent to the Law-giver's

Pſal. 143. 5. 92. 4. 107. 22. 26. 7. 145. 10. will, to practiſe according thereto: that we ſhould frequently with gratefull and joyfull ſenſe reflect upon the glorious works of God (eſpecially that grand and fundamental one, wherein God's wonderfull excellencies of goodneſs, wiſdom and power were ſo illuſtriouſly diſplayed; the creation of the world, wherein ſo great accommodations, and benefits were generally diſpenſed to all the creatures, and to us eminently among them; remembring with deepeſt reſpect, and moſt hearty thankfulneſs our bountifull Maker;) that we ſhould not be unmindfull of the ſpecial favours by God's gracious providence vouchſafed to our country, our relations, our ſelves (eſpecially ſuch very ſignal ones, as was that of the delivery from *Egyptian* ſlavery in a manner ſo remarkable and miraculous;) that we ſhould not ſpend our ſelves, and our time in perpetually carking and labouring about affairs touching our body, and this preſent life, but ſhould aſſign ſome competent time both for the relaxation of our mind, and for attendance to the concernments of our ſoul: that alſo we ſhould allow fitting time of reſpite, and refreſhment to thoſe of our brethren, whom divine Providence hath diſpoſed into a meaner condition, and relation of ſervants to us; that their lives may not by inceſſant care and toil be rendred overburthenſome, and grievous to them; but ſo that they may with ſome comfort ſerve us; that alſo they be not deſtituted of leaſure and opportunity to ſerve God, our common Maſter; and to regard the welfare of their ſouls, no leſs precious than our own: that alſo we ſhould ſhew ſome kind-

neſs,

neſs, and mercy even toward our beaſts, allowing them ſome eaſe from their painfull drudgeries in our behalf; theſe are all of them things, which reaſon evidently dictates; which common ſenſe muſt needs admit, as duties of piety, juſtice and humanity: and to ſecure the performance of them both as to the ſubſtance, due meaſure, and fit manner of them, common prudence would ſuggeſt, that ſet times ſhould be appointed; in which they ſhould be ſolemnly and notoriouſly diſcharged, under the publick teſtimony and cognizance: and accordingly we find, that in all wiſe and civil Societies ſome proviſion ever hath been made, by appointing Feſtival times, for the practice of ſuch duties, in ſome kind or degree: *The founders of Laws* (ſaith *Seneca*) *did inſtitute feſtival days, that men ſhould publickly be conſtrained to cheerfulneſs; interpoſing as neceſſary a temperament of their pains: Plato* with a more admirable ſagacity referrs the invention, or firſt inſtitution of ſuch times unto God himſelf; *The Gods* (ſaith he; that is, the divine Providence adminiſtring affairs here by the miniſtery of inferiour inviſible powers, according to his notion and manner of ſpeaking) *pitying mankind, born to painfull labour, appointed for an eaſe and ceſſation from their toils the recourſes of feſtival ſeaſons obſerved to the Gods.* Thus (I ſay) reaſon acknowledges the ſubſtance of theſe duties, and approves the ſecuring their performance, as a good end, or fit matter of Law both divine and humane. But as to the circumſtantial determination of meaſure and manner; that a *Seventh day* preciſely ſhould be aſſigned, that a total ceſſation from labour for man and beaſt ſhould be preſcribed; this is above reaſon to diſcern a neceſſity of; or a conveniency in compariſon with other limitations in thoſe reſpects deviſeable and practicable: nor can we aſſuredly reſolve the obligation thereto into any other ground, than the pleaſure of the moſt wiſe Authour of this Law; who did ſee what was moſt fit to be preſcribed to thoſe, whom this Law concerned. Here is indeed mentioned a reaſon, why God ſpecially did chuſe this day to bleſs and ſanctify it in this manner to ſuch purpoſes; namely, his reſting upon the Seventh day from his works of Creation; the which yet doth not certainly import a natural conveniency, toward accompliſhing thoſe purpoſes, of this preciſe quantity of time, or in this way of obſerving it, in preference to any other, that might have been appointed; it only ſeemeth to imply a fitneſs of theſe determinations, as containing ſomewhat of profitable ſignificancy; that ſuch a correſpondency in circumſtance of time, and manner of practice might admoniſh us concerning the ſubſtance of our duty, or a principal part thereof peculiarly deſigned in the Sanction of this Law, the gratefull Commemoration of God's moſt glorious work (the foundation as it were of all other his acts of beneficence) the creation of the world: for thus in all ceremonial Inſtitutions we may obſerve, that ſome ſignificant circumſtance is ſelected, on purpoſe to inſtruct or excite us to practice, by repreſenting to our fancy the nature and intention of the main duty required, as in *Circumciſion*, in the *Paſſover*, in *Baptiſm*, and other ritual Conſtitutions it is not hard to perceive: ſo it being God's deſign to enforce the performance of that excellent duty: by appropriating a time thereto, we may conceive that he therefore eſpecially ſelected that day, as moſt apt to mind them, to whom this Law was given, of the hiſtory of the *Creation*; the reflecting upon and celebrating which was the main duty intended:

Legum conditores Feſtos inſtituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publicè cogerentur, tanquam neceſſarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum Sen. *de tranq. An.*

Θεοὶ δὲ οἰκτείραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος ἀναπαύλας τὸ αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξατο τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς. Plat. *de Leg. II. p.* 787.

Seeing

Seeing therefore the obſervation of the *Sabbath* is expreſſed to have a peculiar reſpect to the children of *Iſrael*, as a *ſign* of the Covenant made with them, when he led them out of *Egypt*; ſeeing in its own nature it differeth from the reſt of the *ten Laws*, the obligation thereto being not, diſcernibly to natural light, grounded in the reaſon of the thing, we can no-wiſe be aſſured, that an univerſal and perpetual obligation thereto was intended, or that its obligation did extend farther than to the *Jews*, to whom it was as a formal Law delivered, and upon ſpecial conſiderations ſeverely inculcated; to whoſe humour, condition and circumſtances it might alſo perhaps be particularly ſuted: *Juſtin M.* was of opinion that this Law, as many others was given to the *Jews*, διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν, *for their iniquity, and hardneſs of heart*, by way of conceſſion and indulgence; for, becauſe they by their natural diſpoſition were apt to forget their Maker; to neglect the ſtate of their ſoul, being wholly intent on worldly affairs; to exact intolerable pains from their brethren, who ſerved them; to uſe cruelly the poor beaſts, employed in tilling their ground, or bearing their burthens; therefore God (conſidering this incorrigible temper of theirs) did indulge ſix days to them for the proſecution of thoſe affairs, to which they were ſo devoted, contenting himſelf to exact from them no more, than this part of time for his own ſervice, for the benefit of ſervants, and eaſe of beaſts; if he had required more of them they could it ſeems or would hardly have endured it; the command would perhaps not only have been diſobeyed it ſelf, but the diſlike thereof might have rendred them averſe from all Religion, and ſervice of God; as it happeneth, when commands very rigorous, and exceeding mens ſtrength are enjoined; for we ſee the Prophets complain of them, that they could hardly be induced to go thus far, or to afford God this ſo moderate ſhare of time; but were impatient even for this one day in ſeven to abſtain from their ſecular buſineſs, to relax themſelves, or their ſervants, or their cattle from their daily labours: they impeach them for *polluting*, *profaning*, *hiding their eyes from* (that is, wholly overlooking, neglecting and diſregarding) *the Sabbath*; for *doing their own pleaſure*, and *exacting their own labours upon* it, for *not delighting* therein, or not willingly obſerving it: *Hear this* (ſaith the Prophet *Amos*) *O ye that ſwallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, ſaying, when will the new-moon be gone, that we may ſell corn, and the ſabbath that we may ſet forth wheat?* this being the diſpoſition of that People, not bearing a greater ſtrictneſs, they not being able to preſerve within their hearts a perpetual remembrance of God's works and favours; not to moderate their purſuits of temporal good things; not to bear a due regard and tenderneſs toward their brethren, and their fellow-creatures (the performing which things in a conſtant uninterrupted tenour the ſaid *holy Father*, and *bleſſed Martyr* ſuppoſeth to be the *Sabbatiſm*, which Chriſtians are bound to obſerve) therefore God conſidering their infirmity and incapacity to comply with higher injunctions, did uſe (as in the caſes of *Divorce*, *Revenge*, and the like) an indulgence toward them, permitting them on the other days to *do their pleaſure* (as the Prophet ſpeaks,) reſerving only this day for a punctual and ſolemn performance of the duties ſpecified: thus diſcourſes that good *Ancient* in his *Dialogue* with the *Jew*. However, that this Law (as to its circumſtantial parts) was not intended to oblige generally and perpetually, we have a moſt forcible ground to ſuppoſe; St. *Paul* himſelf his expreſs diſcharging Chriſtians from the obſervation thereof; yea his earneſt reprehenſion of ſome perſons for rigorouſly inſiſting thereon, deeming themſelves and urging it upon others as a neceſſary duty to obſerve it; his conjoining it with other ceremonial obſervances, whoſe nature

Juſt. *Dial. cum* Tryph. *p.* 235, &c.

Iſa. 58. 3, 13. Ezek. 20. 13, 21. 23. 38. 22. 26.

Amos 8. 4.

Σαββατίζειν ἡμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διαπαντὸς ἐθέλει. *p.* 229.

Iſa. 58. 13.

nature was merely ſymbolical, and whoſe deſign was to continue no longer, than till the real ſubſtance of that, which they repreſented, came into full force and practice: *Let no man* (ſaith he to the *Coloſſians*) *judge you for meat, or drink, or upon account of a feſtival day, or new moon, * or ſabbath, which things are the ſhadow of future things, but the body is of Chriſt* (that is, they did only prefigure, and preſignify; the real ſubſtance intended, and repreſented by them is ſomewhat in the Law, and Doctrine of *Chriſt*; which coming immediately to appear, and to oblige, that ſhadow vaniſheth, and ceaſeth to have any regard due thereto;) Again more ſharply to the *Galatians*, whom ſome *Judaizing* Dogmatiſts had reduced, or were reducing to the practice of legal Rites, under conceit of needfull obligation to them; *How*, ſaith he, *do ye return again to thoſe weak, and beggarly elements, to which back again you are pleaſed to be enſlaved? ye obſerve days, and months, and years*; which words, that they relate generally to the *Jewiſh* Feſtivals, the context doth plainly enough ſhew, and there is good reaſon to think, that they chiefly reſpect the *Sabbath* we treat on, for which probably theſe men had the greateſt reſpect, and zeal; Again in the 14th to the *Romans* the ſame great Patron and Champion of Chriſtian Liberty, not obſcurely declareth his mind, that Chriſtians of ſtrength in judgment did regard no day above another, but eſteemed all days (he excepteth none) alike, as to any ſpecial obligation, grounded upon divine Law and right; in ſubordination to which Doctrine we may add, that this appears with great evidence to have been the common opinion of the wiſeſt, and moſt orthodox *Chriſtians* in the Primitive Church, the moſt conſtant and ſtrict adherents to Catholick Tradition (who from the Apoſtles inſtruction beſt underſtood the purport and limits of the liberty purchaſed by *Chriſt*) that this Law, as it was not known or practiſed before *Moſes*, ſo it ceaſed to oblige after *Chriſt*; being one of the ſhadows which the Evangelical light diſpelled, one of the burthens, which this Law *of liberty* did take off us.

Coloſſ. 2. 16, 17.

* σαββάτων, & σαββάτε, are both read; both equivalent.

Gal. 4. 10.

Rom. 14. 5, &c.

Inter omnia decem præcepta ſolùm ibi quod de Sabbato poſitum eſt figuratè obſervandum præcipitur. Aug. *Ep.* 119. *Vid.* Cit. *Patres.*

Now although upon theſe accounts we cannot preſs the ſtrict obſervation of this Law in all its parts, according to its literal, and direct intention, yet we may learn much of our duty, much of God's will from it: all God's Laws, ſpiritually and wiſely underſtood, did tend to the promoting of piety and vertue; and abſtracting from the ſpecial circumſtances of that People, to whom they were conſigned, may (ſo far as our caſe is like theirs, and wherein a common reaſon doth appear) paſs for fit patterns for us to imitate, ſuggeſting proper means of exerciſing, nouriſhing, encreaſing thoſe qualities in us; and ſo from this Law we may learn theſe duties:

1. That we ſhould frequently call to mind, and conſider the great and glorious works of God, performed for the general good of his creatures, and ſpecially for mankind: The *Creation* of the World, the *Redemption* of mankind; the *Nativity*, *Paſſion*, *Reſurrection* and *Exaltation* of our *Lord* and *Saviour*, and the like, no leſs now conſiderable to *us*, both in reſpect of glory due to God, and of benefit accruing to us, than was the *Creation* formerly to the *Jews*.

2. That we are bound to reſtrain our ſelves in the proſecution of worldly buſineſs; not diſtracting our minds with care, not exhauſting our bodies with toil about them, but allowing our mind convenient and ſeaſonable freedom, affording our ſoul ſufficient leiſure with vigour and alacrity to enjoy its nobler entertainments, and to purſue its higher intereſts.

3. That we are obliged to uſe the ſame indulgence toward thoſe, whom divine providence hath diſpoſed to be under our power, care, or governance: to allow our children, our ſubjects, our ſervants a competent meaſure of reſt, and refreſhment from their ordinary labours, ſufficient time

and leiſure undiſtractedly to ſerve God, and quietly to mind their ſpiritual welfare: we muſt ſo charitably tender their good, as to permit and procure, that their life may be eaſie and comfortable here; and that alſo they may have means to obtain for themſelves a happy immortality hereafter; not being in theſe reſpects either harſh to their outward man, or uncharitable to their ſouls.

4. That we muſt not be unmercifull to any creature, not only abſtaining from inflicting, in wantonneſs of humour, needleſs vexation upon them, but alſo from wearying and grieving them too much for our emolument or convenience: the advantage and preeminency beſtowed upon us by God over them ſhould be managed with moderation, and clemency; we ſhould be gentle maſters to them, not cruel tyrants over them: we ſhould conſider, that God did make them, as to help and ſerve us, ſo to enjoy ſomewhat themſelves of delight and ſatisfaction in their being; which if we go to deprive them of, rendring their condition intolerable and worſe than if they had no being, as we do abuſe and injure them, tranſgreſſing the bounds of our right over them, ſo we encroach upon, diſappoint, and wrong their maker, and cannot therein but diſpleaſe him; doing thus is a point of injuſtice not enough conſidered by them who commit it: they conſider not how beaſtly they are themſelves, when they miſuſe poor beaſts.

5. We may hence farther learn, that it is fit certain times ſhould be allotted for the publick, and ſolemn performance of the forenamed duties: common reaſon prompteth, that God (upon whoſe protection, and diſpoſal the publick good depends) ſhould be publickly honoured, and his benefits frequently acknowledged; alſo that care ſhould be taken in every ſociety, that all ſtates of men ſhould lead their lives in ſome competent degree of content; that all objects of grievous pity ſhould be removed from publick view; alſo common ſenſe will inform us, that theſe things cannot effectually be executed, without conſtituting definite periods of time, and limiting circumſtances, according to which they ſhall be practiſed under publick inſpection and cenſure: And theſe dictates of ordinary prudence the divine wiſdom hath ratified by his exemplary order; the which in caſes, wherein he hath not interpoſed his direct authority by way of precept, may ſerve for a good direction to Governours, what they may with ſafety, what they ſhould in wiſdom eſtabliſh; what proviſion they ſhould make for the promotion of piety and vertue: ſuch a precedent requires greateſt veneration, and reſpect, cannot but appear of high moment in conſultation about matters of this nature.

It is indeed particularly obſervable, that in this command there is not an expreſs order concerning the natural or moral ſervice of God (by prayer, or hearing God's Law) to be publickly performed on this day; but the *Jews* were themſelves ſo wiſe as to underſtand theſe duties couched in the *ſanctification* of the day preſcribed to them; and accordingly they practiſed; they in all places of their habitation did ſettle Synagogues, and Oratories; to them upon this day they reſorted; in them then they did offer devotions to God (as the names προσευχαὶ, and προσευκτήρια do import;) the *Scribes* did read the Law, and expound it to the People: *Moſes* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *did command the people to aſſemble for hearing of the law, not once, or twice, or many times, but every ſeventh day, laying aſide their works; and exactly to learn it*; whence, addeth he, the people became

Οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένους, οὐδὲ δὶς, ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἔργων ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν. Joſeph. *adv. App.* 2. *p.* 946.

became ſo skilfull in the laws, that *if one asked any of them concerning them, he would more eaſily tell them all than his own name*; whence alſo an admirable concord in mind, and uniformity in practice did (as he farther obſerves) ariſe: and *The cuſtom* (ſaith *Philo*) *was always as occaſion gave leave, eſpecially upon the ſeventh days, to philoſophate*, &c. in conſideration of which practice it was, that the *Jews* ſo highly valued this Precept, that it was a ſaying among them, *The Sabbath weigheth againſt all the Commandments*; as procuring them all to be known, and obſerved: And if that blind people could pick theſe duties out of this Law, much more ſhould we ſee our ſelves obliged, according to analogy thereof, to appoint ſet times for enſuring the practice of them.

Ἡμῶν δ' ὄντινᾶν εἴ τις ἔροιτο τὰς νόμους, ῥᾷον ἂν εἴποι πάντα, ἢ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. *Ib.* 947.

Ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, ἀεὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, προηγμένως δὲ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις φιλοσοφεῖν, &c. Philo *de Vit.* Moſ.

Midraſh. Exod. 26.

6. Again, We may hence alſo learn our obligation to ſubmit obediently to the conſtitution of Governours relating to this matter; that we readily ſhould obſerve all ſolemn times of feſtivity and reſt, which the Rulers of Church or State do appoint for the ſecuring or the promoting thoſe purpoſes of piety or charity, according to the meaſure and manner preſcribed by them: for Reaſon approving the thing as good and uſefull, and divine order more clearly and fully confirming it to be ſo, and it not appearing that God hath made expreſs determinations about it, it remains, that it is left wholly to them, to whoſe care God hath entruſted the publick welfare, and hath committed to their judgments the providing means conducible thereto; having alſo conſequently injoined us in all lawfull things to follow their guidance and appointment in order thereto. God decreed death to be inflicted on thoſe who violated his command concerning the *Sabbath*, which ſheweth how great a fault it is to offend in this particular; and we may reaſonably eſteem that command to be his, which proceedeth from his Miniſters by authority from himſelf, and in conformity to his own pattern.

7. We add, that whereas God required of the *Jews* ſuch a portion of time to be ſolemnly dedicated to Religion and mercy, we to whom he hath vouchſafed higher benefits, and propoſed greater encouragements, cannot reaſonably but deem our ſelves obliged to ſequeſter and conſecrate as much or more time to the ſame intents: we ſhould indeed be content to withdraw our ſelves more frequently from purſuance of our own profits and pleaſures to the ſervice of God, to the remembrance and celebration of his favours: we ſhould willingly allow greater relaxation to our dependents; and ſhould the publick be deficient in exacting a performance of ſuch duties from us, it would become us to ſupply ſuch defects by our private devoting fit and frequent ſeaſons thereto; that in ſome proportion we may exceed the *Jews* in gratefull piety, as we ſurpaſs them in the matter, and cauſes thereof; that we may appear in ſome degree more charitable than they, as we have much greater reaſon and obligation to be ſo than they. So much for this;

I proceed briefly to conſider the remaining Commandments, the which immediately concern another Object: thoſe foregoing did chiefly ſerve to regulate our religious practice in yielding due reverence toward God; theſe following (which are ſuppoſed to have made up the ſecond of thoſe Tables, which written by God's hand were delivered to *Moſes*, and preſerved in the Ark of the Teſtimony) do guide our converſation and carriage toward our Neighbour; in the front of which worthily is placed that which obligeth to dutifulneſs toward our Parents; unto whom after God, and his ſupreme Vice-gerents we owe the higheſt reſpect, gratitude and duty.

V. Commandment.

Honour thy father, and thy mother.

Honour; the word signifies to have in weighty regard, and aptly serves to denote those particular acts of duty, which are otherwhere expressed in Scripture; *fear* and *reverence (ye shall fear every man his father and his mother) observance* and *obedience (children, obey your parents in all things, for this is well-pleasing to God) gratitude* and *retribution (Let children learn ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν, to be pious toward their own family*; and ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι, to render suitable returns, or *to requite their parents, for this is good, and acceptable before God,)* regarding their instruction and advice *(My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother;)* it also comprehendeth a prohibition of the contrary acts, *contemning, cursing*, offering *violence* or *contumely* unto, *disobedience* and *contumacy* toward parents, the which are forbidden under capital penalties, and dreadfull comminations: *Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or mother*: and, *The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it* (that is, God in a fearfull and strange manner will avenge that wickedness upon him) and in the Law it is ordained that the rebellious and stubborn son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother; and that when they have chastned him, will not hearken unto them, shall be stoned by all the men of his City, and put to death in that manner.

Levit. 9. 3. Coloss. 3. 20. 1 Tim. 5. 4. Prov. 1. 8. 23. 22. Deut. 27. 16. Exod. 21. 15, 17.

Whence we may learn the nature of the duty here enjoined, and what rank it beareth among other duties; what high obligation belongs thereto, of what consideration it is with God, and how grievous a crime the violation thereof is; that, briefly, we are obliged to yield our parents high affection of heart, great expressions of respect and observance in word and deed; that the neglect of these duties is, next to that of profaneness and undutifulness toward God himself, the greatest disorder we can be guilty of: this all civil Nations have consented to be our duty; and if we consider the grounds, upon which it is built, we shall find that reason, justice and necessity do require it: Saint *Paul* presseth his precept of observance to parents with, a τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, *for this is just and equal*: for if we look upon the disposition of parents in their mind toward children, we may presume them always full of tender affection, and good-will toward them, full of desire and care for their good, full of pity and compassion toward them; in the highest and most especial degree beyond what they bear to others; which dispositions in reason and equity do require answerable dispositions in those, upon whom they are placed, and who from them do receive inestimable benefits; for if we do regard the effects proceeding from them we shall discern, that

Eph. 6. 1.

1. From parents children do receive being and life; that good which nature inclineth so highly to value and tender, as the foundation of all the good, happiness, and comfort we are capable of.

2. They are obliged to their parents for the preservation, maintenance and protection of their life: it is a long time before we come to be able (such is the particular condition of man among all living creatures, so ordered on purpose, as it were, to beget this obligation and endearment) anywise to provide for, or to defend our selves; and the doing thereof, in that senseless and helpless state, relies upon the care, pain, and solicitous vigilance of our parents; the which they are not only always obliged, but are commonly disposed with admirable willingness to spend on their children.

3. Parents

3. Parents not only thus at firſt undergo ſuch care and trouble to maintain their children, but by expenſive education (often with much inconvenience and incommodity to themſelves) they provide means for their future ſupport, and ſubſiſtence, during life.

4. Children are ſo ſtrictly tied to their parents, as by their willing conceſſion to partake in all the comforts of their ſtate, and ornaments of their fortune.

5. The goods acquired by the parents induſtry do uſually devolve upon their children by inheritance and ſucceſſion; whence that children live handſomely and comfortably, is the reward of their parents merit, comes from the ſtore, that they have carefully provided, and laid up for them.

6. To which we may add, that not only the proviſion for our temporal neceſſities and conveniences dependeth upon our parents, but the care of our ſouls, and our ſpiritual welfare is incumbent on them: they are obliged to inſtruct us in the fear of God, and to ſet us in the way toward eternal happineſs. Deut. 6. 7, 20. Eph. 6. 4.

7. We may conſider alſo, that all this they do moſt frankly and out of pure kindneſs; without regard to any merit antecedent, or benefit conſequent to themſelves: as they received nothing to oblige and move them to ſuch performances, ſo they can ſeldom hope for anſwerable returns: it is abundant ſatisfaction to them if they ſee their children do well; their chief delight and contentment is in their childrens good abſolutely and abſtractedly, without indirect regards to their own advantage.

Upon theſe, and the like accounts it appeareth, that as parents have the affections moſt reſembling thoſe of God toward us, as they perform toward us the actions moſt like to his, as they are the principal inſtruments of divine providence and bounty (by which God's bleſſings are conveyed and conferred upon us) ſo they may be deemed in a ſort to repreſent God, and as his moſt lively images have an eſpecial veneration due to them. God himſelf, to endear and render himſelf amiable, or in the moſt kindly way venerable to us, to engage us to a more ready obedience of him, to declare the nature of our duty toward him, aſſumes the title of Father; and all Nations have agreed to ſtyle him ſo; Reciprocally alſo, whereas the duties toward other men are termed juſtice, or charity, or courteſie, or liberality, or gratitude, thoſe toward parents in every Language (I ſuppoſe) are ſtyled *piety*, implying ſomewhat divine in the object of thoſe duties; 'tis more than injuſtice to wrong a parent; 'tis more than uncharitableneſs to refuſe them ſuccour, or relief; 'tis more than diſcourteſie to be unkind to them; 'tis more than ſordid avarice to be in their need illiberal to them; 'tis rather high impiety to offend in any of theſe kinds. Deut. 32. 6. Εὐσεβεῖν. 1 Tim. 5. 4. *Colere parentes.*

He that returns not love in anſwer to their tender affection; that doth not (as occaſion requires, and his ability permits) requite the benefits received from them, doth not deferr to them an eſpecial reverence, in regard to that ſacred name and character they bear, thereby intimates, that he would in like manner be unjuſt, ungratefull and diſingenuous toward God, from whom he hath received the like benefits; the beginning and continuance of his being; the preſervation, maintenance and protection of his life: if he will not honour his earthly Parents, whom he hath ſeen, how will he reverence his heavenly Father, whom he hath not ſeen? ſo we may according to Saint *John* argue.

I might ſubjoin, that as juſtice, and ingenuity do enforce this duty, ſo for the good of the world there is a neceſſity that it ſhould be obſerved: If parents are not only by natural inſtinct diſpoſed, but by divine command

command obliged, and by humane Law (the preſervation of the world ſo requiring) conſtrained to undergo ſuch hardſhips for the maintenance, and education of their children, it is fit and neceſſary they ſhould be ſupported and encouraged in the bearing them by reciprocal obligations in children to return them dutifull reſpect, obſervance and requital; the world could not well ſubſiſt without children being engaged to theſe duties: there were no reaſon to exact, there were no ground to expect, that parents ſhould cheerfully and faithfully diſcharge their part, upon other terms.

To this Precept there is added a Promiſe (and it is, as Saint *Paul* obſerveth, the *firſt precept, that hath a promiſe* formally annexed; whereby he enforceth his exhortation to the obſervance thereof.)

Eph. 6. 2.

That thy days may be long upon the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

So God expreſly promiſeth to bleſs dutifull children with a long life in the comfortable poſſeſſion of thoſe good things, which he ſhould beſtow upon them; this was the moſt of reward, explicitly covenanted to the *Jews*, in regard to their obedience: there is alſo implied a commination of a contrary curſe from God upon the infringers of this Law, that they ſhould either be immaturely cut off from life (as *Abimelech* and *Abſalom* were upon this ſcore) or ſhould draw on a wretched life in baniſhment from the contents thereof; by which things reſpectively are intimated to us the rewards of piety in this kind, or the puniſhments of impiety in the future ſtate, whereof the land here mentioned was a ſhadow, or figure: what length of days in *Canaan* was to them, that to us is immortal life in Heaven; what being excluded thence was then, that now is everlaſting death, or baniſhment into the regions of miſery.

Ἱκανῶς διώσεις γηροβοσκῶν τὰς γονεῖς.

I might alſo note the congruity of the reward propounded, that they who are gratefull to thoſe from whom, in ſubordination to God, they received life, ſhall by God's diſpenſation enjoy that life long and well; and that they who neglect the authours of their life, ſhall ſoon be deprived of it, or of its comforts. But I find the ſame reward aſſigned to the diligent obſervers of other duties; particularly to them, who are juſt in their dealings; to them who are charitable to the poor; to them who are meek and patient; to them who confide in God; and to all good men that obey God's Commandments.

Deut. 16. 20.
Pſal. 37. 29.
Pſal. 37. 9, 11.
Pſal. 34. 12, 13, 16.
Prov. 8. 16.
Deut. 26. 15.

I ſhall only add farther, that we may, according to analogy and like ground of reaſon, reduce unto this Commandment the obligation we have to honour all thoſe, who perform toward us beneficial offices like unto thoſe, which we receive from our parents; thoſe who preſerve our life by relief, protection or defence; thoſe who afford us maintenance, or education; thoſe who watch over us for the good of our body, or of our ſoul; thoſe who inſtruct us, or adviſe us; ſuch are our Governours and Magiſtrates either political or eccleſiaſtical; our Benefactours and Patrons; our Schoolmaſters and Tutours; our eſpecial faithfull Friends; and the like; But I paſs forward.

In the ſubſequent Precepts are contained the prime rules of juſtice toward our neighbour; the obſervation of which is not only moſt equal and reaſonable in it ſelf, but neceſſary for the preſervation of civil ſociety, and publick peace among men; for the procurement of our ſafe, and pleaſant living and converſing in the world; men thereby being ſecured in the

the quiet enjoyment of God's gifts, and the fruits of their induſtry, and of whatever is dear and pretious to them; of their lives firſt; then of the comforts of their conjugal ſtate; of their poſſeſſions; of their reputations; the laws reſpecting theſe being here diſpoſed in order, according to the value of their reſpective objects, in the nature of things, or in the opinion of men, or in regard to the conſequences ariſing from them.

Thou ſhalt not kill.

VI. Commandment.

Of all good gifts conferr'd upon us none (according to the natural and common eſteem of men) is more pretious than life it ſelf, the foundation of enjoying the reſt. God hath therefore reſerved the diſpoſal of it entirely to himſelf, as his ſpecial prerogative: neither he that hath it, nor any other perſon having abſolutely any juſt power or right over it; No man can take away any man's life, but by commiſſion or licence from God, reaſonably preſumed to be granted by him: So may God (the abſolute King of the world) be ſuppoſed to have committed to lawfull Magiſtrates, as his Vice-gerents and officers, in his name and behalf, upon reaſonable cauſe, for preſervation of publick juſtice, peace and order, in a lawfull courſe of juſtice, to diſpoſe of mens lives, who have forfeited them to the Law: (The Magiſtrate, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, *beareth not the ſword in vain; for he is the miniſter of God; an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.*) Rom. 13. 4. 1 Pet. 2. 14. He hath not forbidden Sovereigns (in caſe of neceſſity, and when amicable means will not prevail) to maintain the ſafety or welfare of the Societies entruſted to their care, even by armed violence, againſt ſuch as wrongfully invade them, or anywiſe harm them, and will not otherwiſe be induced to forbear doing ſo; in which caſe the reſolution of ſuch differences (inſomuch as they cannot be tried at any other bar, or compoſed by other means) is referred to God's arbitrement; who is *the Lord of Hoſts*, the Sovereign Protector of right, and diſpenſer of ſucceſs; the Souldier in a juſt cauſe being then his Miniſter, and carrying a tacit commiſſion from him. God alſo may be ſuppoſed together with life, with a natural love to it, with means to preſerve it, to have imparted to every man a right to defend his life, with its neceſſary ſupports, againſt unjuſt, extreme and inevitable violence upon it, or them: the ſlaughter therefore, which may happen in theſe caſes (or in the like, wherein God hath plainly by a general order, or by ſpecial command, or by permiſſion reaſonably ſuppoſed, conferred on any perſon a power over his neighbour's life, in the maintenance of God's own honour, or in ſubſerviency to publick good) is not concerned in the deſign, or meaning of this Precept: for he that kills another, in a way not irregular, as a Miniſter of juſtice, or in a lawfull war as a Souldier authorized by a Sovereign power here under God, or for his own juſt and neceſſary defence, doth not, according to the intent of this Law, *kill*; but rather God himſelf, the Lord of life and death, doth then kill; the authority of killing ſo being derived from him, and his work being done thereby: *Vengeance is his*, and *he* ſo (by his inſtruments) *repays it*. But here is forbidden all other voluntary taking away our neighbour's life, when a man acts as a private perſon; without juſt and neceſſary cauſe, in any illegal or irregular way; upon what motive, principle, or end ſoever (whether it be out of hatred, ſpight, envy, revenge; for our preſumed ſafety, or pretended reparation of honour; for promoting what intereſt, or procuring what ſatisfaction ſoever to our ſelves) by what means ſoever, either by direct violence, or by fraudulent contrivance; in an open, or clandeſtine manner;

manner; immediately by our ſelves, or by means of others; by adviſing, encouraging, any-wiſe becoming inſtrumental, or acceſſory thereto.

This is the crime expreſly prohibited; but a poſitive duty ſhould alſo be underſtood; that we are obliged, ſo far as we are able, to preſerve our neighbour's life; by relieving him in extreme need, by ſuccouring him in extreme danger; by admoniſhing him of any deſtructive miſchief, when he appears tending unawares thereinto; the neglect of which things argueth a murtherous diſpoſition toward our neighbour, is in reaſonable eſteem, and in God's ſight a killing of him; for we miſtake, if we think with *Cain*, that we are not our *brother's keepers*, or are not bound when we are able to preſerve his life.

The violation of which Commandment is certainly the moſt heinous ſin, that can be committed of all thoſe, which are not immediately directed againſt God himſelf, or the perſons which peculiarly repreſent him; and a ſin which never can eſcape vengeance and due puniſhment from him. It is the greateſt wrong to God; it is the extremeſt injury to our neighbour; it is the higheſt ſort of uncharitableneſs; it is a principal offence againſt publick ſociety.

1. It is an exceeding wrong and affront done unto God; in aſſuming the diſpoſal of his gifts; in diſpoſſeſſing him of his rights, by robbing him of a creature, of his child, his ſervant, his ſubject (one whoſe life is pretious to him, and toward whom he beareth a tender regard) an uſurping in a high way his Sovereign Authority, his Throne of Majeſty, his Tribunal of Juſtice, his Sword of Vengeance; to omit the ſacrilege (as *Philo* ſpeaks) committed herein by violating God's own Image, which every man doth bear.

2. It is alſo an extreme injury to the perſon, who is thereby deprived of an unvaluable good, which can no wiſe be repaired, or compenſated: he that loſes his life, doth therewith loſe all the good he poſſeſſeth, or is capable of here, without any poſſibility of recovering it again: the taking therefore of life can be no ſuitable revenge, no reaſonable ſatisfaction for any injury or damage received; it infinitely, in a manner, ſurpaſſeth all the evil, which any man can ſuſtain from another in his eſtate, or fame, or welfare of any kind; for thoſe things have their meaſure, and may be capable of ſome reparation, but this is altogether extreme and irreparable; and therefore doth include greateſt iniquity: add hereto, that not only all temporal good is hereby at once raviſhed from a man, but the ſoul alſo of the perſon may incurr the greateſt damage or hazard in reſpect to its future eſtate by being thus ſnatched away: the ſlayer not only robbeth his brother of his temporal life, but of his time of repentance, and opportunity of making peace with God.

3. It is alſo the higheſt uncharitableneſs to deal thus with our neighbour; arguing that nothing of good-will, of pity, of humanity toward him is left in us: to hate his brother to the death is the utmoſt pitch of hatred. If in imitation of our Saviour, and out of reſpect to him we ought (as Saint *John* inſtructeth us) to be willing to lay down our lives for our brethren; how enormous a crime, how oppoſite to Chriſtian charity is it to take away our brother's life?

4. It is likewiſe a main offence againſt the publick; not only by unlawfull bereaving it of a member and ſubject, but to its prejudice and diſhonour (yea ſo far as lies in us to its ſubverſion and diſſolution) aſſuming to our ſelves, pulling away from it its rights, and prerogatives of judgment.

Such

Such briefly is the direct intent, and importance of this Law; but our Saviour in his comment hereon hath explained and extended it farther, ſo as to interdict all, that any-wiſe approaches in nature, or in effect tends unto this heinous evil: he means to obſtruct all the ſprings, and extirpate all the roots thereof; ſuch as are raſh, cauſeleſs, outragious, inveterate anger, contumelious and deſpightfull language, reſerving grudges, or ſpight in our heart, not endeavouring ſpeedily to reconcile our ſelves to them, who have done us injury or diſpleaſure; for theſe things as they commonly do produce the act of murther, ſo they argue inclinations thereto (which if fear and ſelf-reſpect did not reſtrain, would produce it,) and conſequently in moral account, which regardeth not ſo much the act as the will, are of the ſame quality therewith; however they ariſe from the ſame bitter root of great uncharitableneſs; upon which ſcore Saint *John* telleth us, that *He that hateth his brother is a murtherer*; and conſequently in effect all malice, and ſpight, envy, hatred, malignity, rancour, immoderate and pertinacious anger, and animoſity are here prohibited. Matth. 5. 21. 1 Joh. 3. 15, 17.

Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. VII. Commandment.

After life (if after that, for this command in the *Greek* Tranſlation of *Exodus* (though not in *Deuteronomy*) in ſome places of the *New Teſtament*, and in ſundry ancient Writers is placed before that againſt murther) nothing commonly is more dear to men, than the comforts of their conjugal eſtate; the enjoyment of that ſpecial affection, and friendſhip, together with thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which by divine inſtitution and mutual contract, ratified by moſt ſacred and ſolemn promiſes of fidelity, are reſerved peculiar to that ſtate: which encloſures therefore of his neighbour whoever ſhall invade, or treſpaſs upon, who ſhall any-wiſe looſe or ſlacken thoſe holy bands, who ſhall attempt the affection, or chaſtity of his neighbour's wife, doth moſt grievouſly offend God, and committeth (as *Joſeph*, when he was tempted thereto, did call it) *a great evil againſt God*, againſt his neighbour, againſt himſelf, againſt the common ſociety of men. He violateth an inſtitution, to which God hath affixed eſpecial marks of reſpect, and ſanctity; he wounds his neighbour's honour, and intereſt in the moſt tender part, wherein the content of his mind and comfort of his life are moſt deeply concerned: he as much (or rather more) diſhonoureth and abuſeth himſelf, not only by committing a fact of ſo high injuſtice, but by making himſelf acceſſory to the baſeſt perfidiouſneſs that can be. [*Whoſo committeth adultery, lacketh underſtanding; he that doeth it, deſtroyeth his own ſoul; a wound and diſhonour ſhall he get, and his reproach ſhall not be wiped away; for jealouſie is the rage of a man, therefore he will not ſpare in the day of vengeance; he will not regard any ranſome, neither will he reſt content though thou giveſt many gifts.*] He alſo offendeth againſt the publick quiet and welfare, breeding inextricable confuſions and implacable diſſentions in families, ſo that hardly from any other cauſe ſuch tragical events have iſſued as from this: in fine, this crime is, as *Philo* calls it, συγκὸν, καὶ θεομίσητον ἀδίκημα, *a loathſome unrighteouſneſs, moſt odious to God*; and *a fire* (as *Job* repreſenteth it) that conſumeth to deſtruction. Prov. 6. 34. Job 31. 12.

But we muſt farther alſo conſider, that acts of this kind contain alſo in them another evil; that perſons committing them do not only ſo highly wrong their neighbour, but defile themſelves alſo by the fouleſt turpitude; in which reſpect the prohibition of all unlawfull and irregular ſatis-

factions to luſtfull appetite; all compliance with that great enemy of our ſouls, the fleſh; all kinds of impurity and laſciviouſneſs, not in act only, but in thought, in ſpeech, in geſture may be reduced to this Law: Our
Matth. 5. 14. *Lord* himſelf doth ſo interpret it, as to make it include a forbidding of all unchaſt deſires; and Chriſtianity doth in a moſt ſtrict and ſpecial manner oblige us to all kinds of ſobriety and modeſty, of chaſtity and purity in
1 Pet. 2. 11. Coloſſ. 3. 5. 1 Theſſ. 4. 4. Eph. 5. 3. Eph. 4. 29. 1 Cor. 3. 17. 6. 18, 19. body and ſpirit; injoining us to *abſtain from all fleſhly luſts*, *as enemies to our ſouls*, to *mortify our fleſhly members*; to *poſſeſs our veſſels* (or bodies) *in ſanctity and honour*; not to have *any impurity, or filthineſs ſo much as named among us*; nor to ſuffer *a foul word to proceed out of our mouth*; not to *defile our bodies*, conſecrated unto God, and made *temples of the holy Spirit*; excluding perſons guilty of ſuch things from any title, or capacity of entring
Eph. 5. 4, &c. into God's Kingdom; in fine, repreſenting all ſuch practices as moſt diſhonourable to us, moſt diſpleaſing to God, moſt grievous to God's holy Spirit (the fountain of all vertue and goodneſs) moſt contrary to the nature and deſign of our Religion, and moſt deſtructive of our ſouls.

VIII. Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not ſteal.

That every man ſhould quietly enjoy thoſe ſupports and thoſe conveniences of life, which in any honeſt manner (by God's bounty immediately diſpenſing it, or by God's bleſſing upon his induſtry) he hath acquired the poſſeſſion of, or right unto, as all reaſon and equity do require, ſo it muſt be acknowledged abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of common peace, and the maintenance of civil ſociety among men: to ſecure which purpoſes, and to incourage honeſt induſtry, this Law prohibiteth all invaſion, or uſurpation by any means whatever (either by open violence and extortion, or by clandeſtine fraud and ſurreption) of our neighbour's proper goods and rights: He that in any way, againſt his neighbour's knowledge or will, getteth into his power, or detaineth therein what doth in equity belong to his neighbour, and which he can reſtore to him, doth tranſgreſs againſt the intent of this Law; as
Lev. 19. 13. we ſee it interpreted in *Leviticus*; where it is thus expreſſed: *Thou ſhalt not defraud thy neighbour, nor rob him:* defrauding by cunning practice, is
2 Cor. 6. 8. no leſs forbidden, than robbing by violent force. Any-wiſe ἀποστερεῖν (that
Tit. 2. 10. is, to deprive our neighbour of his due) νοσφίζειν, to purloin, or (by ſubtile and ſly conveyance) to ſeparate any part of our neighbour's ſubſtance
1 Theſſ. 4. 6. from him; πλεονεκτεῖν, to exact, or extort any thing more than ones due; ὑπερβαίνειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι, *to go beyond*, or over-reach our neighbour *in dealing*; to delude and cozen him by falſe ſpeeches, or fallacious pretences, are acts in Saint *Paul*'s expreſſion, to be referred hither; as ſo many ſpecial acts of theft. I cannot ſtand to reckon up all the ſorts of unrighteouſneſs included here, or reducible to this matter (ſuch as, beſide downright rapine and cheating, are, foul dealing in bargains and contracts; uſing
Prov. 22. 18. 20. 14. 9. 24. Ezek. 22. 12. 18. 7, 16. Hoſ. 5. 10. Amos 8. 5. Deut. 25. 13. Lev. 19. 13. Deut. 24. 14. Pſal. 15. 4. Iſa. 1. 23. Jam. 5. 4. falſe weights and meaſures, withholding the pledge, detaining the labourer's wages from him; the exerciſing vexatious, biting and devouring uſuries; removing bounds of poſſeſſion, oppreſſing by undue or rigorous exaction, corrupting juſtice for reward or favour, raiſing gain by unlawfull and ſhamefull arts, or practices; conſenting, or ſharing with, adviſing, or inſtigating to theſe, and the like acts; theſe I ſhall not particularly inſiſt upon) but ſhall only ſay, that God expreſſeth great indignation againſt, and threatneth moſt ſeverely to puniſh all acts of this kind: *For all* (ſaith
Deut. 15. 16. he) *that doe ſuch things* (ſuch as uſe deceitfull meaſures in trade,) *and all that doe unrighteouſneſs are an abomination unto the Lord thy God:* ἐκδικῶν ὁ θεὸς,

θεὸς περὶ πάντων τοιούτων, *God* (ſaith Saint *Paul*, ſpeaking againſt the circumventing and defrauding our neighbour) *is an avenger for all theſe kinds of things:* Nor indeed is the *Goſpel* more ſevere in denunciation of puniſhment againſt any crime than this: *Know ye not, that unjuſt perſons* (ſaith Saint *Paul*, meaning this ſort of unjuſt perſons, ſo moſt properly and ſtrictly called) *ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God*; and κλέπται, πλεονέκται, ἅρπαγες, thieves, exactours (or cheaters) and rapacious perſons make a good party in the catalogue of thoſe, who ſhall be excluded from eternal bliſs. 1 Theſſ. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 6. 9.

I ſhould add the poſitive duties, here to be underſtood, and referr'd to this matter, the which are commended to us in Scripture; ſuch are, diligence and induſtry in our calling, whereby with God's bleſſing we may ſupport our ſelves, preventing the need, and eſcaping the temptation of encroachment upon our neighbour's property; (whereby we may, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, *have need of nothing*, may *eat our own bread*, may even have *wherewith to impart to the needs of others)* contentment in that eſtate, wherein God hath placed us, how mean ſoever; truſting in God, and relying upon his providence; *caſting our burthen and care upon him*; who hath promiſed *to ſuſtain us*; who *hath ſaid*, that *he will never leave, or forſake us*; laſtly, charitable relief of our neighbour in his need; for in ſuch a caſe our neighbour hath a title to the goods we poſſeſs; derived from the appointment and donation of God, who is the abſolute proprietour of all we have, we being only his ſtewards, and diſpenſers thereof according to the rules he hath declared; ſo that if we do not according to his order, ſupply our poor neighbour, we are in juſt eſtimation, we ſhall in God's judgment appear to be thieves, both in reſpect to God himſelf, and to our neighbour; for that we thereby detain from God what by original right is his, and bereave our neighbour of what God hath beſtowed on him. Eph. 4. 28. 1 Theſſ. 4. 12. 2 Theſſ. 8. 12. Phil. 4. 11. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Prov. 30. 8. Pſal. 55. 23. 1 Pet. 5. 7. Heb. 13. 5.

Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour. IX. Commandment.

'Tis in the *Hebrew*, *Thou ſhalt not anſwer* (to wit being examined, or adjured in judgment) *againſt thy neighbour as a falſe witneſs*; ſo that primarily, it ſeems, bearing falſe teſtimony againſt our neighbour (eſpecially in matters of capital, or of high concernment to him) is prohibited: yet that not only this great crime, but that all injurious (even extrajudicial) prejudicing our neighbour's reputation, and conſequently his ſafety, or his welfare in any ſort, is forbidden, we may collect from that explication of this Law, or that parallel Law, which we have in *Leviticus*: *Thou ſhalt not* ('tis there ſaid) *go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people*; *neither ſhalt thou ſtand againſt the bloud of thy neighbour*: as a tale-bearer, רָכִיל, that is, a merchant, or trader in ill reports and ſtories concerning our neighbour, to his prejudice; defaming him, or detracting from him, or breeding in the minds of men an ill opinion of him; which vile and miſchievous practice is otherwhere under ſeveral names condemned and reproved; ſuch are *muttering*: (*The words of a mutterer*, ſaith the Wiſe-man, *are as wounds, going into the innermoſt parts of the belly*:) *whiſpering*, ψιθυρισμὸς, we have often in the *Son* of *Sirach*, and in Saint *Paul* mentioned with a bad character, or with prohibition and reproof: *ſupplanting*, (ſo in the good man's deſcription, *Pſal.* 15. 'tis ſaid, *He ſupplants not with his tongue*, ſo the word ſignifies) *detraction* or *backbiting*, καταλαλία, which is ſo often in the *Apoſtolical* Writings forbidden and reprehended; *ſlander*, or *calumny*, and *ſycophantry*; Levit. 19. 16. LXX οὐ πορεύσῃ δόλῳ. Prov. 18. 8. רגז Sirac. 5. 14. 21. 30. 28. 13. 2 Cor. 12. 20. Rom. 1. 30. Pſal. 15. 3. רגל 2 Cor. 12. 20. Jam. 4. 11. Rom. 1. 30.

1 Pet. 2. 1. Luke 3. 14. 19. 8. Levit. 19. 11. Pſal. 72. 4. 119. 134.

phantry; that is, oppreſſing, abuſing, or any way harming men by falſe tales, ſuggeſtions, or pretences; which ſort of practices how baſe they are in themſelves (nothing being more unworthy of an honeſt and ingenuous mind, nothing more ugly to the judgment of them, who have any ſenſe of goodneſs) how contrary they are to juſtice, which doth not permit us to wrong our neighbour, as well in his credit and good name, as in his other goods (for they perhaps may be as much valued by him, may really be of as much conſequence to him, as any thing that he hath) which bindeth us to abſtain from hurting him as well in word, as in deed; how oppoſite

Prov. 10. 12. 1 Cor. 13. 5. 7.

they are to charity, which obligeth us to think the beſt of our neighbour, and to endeavour that others alſo may do ſo; to conceal his real faults and blemiſhes; much more not to deviſe, and affix falſe ones to him; not to gather and diſperſe ill reports to his prejudice; of how miſchievous conſequence alſo they are, breeding ill-will, and ſowing ſtrife in all So-

Prov. 16. 28.

cieties both publick and private (even *ſeparating chief friends*, as the *Wiſeman* telleth us) common ſenſe and experience do ſhew: they conſequently muſt be very odious in the ſight of God, who loveth the peace and welfare of men; and very offenſive to men, who do the miſchiefs ſpringing from them.

To this Law may be reduced our obligations to be candid in our opi-

1 Cor. 13.

nions and diſcourſes concerning others (according to Saint *Paul*'s excellent deſcription of charity:) to forbear all raſh and harſh cenſure, as you know our *Saviour* in his moſt divine *Sermon* on the *Mount* chargeth us; to be veracious, ſincere and faithfull in all our converſation; which duties

Levit. 19. 11. Pſal. 15. 2.

are ſo often taught and preſſed in both Teſtaments: *Ye ſhall not* (ſaith the *Law*) *ſteal, nor deal falſely, nor lye one to another*; and, *To walk uprightly, and work righteouſneſs, and ſpeak the truth from his heart*, are the firſt lineaments in the good man's character drawn by the *Pſalmiſt*: and, *Theſe are*

Zech. 8. 16.

the things ye ſhall doe (ſaith God in the *Prophet*) *ſpeak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates*: And

Eph. 4. 25. Col. 3. 9. 1 Pet. 2. 1.

in the New Teſtament, *To lay aſide lying, to ſpeak the truth every man with his neighbour*; to *lay aſide all malice, all guile, all hypocriſies, envyings and backbitings* are *Apoſtolical* commands.

X. Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe; thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor his ox, nor his aſs, nor any thing that is thy neighbour's.

This Law is comprehenſive and recapitulatory (as it were) of the reſt concerning our neighbour, preſcribing univerſal juſtice toward him (whence Saint *Mark* it ſeems meaneth to render it in one word, by μὴ

Mark 10. 19.

ἀποστερήσῃς, *deprive not*, or bereave not your neighbour of any thing) and this not only in outward deed and dealing, but in inward thought and

Matt. 15. 19.

deſire, the ſpring, whence they do iſſue forth (for, *from the heart*, as our Saviour teacheth, *do proceed evil thoughts, murthers, adulteries, fornications, thefts, falſe witneſs, blaſphemies*) we are obliged to be ſo far from depriving our neighbour of any good thing belonging to him, that we are not ſo much as to wiſh or deſire it; not only to abſtain from injurious action, but to repreſs covetous inclinations: wherein is alſo implied, that we ſhould have a delight and complacence in our neighbour's good; not envying him any enjoyment; being in our minds content with the portion God pleaſeth to vouchſafe us; and entirely truſting in him, that he will ſupply us with

with what is needfull or befitting to us, without the damage of our neighbour. Thus *God's Law is* (as Saint *Paul* observed) *spiritual*; not only restraining exteriour acts, but regulating our inmost thoughts, quelling all inordinate appetites and affections of heart within us; the which may be extended so as to respect not only matters of justice toward our neighbour, but all objects whatever of our practice; so as to import that, which in the *Christian* Law is so frequently injoined us, as the life of our Religion, * *circumcising our hearts, crucifying the flesh with its passions and desires, mortifying our earthly members, putting to death by the spirit the deeds of the body, putting off the old man, which is corrupted according to the deceit full lusts:* ἐπιθυμίαις, thou shalt not unlawfully or irregularly desire doth, according to the spiritual intent, import all this.

Rom. 7. 7, 14.

* Rom. 2. 29. Phil. 3. 3. Coloss. 2. 11. Gal. 5. 24. Rom. 6. 6. Coloss. 3. 5. 2. 11. Eph. 4. 22. Rom. 8. 13.

I have done; and shall only add, that the sum and end of these, and all other good Laws, of all Religion, and all our duty is (as we often are taught in the New *Testament*) comprised in those two *Rules*, of *Loving God with all our heart*, and, *Loving our neighbour as our selves*; seriously and honestly attending unto which we can hardly fail of knowing what in any case our duty is: It remains that we employ our best care and endeavour on the conscientious practice thereof; imploring therewith the assistance of God's grace, and that good Spirit, which God hath most graciously promised to those, who duly ask it, by which alone we can be enabled to keep God's Commandments: To him be all glory and praise. *Amen.*

1 Tim. 1. 5.

THE

THE DOCTRINE OF The Sacraments.

IT is a peculiar excellency of our Religion, that it doth not much employ mens care, pains and time, about matters of ceremonial observance; but doth chiefly (and in a manner wholly) exercise them in works of substantial duty, agreeable to reason, perfective of man's nature, productive of true glory to God, and solid benefit to men. Its design is not to amuse our fancies with empty shews, nor to take up our endeavours in fruitless performances, but to render us truly good, and like unto God; first in interiour disposition of mind, then in exteriour practice; full of hearty love and reverence to God, of tender charity and good-will toward men, of moderation and purity in the enjoyment of these things; of all true piety and vertue; whereby we may become qualified for that life of bliss which it tendereth and promiseth; for conversation in that holy Society above, to which it designeth and calleth us. Yet because Fancy is naturally a *medium*, and an effectual instrument of action; and because sensible objects are apt strongly to affect our minds; it hath pleased the divine Wisdom to apply them, in fit measure, and to sanctifie them to those good purposes, by appointing some few solemn and significant Rites to be observed by us, being in their own nature proper and usefull, and by God designed to declare his mind and gracious intents to us; to consign and convey his Grace into our Souls, to confirm our Faith in him, to raise our devotion toward him, to quicken our resolutions of obeying his Will; to enable and excite us to the practice of those great Duties which he requireth of us: * *Our Lord Jesus Christ*, saith St. *Austin*, *hath subjected us to his gentle yoke, and light burthen; whence with Sacraments most few in number, most easie for observance, most excellent in signification he bound together the society of new people.* And, *The mercy of God* (saith he again) *would have Religion free, by the celebration of a most few, and most clear Sacraments.*

Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

It hath especially upon vulgar and weaker minds a strong efficacy.

* *Dominus noster leni jugo suo nos subdidit, & sarcinæ levi; Unde Sacramentis numero pauciſſimis, observatione facilliſimis, ſignificatione præſtantiſſimis ſocietatem novi populi colligavit: ſicut eſt Baptiſmus Trinitatis nomine conſecratus, communicatio Corporis & Sanguinis ipſius; & ſi quid aliud in Scripturis Canonicis commendatur, &c.* Ep. 118. *Religionem pauciſſimis & manifeſtiſſimis celebrationum Sacramentis miſericordia Dei liberam eſſe voluit.* *Id.* Ep. 119.

Of

Of theſe there appear two (and St. *Auſtin* in the place cited could inſtance in no more) of general and principal uſe, inſtituted by our Lord himſelf; which becauſe they repreſent to us ſomewhat not ſubject to ſenſe, and have a ſecret influence upon us; becauſe what is intended by them, is not immediately diſcernible by what is done, without ſome explication, (their ſignificancy being not wholly grounded in the nature, but depending upon arbitrary inſtitution, as that of words, which is of kin to them; whence St. *Auſtin* calls a Sacrament, *Verbum viſibile*) have uſually been called *Myſteries*, (that is, actions of a cloſe and occult importance, of deeper meaning and deſign, than is obvious to ordinary perception) and thence are alſo called Sacraments, for no other reaſon, I conceive, than becauſe the ancienteſt Tranſlatours of the Bible into *Latin*, did uſually render the word μυστήριον by the word *Sacramentum*; whence every thing containing under it ſomewhat of abſtruſe meaning, is by ancient Writers termed a *Sacrament*. (So *Tertullian* calls all Chriſtianity the Sacrament of Chriſtian Religion; and *Eliſha*'s Ax he calls the Sacrament of Wood; and St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of the Sacrament of Bread, of Fiſh, of Numbers, of the Rock, &c. In ſhort, he ſays of all Signs, That *when they belong to divine things, they are called* † *Sacraments*; which ſhews to how ſmall purpoſe the Diſputes are, yea, on what ſmall grounds the decrees are, concerning the number, general nature and efficacy of Sacraments; for where a name or form of a Sacrament is of ſo large, ambiguous and indeterminate ſignification, there can be nothing but confuſion in the diſputes about it.) But thoſe which chiefly at leaſt, and in way of eminency have obtained this name, are thoſe *two* inſtituted by our Lord, *Baptiſm*, and the *Lord's Supper*; of which I ſhall in order diſcourſe; and ſo of each, as very briefly to conſider the occaſion of their inſtitution, the actions injoined in them; the nature of them, or wherein their myſtery doth conſiſt, the ends for which they were intended, and the effects they produce; together with the diſpoſitions and duties (antecedent, concomitant and conſequent) required of us in the uſe and practice of them. And firſt,

Exod. 12. v. 26. *Sacramenti natura diſerte & planè exprimitur.*

† *Nimis autem longum eſt convenienter diſputare de varietate ſignorum, quæ, cùm ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur.* Aug. *Ep.* 5.

In cunctis Chriſti actionibus Sacramentorum myſteria corruſcarunt. Leo *I. Ep.* 4.

OF

OF BAPTISM.

Βαπτισμῶν διδαχή, Heb. 6. 1, 2.

THERE were, (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* telleth us) in ſacred uſe among the Jews διάφοροι βαπτισμοὶ, *ſeveral kinds of Baptiſms.* Heb. 9. 10. The Learned in their Laws and Cuſtoms teach, that they never did receive any perſon into their Covenant, whether that which was more ſtrict (to which natural *Jews*, and *Proſelytes of Righteouſneſs* were tyed) or that which was more lax, with which Strangers and Proſelytes of the gate did comply, without a *Baptiſm*. And that Prieſts and Levites entring into their Office, were to be ſanctified by waſhing with water, we ſee plainly preſcribed in their Law; likewiſe that all perſons, who had contracted any kind of defilement, were purified by the like Ceremony, particularly Children new-born, is expreſſed there. Moreover, that it was in uſe for Perſons, who were conſcious to themſelves of having tranſgreſſed God's Law, being in God's Name invited by ſome perſon of eminent authority (a *Prophet*, or like a Prophet, one commiſſionated by God) unto repentance and amendment of life, to be waſhed by him, in teſtimony of their ſtedfaſt purpoſe to amend; and in hope to obtain pardon from God of their paſt offences, and to be re-inſtated in his favour, appears probable by Saint *John* the *Baptiſt* his undertaking, and the ſucceſs thereof. For if the manner of his proceeding had been altogether unuſual and unknown, ſo many it ſeems would not ſo readily (without any ſtir or obſtacle) have complyed therewith; eſpecially among the *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, thoſe zealous adherents to traditionary practice, who, to maintain their credit and intereſt with the people, were ſo averſe from all appearance of novelty. This practice then of waſhing in ſo many caſes, and to ſo many purpoſes cuſtomary among God's people, to ſignify mens entring into a new ſtate or courſe of life, being withall moſt apt and proper for his deſign, our *Bleſſed Saviour*, who never favoured needleſs innovations, was pleaſed to aſſume and impoſe upon the Diſciples and followers of his Religion, accommodating it to thoſe holy purpoſes, which we ſhall now endeavour to declare.

Seld. *de Synedriis.*

Exod. 29. 4. Numb. 8. 6.

Levit. 15. 8, 16, 18, 27. & 22. 6.

Numb. 19. 7, &c.

Ezek. 16. 4.

Joh. 1. 25, 33.

What the action it ſelf enjoined is, what the manner and form thereof, is apparent by the words of our Lord's inſtitution; *Going forth therefore,* (ſaith he) *teach* (or *diſciple*) *all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things, which I have commanded you.*

Matt. 28. 19. Mark 16. 15.

The Action is baptizing or immerſing in water; the Object thereof, thoſe Perſons of any Nation, whom his Miniſters can by their inſtruction and perſuaſion render Diſciples, that is, ſuch as do ſincerely believe the truth of his Doctrine, and ſeriouſly reſolve to obey his Commandments. It is performed *in the Name*; that is, it is miniſtred by the authority, and bears ſpecial relation unto the Perſons of the Bleſſed Trinity, as the chief Objects of the Faith profeſſed, and the ſole Objects of the obedience undertaken therein; as exhibiting gracious favours unto the perſon baptized, and as receiving ſpecial obligations from him.

Such is the Action it ſelf declared to be; the myſtery thereof conſiſts in its being a notable ſign to repreſent, and an authentick Seal to ratifie the collation then made of certain great benefits to us; and our undertaking correſpondent duties toward God.

The Benefits which God then ſignifies, and (upon due terms) engageth to confer on us, are theſe:

1. The purgation or abſolution of us from the guilt of paſt offences, by a free and full remiſſion of them, (the which waſhing by Water, cleanſing from all ſtains, doth moſt appoſitely repreſent) and conſequently God's being reconciled unto us, his receiving us into a ſtate of grace and favour, his freely juſtifying us, (that is, looking upon us, or treating us as juſt and innocent Perſons, although before we ſtood guilty of heinous ſins, and thereupon liable to grievous puniſhments) that theſe benefits are conferred in Baptiſm, many places of Scripture plainly ſhew; [and the Primitive Church, with moſt firm and unanimous conſent, did believe *.] And now (ſaid *Ananias* to Saint *Paul*) *Why doſt thou tarry? Ariſe and be baptized, and waſh away thy ſins.* And, *Repent* (ſaith St. *Peter*, preaching to the *Jews*) *and let every one of you be baptized for the remiſſion of ſins.* And, *Chriſt* (ſaith S. *Paul* again to the *Epheſians*) *loved his Church, and delivered himſelf for it, that he might ſanctifie it, purging it by the waſhing of water,* ἐν ῥήματι, (that is, he effectually in Baptiſm conſigned to the members of his Church, that mercy and remiſſion of ſins, which he purchaſed and merited by his paſſion.) And again, *Such* (ſaith he to the *Corinthians*) *were ſome of you,* (that is, ye were perſons guilty of heinous ſins) *but ye have been waſhed, ye have been ſanctified, ye have been juſtified in the name of our Lord, and by the ſpirit of our God*; where, having been waſhed in Chriſt's name, doth (in congruity with what is ſaid in other places) denote Baptiſm in his name; being ſanctified and juſtified, do expreſs the firſt benefits accompanying that Baptiſm. And indeed, wherever a general remiſſion of ſins, or a full ſanctification, or conſecration, and juſtification of mens perſons in God's ſight, are mentioned; that remiſſion of ſins, that ſeparation, or dedication unto God's Service, that reception into Grace, which are conſigned in Baptiſm, are (I conceive) underſtood; there being no other ſeaſon or occaſion, wherein ordinarily and viſibly God doth exhibit thoſe Benefits.

* *Vid.* Juſt. *Apol.* 2. Tertul. *de Bapt.* &c. Acts 22. 16. Acts 2. 38. Eph. 5. 26. 1 Cor. 6. 11.

Quid feſtinat innocens ætas ad remiſſionem peccatorum? Tertul.

It may be demanded, How Children, by reaſon *of their innocent age*, are capable of theſe Benefits; how they can be pardoned, who never had offended, how they can be juſtified, who never were capable of being unjuſt? I briefly anſwer, That becauſe they come from that race, which by ſin had forfeited God's favour, and had alienated it ſelf from him; becauſe alſo they have in them thoſe ſeeds of pravity from which afterward certainly, life continuing, (without God's reſtraining Grace) will ſprout forth innumerable evil actions; therefore that God overlooking all the defects of their nature, both relative, and abſolute, or perſonal, doth aſſume them into his ſpecial favour, is no ſmall benefit to them, anſwerable to the remiſſion of actual ſin, and reſtitution from the ſtate conſequent thereon in others.

—impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto puerorum innocens ætas, &c. Cypr. *Epiſt.* 10.

2. In Baptiſm, the Gift of God's Holy Spirit is conferred, qualifying us for the ſtate into which we then come, and enabling us to perform the duties we then undertake, which otherwiſe we ſhould be unable to perform; for purification of our hearts from vicious inclinations and deſires; for begetting holy diſpoſitions and affections in our Souls; for to guide and inſtruct us, to ſuſtain and ſtrengthen us, to encourage and comfort us in all the courſe of Chriſtian piety: the which effects are well

well also figured by water, which purifieth things both from inherent and adherent filth. That this benefit is annexed to Baptism, the Scripture also teacheth us: *Be baptized* (saith Saint *Peter*) *in the Name of Christ to the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost:* Acts 2. 38.
ἐις ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν, We *being baptized in one body, are made to drink of one spirit,* saith Saint *Paul:* And with the * *Laver of Regeneration,* Saint *Paul* again joineth the *renovation of the Holy Ghost:* And it is represented as an advantage of our *Saviour*'s Baptism above that of *John*, that our Lord not only baptized *with water to repentance, but with the Holy Ghost, and Fire.* 1 Cor. 12. 13.
* Λέβητα παλιγγενεσίας, ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου. Tit. 3. 5.
Matt. 3. 15.

Some preventing operations of the Holy Ghost (whereby God freely draweth Men to Christianity, persuading their minds to assent thereto, inspiring their hearts with resolutions to comply with it) do precede Baptism; but a more full communication thereof (due by compact, assured by promise) for the confirming and maintaining us in the firm belief and constant practice of Christianity is consequent thereon; *After ye had believed, ye were sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise,* saith Saint *Paul.* To signifie which benefit then conferr'd, the ancient Christians did to Baptism annex the Chrism, or holy Unction, signifying the collation of that healing and chearing Spirit to the baptized person; that which Saint *Paul* may seem to respect, when he saith, *He that establisheth* (or confirmeth) *us with you into Christ, and who hath anointed us, is God; who also hath sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.* Ephes. 1. 14. 2 Cor. 1. 21.

3. With those gifts is connected the benefit of Regeneration, implying our entrance into a new state and course of life; being endowed with new faculties, dispositions and capacities of Souls, becoming new Creatures and new Men, as it were, *renewed after the likeness of God in righteousness and true holiness*, our being sanctified in our hearts and lives, being mortified to fleshly lusts and worldly affections, being quickned to a spiritual life and heavenly conversation: in short, becoming in relation and in disposition of mind, the children of God. This the matter and the action of Baptism doth set out; for as children new born, (for cleansing them from impurities adherent from the Womb) both among the *Jews* and other people, were wont to be washed; so are we in Baptism, signifying our purification from natural and worldly defilements: The mersion also in Water, and the emersion thence, doth figure our death to the former, and receiving to a new life. Whence Baptism is by Saint *Paul* called *the laver of Regeneration*; and our Lord saith, that, *If a man be not born again of Water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*; that is, every one becoming a Christian, is by Baptism regenerated or put into a new state of Life, getteth new dispositions of Soul, and new relations to God. *Ye are all* (saith Saint *Paul*) *the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus*; that is, by embracing his Doctrine, and submitting to his Law professedly in Baptism. And, *We* (saith Saint *Paul* again) *are buried with Christ through Baptism unto death; that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so also we should walk in newness of life.* Ephes. 2. 22, 23, 24. Colos. 3. 10. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Ezek. 16. 4. ——λέσασα καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτι. Theocr. Tit. 3. 5. Joh. 3. 5. Gal. 3. 26. Rom. 6. 4. Col. 2. 12.

4. With these Benefits is conjoined that of being inserted into God's Church, his family, the number of his chosen people, the mystical body of *Christ*, whereby we become entitled to the privileges and immunities of that heavenly Corporation. *We* (saith Saint *Paul*) *have been all baptized in one spirit into one body*, the mystical body of *Christ*: And, *so many of you* (saith he again) *as have been baptized into Christ,* 1 Cor. 12. 13. Gal. 3. 27.

(into *Christ* mystical, or the Church) *have put on Christ, and ye are* (adds he) *all one in Christ Jesus.* As Proselytes among the *Jews* by Baptism were admitted unto the Communion and privileges of the *Jewish*; so thereby are we received into the like Communion and privileges of the *Christian*, far more excellent, Society.

5. In consequence of these things, there is with Baptism conferred a capacity of, a title unto, an assurance (under condition of persevering in faith and obedience to our Lord) of eternal life and salvation. We are
1 Pet. 1. 2. therein, in Saint *Peter*'s words, *regenerated unto a lively hope of an incorruptible inheritance, by* that *resurrection of Christ*, which is represented to us in this action; and so therein applied, as to beget in us a title and a hope to rise again in like manner to a blissfull life; whence we are said therein
Coloss. 2. 12. to rise with him: *Being*, saith Saint *Paul*, *buried with him in Baptism, wherein also we were raised again:* whence by the two great Apostles, Baptism is
1 Pet. 3. 21. said to save us: *Baptism* (saith Saint *Peter*) the antitype of the delivery in the flood, *doth save us*, that is, admitteth us into the Ark, putteth us
Tit. 3. 5. into the sure way of Salvation; and, *God* (saith Saint *Paul*) *according to*
Matt. 16. 16. *his mercy saved us, by the laver of regeneration*; and, *He that shall believe, and shall be baptized, shall be saved*, is our Saviour's own word and promise; *shall be saved*, that is, shall be put into a state and way of salvation, continuing in which state, proceeding in which way he assuredly *shall be saved:* for Faith there denoteth perseverance in Faith, and Baptism implieth performance of the conditions therein undertaken; which next is to be considered.

For as this Holy Rite signifyeth and sealeth God's collation of so many great Benefits on us; so it also implieth and on our part ratifieth our Obligation, then in an especial manner commencing, to several most important duties toward him. It implieth, that we are in mind fully persuaded concerning the truth of that Doctrine, which God the Father revealed by his blessed Son, and confirmed by the miraculous operation of the Holy Ghost; we therein profess our humble and thankfull embracing the overtures of Mercy and Grace, purchased for us by our Saviour's meritorious undertaking and performances, the which are then exhibited and tendred to us; we therein declare our hearty resolution to forsake all wicked courses of life, repugnant to the Doctrine and Law of *Christ*; fully to conform our lives to his Will, living thereafter in all piety, righteousness and sobriety, as loyal Subjects, faithfull Servants, and dutifull Children to God; in brief, we therein are bound, renouncing all erroneous principles, all vicious inclinations, and all other engagements whatever, entirely to devote our selves to the Faith and Obedience of God the Father, our glorious and good Maker; of God the Son our gracious Redeemer; of God the Holy Ghost our blessed Guide, Assistant, Advocate and Comforter; These are the duties antecedent unto and concomitant of our Baptism (immediately and formally required of those, who are capable of performing them, mediately and virtually of them who are not) the which are signified by our being baptized in the Name of the Holy Trinity.

These Duties the Scripture commonly expresseth by the word, Faith
Acts 8. 37. and Repentance; sometimes singly, sometimes conjunctly: *If* (said *Philip* to the *Eunuch*) *thou believest with thy heart it is lawfull* (for thee to be baptized;) Faith was an indispensible condition prerequisite thereto;
Acts 2. 38. and, *Repent* (saith Saint *Peter*) *and let every one of you be baptized;* Repentance also was necessary to precede it; indeed both these (as they are meant in this case) do in effect signifie the same; each importeth a being

renewed in mind, in judgment, in will, in affection; a ſerious embracing of Chriſt's Doctrine, and a ſtedfaſt reſolution to adhere thereto in practice. Hence are thoſe effects or conſequences attributed to Faith, juſtifying us, reconciling and bringing us near to God, ſaving us; becauſe it is the neceſſary condition required by God, and by him accepted, that we may be capable of theſe benefits conferred in Baptiſm; the ſame being alſo referr'd to that repentance or change of mind, which muſt accompany our entrance into Chriſtianity; that good Conſcience with which we ſtipulate a perpetual devotion and obedience to God, the which therefore doth (as Saint *Peter* telleth us) *ſave us*; it contributing to our Salvation, as a duty neceſſarily required in order thereto. This is that death to ſin, and reſurrection to righteouſneſs, that being buried with *Chriſt*, and riſing again with him, ſo as to walk in newneſs of life, which the baptiſmal action ſignifies, and which we then really undertake to perform.

Acts 26. 14. 5. 31. & 20. 21. & 26. 20. & 3. 19. & 17. 30. Rom. 5. 1, 2. & 3. 25. & 24. Gal. 2. 16. & 3. 8. Heb. 10. 39. Epheſ. 2. 8. & 3. 12. 2 Theſſ. 2. 13. 2 Tim. 2. 25. 2 Pet. 3. 9. Matt. 9. 13. Luk. 24. 47. Mark 2. 17. 1 Pet. 3. 21. Rom. 6. 3, 4, *&c.*

And as ſuch are the duties preceding or accompanying Baptiſm; ſo making good the engagements they contain, conſtantly perſiſting in them, maintaining and improving them, are duties neceſſarily conſequent thereupon. *Having* (ſaith the *Apoſtle*) *had our bodies waſhed with pure water, let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering.* We ſhould indeed continually remember, frequently and ſeriouſly conſider, what in ſo ſolemn a manner we (upon ſo valuable conſiderations) did then undertake, promiſe and vow to God, diligently ſtriving to perform it; for violating our part of the Covenant and ſtipulation then made, by apoſtacy in profeſſion or practice from God and goodneſs, we certainly muſt forfeit thoſe ineſtimable benefits, which God otherwiſe hath tied himſelf to beſtow; the pardon of our ſins, the favour of God, the being members of *Chriſt*, the grace, guidance, aſſiſtance and comfort of the Holy Spirit; the right unto and hope of Salvation. We ſo doing, ſhall not only ſimply diſobey and offend God; but add the higheſt breach of fidelity to our diſobedience, together with the moſt heinous ingratitude, abuſing the greateſt grace that could be vouchſafed us: *If we wilfully ſin, after we have taken the acknowledgment of the truth*, (ſaith the *Apoſtle*, meaning that ſolemn profeſſion of our Faith in Baptiſm) *we trample under foot the Son of God; we profane the bloud of the Covenant; we doe deſpite unto the Spirit of Grace*; and incurring ſo deep guilt, we muſt expect ſutable puniſhment. But I proceed to the other Sacrament,

Heb. 10. 23. 2 Pet. 3. 17.

Heb. 10. 26.

THE

THE EUCHARIST.

Cypr. *Ep.* 63. AMong the wonderfull works of Power and Grace performed by God Almighty, in favour of the Children of *Iſrael*, and in order to their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, a moſt ſignal one, was the ſmiting the firſt-born in every houſe of the *Egyptians*, and paſſing over the houſes of the Children of *Iſrael*; wherein God declared his juſt wrath againſt their cruel Oppreſſours, depriving them in a ſudden and dreadfull manner of what was neareſt and deareſt to them; and his gracious mercy toward them, in preſerving what was alike dear to them from ſo wofull a calamity; *thus* (as the Text expreſſeth it) putting a difference between the *Egyptians* and the Children of *Iſrael*. Now that the memory of ſo remarkable a Mercy might be preſerved, that their affections might be raiſed to a ſtrong ſenſe of God's goodneſs, and their Faith in them confirmed, ſo as in the like need to hope for the ſame favourable help and protection, by the conſideration of ſo notable an experiment, it pleaſed God to appoint a *Sacrament*, or myſterious Rite to be annually celebrated, repreſenting and recalling to mind, that Act of God wherein his ſpecial kindneſs was ſo eminently demonſtrated toward his People: The ſame alſo (as did other Rites and Sacrifices, inſtituted by God among that people) looking directly forward upon that other great delivery from Sin and Hell, which God in mercy deſigned toward mankind, to be atchieved by our Saviour; prefiguring, that the Souls of them who ſhould be willing to forſake the ſpiritual bondage of ſin, ſhould be ſaved from the ruin coming upon them who would abide therein; God regarding the bloud of our Saviour (that immaculate Lamb, ſacrificed for them) ſprinkled upon the doors of their houſes, that is, by hearty Faith and Repentance, applied to their Conſciences. The occaſion of celebrating which Holy Rite, our Saviour we ſee did improve to the inſtitution of this Sacrament, moſt agreeing therewith in deſign, as repreſentative and commemorative of the greateſt bleſſing and mercy that we are capable of having vouchſafed to us; ſome part of that ancient Rite or Sacrifice (which was moſt ſutable to the ſpecial purpoſes of this Inſtitution, and moſt conformable to the general conſtitution of the Chriſtian Religion, whereby all bloudy Sacrifices are aboliſhed) being retained in this.

Exod. 12. 23. Heb. 10. 22. 1 Pet. 1. 2.

The Action it ſelf (or rather the whole Rite, conſiſting of divers actions) we ſee plainly deſcribed in the Goſpels, and in the firſt Epiſtle of Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthians*; diſtinguiſhable into theſe chief parts. 1. The Benediction and Conſecration (by Prayer and Thankſgiving) of Bread and Wine. 2. The breaking of Bread, and handling the Cup. 3. The delivery and diſtribution of them to the perſons preſent. 4. The declaration accompanying that delivery, that thoſe ſymbolical things and actions did repreſent our Saviour's Body given and broken, our Saviour's Bloud ſhed and poured out for us, in ſanction of the new Covenant. 5 The actual partaking of thoſe Symbols, by eating

1 Tim. 4. 5.

Luke 22. 19, 20. εὐχαριστήσας.
1 Cor. 11. 24, 25. ἔκλασε.

eating the Bread, and drinking the Wine, done by all present. These things we find done at the first institution and exemplary practice of this holy Ceremony; the which our Saviour obliged us to imitate, saying, *Do this in remembrance of me.* There followeth in Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Mark*, presently after the narration concerning these particulars,---ὑμνήσαντες, *And having sung a hymn, they went to the Mount of Olives:* Which action was indeed in it self proper to conclude the practice of this holy Rite, yet what reference it hath thereto, cannot thence be determined; However with these the Church hath always joined several acts of Devotion (Confessions, Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings, Intercessions, Vows) suitable to the nature and design of the Sacrament, apt to glorify God, and edify the faithfull in the celebration thereof.

Luke 22. 17. δἀμερίσατε. Mark 14. 23. ἔπιον ἅπαντες. Matt. 26. 30. Mark 14. 26.

Such is the practice it self instituted and injoined by our Saviour; the mysterious importance thereof, as we find it explained in holy Scripture, (the only solid and sure ground, upon which we can build the explication of supernatural Mysteries consisteth chiefly in these particulars:

1. It was intended for a commemorative representation of our Saviour's Passion for us; fit to mind us of it, to move us to consider it, to beget affections in us, suitable to the memory and consideration thereof: τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν *Do this* (saith our Lord) *for my remembrance*, or in commemoration of me; that is, so as thereby to have raised in you a reflexion of mind and heart upon those grievous pains, which I shall have endured for your sake, to procure for you a remission of sins, and reconciliation to God: And, *So often* (saith Saint *Paul*) *as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup*, καταγγέλλετε, *Ye tell forth* or significantly express) *the death of our Lord till he come*, or during his absence from us. The suffering of our Saviour (the most wonderfull act of goodness and charity, that ever was performed in the world, which produced effects of highest consequence to our benefit, the consideration whereof is apt to work the best dispositions of piety in us) should very frequently be present to our thoughts and affections; and that it may be so with advantage, such a solemn and sensible representation thereof is very conducible; wherein we behold him crucified, as it were *in effigie*, his body broken, his bloud poured out for us; it being in a sort a putting us into the circumstances of those, who did behold our Saviour for us hanging upon the Cross. Our Lord being absent in body from us, (sitting in Heaven at God's right hand) to supply that absence, that we should not be apt to forget him, and thereby become wholly estranged from him, is pleased to order this occasion of being present, and conversing with us, in such a manner, as may retain in our memories his gracious performances for us; may impress in our hearts a kindly sense of them; may raise us up in mind and affection to him.

Luke 22. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 25. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

2. The benefits consequent upon our Saviour's Passion, rightly apprehended, heartily believed, seriously considered by us, are hereby lively represented, and effectually conveyed; to the sustenance and nourishment of our spiritual life, to the refreshment and comfort of our souls. It is a holy Feast, a spiritual Repast, a divine Entertainment, to which God in kindness invites us; to which if we come with well-disposed minds, he there feeds us with most holy and delicious Viands, with heavenly Manna, with most reviving and cherishing Liquor. Bread is the staff of life, the most common, most necessary, and most wholsome, and most savory Meat; Wine is the most pleasant and wholsome also, the most sprightly and cordial Drink; by them therefore our Lord chose to represent

preſent that body and bloud, by the oblation of which a capacity of life and health was procured to mankind; the taking in which by right apprehenſion, taſting it by hearty faith, digeſting it by carefull attention and meditation, converting it into our ſubſtance by devout, gratefull and holy affections, joined with ſerious and ſteady reſolutions of living anſwerable thereto, will certainly ſupport and maintain our ſpiritual life in a vigorous health and happy growth of grace; refreſhing our hearts with comfort and ſatisfaction unſpeakable; *He that doeth thus, eats our Saviour's fleſh, and drinks his bloud*, (that is, who as our Saviour interpreteth it, doth *believe in him*; that belief importing all other acts of mind and will, connected with right perſuaſions concerning him) *hath eternal life*, and *ſhall live for ever*, as himſelf declares and promiſes: which benefits therefore in the due performance of this holy duty, are conveyed unto us.

Joh. 6. 51, 47. & 5. 36.

3. This Sacrament declares that union, which good Chriſtians partaking thereof have with *Chriſt*; their myſtical inſertion into him, by a cloſe dependence upon him for ſpiritual life, mercy, grace and ſalvation; a conſtant adherence to him by faith and obedience, a near conformity to him in mind and affection; an inſeparable conjunction with him, by the ſtricteſt bands of fidelity, and by the moſt endearing relations: Which things could not more fitly be ſet out, than by the partaking our beſt and moſt neceſſary food; which being taken in, ſoon becomes united to us, aſſimilated and converted into our ſubſtance; thereby renewing our ſtrength, and repairing the decays of our nature: Wherefore, *He* (ſaith our *Saviour*) *that eateth my fleſh, and drinketh my bloud, abideth in me, and I in him*; and, *The cup of bleſſing* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which we bleſs, is it not the communion of the bloud of Chriſt? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Chriſt?* We in the outward action, partake of the Symbols repreſenting our Saviour's Body and Bloud; We in the ſpiritual intention, communicate of his very Perſon, being (according to the manner inſinuated) intimately united to him.

Joh. 15. 4.

John 6. 56.

1 Cor. 10. 16.

4. By this Sacrament conſequently is ſignified and ſealed that union, which is among our Saviour's true Diſciples communicating therein; their being together united in conſent of mind, and unity of faith; in mutual good-will and affection, in hope and tendency to the ſame bleſſed end, in ſpiritual brotherhood and ſociety; eſpecially upon account of their communion with *Chriſt*, which moſt cloſely ties them one to another; they partaking of this one individual food, become tranſlated, as it were into one body and ſubſtance: *Seeing* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *we being many, are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.*

Vid. Cyp. *Ep.* 63. *p.* 146. *Ep.* 67. *p.* 208. 1 Cor. 10. 17.

In the repreſenting, producing and promoting theſe things, we are taught the myſtery of this Sacrament doth conſiſt; It was deſigned as a proper and efficacious inſtrument, to raiſe in us pious affections toward our good God and gracious Redeemer; to diſpoſe us to all holy practice; to confirm our faith, to nouriſh our hope, to quicken our reſolutions of walking carefully in the ways of duty; to unite us more faſtly to our Saviour, and to combine us in charity one toward another; the accompliſhing of which intents thereof, doth ſuppoſe our faithfull and diligent concurrence in the uſe thereof; whence ariſe many duties incumbent upon us in reſpect thereto, ſome antecedent, ſome concomitant, ſome conſequent to the uſe thereof.

1. Before we addreſs our ſelves to the partaking of this venerable myſtery, we ſhould conſider whither we are going, what is the nature and importance of the action we ſet our ſelves about; that we are approaching

ching *to our Lord's Table*, (ſo St. *Paul* calleth it) to come into his more eſpecial preſence, to be entertained by him with the deareſt welcome, and the beſt chear that can be; to receive the fulleſt teſtimonies of his mercy, and the ſureſt pledges of his favour toward us; that we are going to behold our Lord in tendereſt love, offering up himſelf a Sacrifice to God, therein undergoing the ſoreſt pains, and ſouleſt diſgraces for our good and ſalvation; that we ought therefore to bring with us diſpoſitions of ſoul, ſutable to ſuch an acceſs unto, ſuch an entercourſe with our gracious Lord. Had we the honour and favour to be invited to the Table of a great Prince, what eſpecial care ſhould we have to dreſs our bodies in a clean and decent garb, to compoſe our minds in order to expreſſion of all due reſpect to him; to bring nothing about us noiſome or ugly, that might offend his ſight, or diſpleaſe his mind: The like ſurely, and greater care we ſhould apply, when we thus being called, do go into God's preſence and communion. We ſhould, in preparation thereto, with all our power, endeavour to cleanſe our ſouls from all impurity of thought and deſire; from all iniquity and perverſeneſs; from all malice, envy, hatred, anger, and all ſuch evil diſpoſitions, which are moſt offenſive to God's all-piercing ſight, and unbeſeeming his glorious preſence; we ſhould dreſs our ſouls with all thoſe comely ornaments of grace (with purity, humility, meekneſs and charity) which will render us acceptable and well-pleaſing to him: We ſhould compoſe our minds into a frame of reverence and awfull regard to the majeſty of God, into a lowly, calm, and tender diſpoſition of heart, apt to expreſs all reſpect due to his preſence, fit to admit the gracious illapſes of his holy Spirit; very ſuſceptive of all holy and heavenly affections, which are ſutable to ſuch a communion, or may ſpring from it. We ſhould therefore remove and abandon from us, not only all vicious inclinations, and evil purpoſes; but even all worldly cares, deſires and paſſions which may diſtract or diſcompoſe us, that may dull or deject us, that may cauſe us to behave our ſelves indecently or unworthily before God, that may bereave us of the excellent fruits from ſo bleſſed an entertainment. 1 Cor. 10. 21.

To theſe purpoſes we ſhould, according to Saint *Paul's* advice, δοκιμάζειν ἑαυτὸς, examine and approve our ſelves; conſidering our paſt actions, and our preſent inclinations, and accordingly, by ſerious meditation, and fervent prayer to God for his gracious aſſiſtance therein, working our ſouls into a hearty remorſe for our paſt miſcarriages, and a ſincere reſolution to amend for the future; forſaking all ſin, endeavouring in all our actions to ſerve and pleaſe God; *purging out* (as Saint *Paul* again injoineth us) *the old leaven of vice and wickedneſs*; ſo that we may feaſt, and celebrate this Paſſeover, in which *Chriſt* is myſtically ſacrificed for us, in the *unleavened* diſpoſitions *of ſincerity and truth.* Such are the duties previous to our partaking this Sacrament. 1 Cor. 11. 28. 1 Cor. 5. 7.

2. Thoſe duties which accompany it, are a reverent and devout affection of heart, with a ſutable behaviour therein; an awfull ſenſe of mind befitting the Majeſty of that Preſence wherein we do appear, anſwerable to the greatneſs, and goodneſs, and holineſs of him, with whom we converſe; becoming the ſacredneſs of thoſe Myſteries which are exhibited to us, (that which Saint *Paul* ſeemeth to call διακρίνειν τὸ σῶμα Κυρίε, to *diſcern* or diſtinguiſh *our Lord's body*; that is, yielding a peculiar reverence of mind and behaviour in regard thereto) a devotion of heart, conſiſting in hearty contrition for our ſins, which did expoſe our Saviour to the enduring ſuch pains, then remembred; in firm reſolution to forſake the like thereafter, as injurious, diſhonourable and diſpleaſing to him; in fer- 1 Cor. 11. 29.

vent love of him, as full of ſo wonderfull goodneſs and charity toward us; in moſt hearty thankfulneſs for thoſe unconceivably great expreſſions of kindneſs toward us; in deepeſt humility, upon ſenſe of our unworthineſs, to receive ſuch teſtimonies of grace and favour from him, (our unworthineſs *to eat the crumbs that fall from his table*, how much more to be admitted into ſuch degrees of honourable communion and familiarity, of cloſe conjunction and union with him?) of pious joy in conſideration of the excellent privileges herein imparted, and of the bleſſed fruits accruing to us from his gracious performances; in a comfortable hope of obtaining and enjoying the benefits of his obedience and paſſion, by the aſſiſtance of his Grace; in ſteady faith, and full perſuaſion of mind, that he is (ſuppoſing our dutifull compliance) ready to beſtow upon us all the bleſſings then exhibited; in attentively fixing the eyes of our mind, and all the powers of our ſoul (our underſtanding, will, memory, fancy, affection) upon him, as willingly pouring forth his life for our ſalvation; laſtly, in motions of enlarged good-will and charity toward all our brethren for his ſake, in obedience to his will, and in imitation of him; ſuch-like duties ſhould attend our participation of this holy Sacrament.

3. The effects of having duly performed which, ſhould appear in the practice of thoſe duties, which are conſequent thereon; being ſuch as theſe; An increaſe of all pious inclinations and affections, expreſſing themſelves in a real amendment of our lives, and producing more goodly fruits of obedience; the thorough digeſtion of that ſpiritual nouriſhment by our becoming more faſtly knit to our Saviour by higher degrees of faith and love; the maintaining a more lively ſenſe of his ſuperabundant goodneſs; the cheriſhing thoſe influences of grace, which deſcend upon our hearts in this communion, and improving them to nearer degrees of perfection in all piety and vertue; a watchfull care and endeavour in our lives to approve our ſelves in ſome meaſure worthy of that great honour and favour, which God hath vouchſafed us in admitting us to ſo near approaches to himſelf; an earneſt purſuance of the reſolutions, performance of the vows, making good the engagements; which in ſo ſolemn a manner, upon ſo great an occaſion we made, and offered up unto our God and Saviour; finally, the conſidering, that by the breach of ſuch reſolutions, by the violation of ſuch engagements, our ſins receiving ſo mighty aggravation of vain inconſtancy and wicked perfidiouſneſs, our guilt will hugely be increaſed; our ſouls relapſing into ſo grievous diſtemper, our ſpiritual ſtrength will be exceedingly impaired; conſequently hence our true comforts will be abated, our beſt hopes will be ſhaken, our eternal ſtate will be deſperately endangered.

There is one duty which I ſhould not forbear to touch, concerning this *Sacrament*; that is, Our gladly embracing any opportunity preſented of communicating therein; the doing ſo, being not only our duty, but a great aid and inſtrument of piety; the neglecting it a grievous ſin, and productive of great miſchiefs to us.

The Primitive Chriſtians did very frequently uſe it, partaking therein, as it ſeems at every time of their meeting for God's ſervice; it is ſaid of them by Saint *Luke*, that *They continued ſtedfaſtly in the Apoſtles doctrine and communion, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers*; and, *when you meet together, it is not* (as according to the intent and duty of meeting it ſhould be) *to eat the Lord's Supper* (ſaith Saint *Paul*:) And *Juſtin Martyr* in his ſecond *Apology*, deſcribing the religious Service of God in their Aſſemblies, mentioneth it as a conſtant part thereof; and *Epiphanius* reporteth it a cuſtom in the Church, derived from Apoſtolical Inſtitution, to celebrate

Acts 2. 42.

1 Cor. 10. 20.

celebrate the *Euchariſt* thrice every week, that is, ſo often as they did meet to pray and praiſe God; which practice may well be conceived a great means of kindling and preſerving in them that holy fervour of piety, which they ſo illuſtriouſly expreſſed in their converſation; and in their gladſome ſuffering for *Chriſt*'s ſake: and the remitting of that frequency, as it is certainly a ſign and an effect, ſo in part it may poſſibly be reckoned a cauſe of the degeneracy of *Chriſtian* practice, into that great coldneſs and ſlackneſs which afterward did ſeize upon it, and now doth apparently keep it in a languiſhing and half-dying ſtate.

The rarer occaſions therefore we now have of performing this duty, (the which indeed was always eſteemed the principal office of God's Service) of enjoying this benefit, (the being deprived whereof, was alſo deemed the greateſt puniſhment and infelicity that could arrive to a Chriſtian) the more ready we ſhould be to embrace them. If we dread God's diſpleaſure, if we value our Lord and his benefits, if we tender the life, health and welfare of our ſouls, we ſhall not neglect it; for how can we but extremely offend God by ſo extreme rudeneſs, that when he kindly invites us to his Table, we are averſe from coming thither, or utterly refuſe it? That when he calleth us into his preſence, we run from him; that when he, with his own hand, offereth us ineſtimable mercies and bleſſings, we reject them? It is not only the breach of God's command, who enjoined us *to doe this*, but a direct contempt of his favour and goodneſs, moſt clearly and largely exhibited in this office. And how can we bear any regard to our Lord, or be any-wiſe ſenſible of his gracious performances in our behalf, if we are unwilling to join in thankfull and joyfull commemoration of them? How little do we love our own Souls, if we ſuffer them to pine and ſtarve for want of that Food, which God here diſpenſeth for their ſuſtenance and comfort? if we bereave them of enjoying ſo high a privilege, ſo ineſtimable a benefit, ſo incomparable pleaſures as are to be found and felt in this ſervice, or do ſpring and flow from it? what reaſonable excuſe can we frame for ſuch neglect? are we otherwiſe employed? What buſineſs can there be more important, than ſerving God, and ſaving our own ſouls? Is it wiſdom, in purſuance of any the greateſt affair here, to diſregard the principal concern of our ſouls? Do we think our ſelves unfit and unworthy to appear in God's preſence? But is any man unworthy to obey God's commands? Is any man unfit to implore and partake of God's mercy, if he be not unwilling to do it? What unworthineſs ſhould hinder us from remembring our Lord's exceſſive charity towards us, and thanking him for it? from praying for his grace; from reſolving to amend our lives? Muſt we, becauſe we are unworthy, continue ſo ſtill, by ſhunning the means of correcting and curing us? Muſt we encreaſe our unworthineſs, by tranſgreſſing our duty? If we eſteem things well, the conſcience of our ſinfulneſs ſhould rather drive us to it, as to our medicine, than detain us from it. There is no man indeed, who muſt not conceive and confeſs himſelf unworthy; therefore muſt no man come thither at God's call? If we have a ſenſe of our ſins, and a mind to leave them; if we have a ſenſe of God's goodneſs, and a heart to thank him for it; we are ſo worthy, that we ſhall be kindly received there, and graciouſly rewarded. If we will not take a little care to work theſe diſpoſitions in us, we are indeed unworthy; but the being ſo, from our own perverſe negligence, is a bad excuſe for the neglect of our duty. In fine, I dare ſay, that he, who with an honeſt meaning (although with an imperfect devotion) doth addreſs himſelf to the performance of this duty, is far more excuſable, than he that upon whatever ſcore declineth it; no ſcrupulous

ſhineſs

ſhineſs can ward us from blame; what then ſhall we ſay, if ſupine ſloth, or profane contempt, are the cauſes of ſuch neglect?

Mens deficit, quam non recepta Euchariſtia erigit & accendit. Cyp. *Ep.* 54.

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὡς ἔτυχε πρόσιεν κίνδυνον ἔστω τὸ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυστικῶν δείπνων ἐκείνων λιμὸς ἢ θάνατον. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τράπεζα τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τὰ νεύρα καὶ διανοίας ὁ σύνδεσμον, καὶ παῤῥησίας ἡ ὑποθεσις, ἡ ἐλπὶς, ἡ σωτηρία, τὸ φῶς, ἡ ζωή. Chryſ. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 24.

Thus having briefly diſpatched the conſiderations that offered themſelves upon theſe Subjects, I ſhall conclude all with prayer to Almighty God, that we by his grace and help, believing rightly, ſtrongly, conſtantly and finally; being frequent and fervent in prayer, and all pious devotion, ſincerely obeying all God's Commandments; continuing orderly, dutifull and worthy members of *Chriſt*'s Church, growing continually in grace, by the worthy participation of the holy Sacraments, may obtain the end of our faith, the ſucceſs of our prayers, the reward of our obedience, the continuance in that holy ſociety, the perfect conſummation of grace in the poſſeſſion of eternal joy, glory and bliſs; which God in his infinite mercy grant to us, for our bleſſed Saviour's ſake; to whom be all glory and praiſe for ever and ever. *Amen.*

A TABLE OF

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In the First Volume.

A

A

TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY

To which is added

A DISCOURSE

Concerning the

Unity of the Church.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D. D. Late Master of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, and one of His MAJESTY'S Chaplains in Ordinary.

Publiſhed by His Grace Dr. *JOHN TILLOTSON*, Late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENEAGE

Earl of Nottingham,

Lord High CHANCELLOR

OF

ENGLAND,

And One of

His *MAJESTY*'s most Honourable

PRIVY COUNCIL;

THOMAS BARROW, the *Author*'s Father,

Humbly Dedicateth this

TREATISE.

THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS excellent and elaborate Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, which I here present thee withall, the learned Author of it upon his Death-bed gave me a particular permission to publish; with this modest Character of it, That he hoped it was indifferent perfect, though not altogether as he intended it, if God had granted him longer life. He designed indeed to have transcribed it again, and to have fill'd up those many Spaces which were purposely left in it, for the farther confirmation and illustration of several things by more Testimonies and Instances, which probably he had in his thoughts: And it would certainly have added much to the beauty and perfection of this Work, had it pleased God that he had lived to finish it to his mind, and to have given it his last hand.

How-

However, as it is, it is not only a just but an admirable Discourse upon this Subject; which many others have handled before, but he hath exhausted it: insomuch that no Argument of moment, nay hardly any Consideration properly belonging to it, hath escaped his large and comprehensive Mind. He hath said enough to silence the Controversy for ever, and to deter all wise Men, of both Sides, from medling any farther with it.

And I dare say, that whoever shall carefully peruse this Treatise *will find, that this Point of the* Pope's Supremacy, (*upon which* Bellarmine *hath the confidence to say,* the whole of Christianity depends) *is not only an indefensible, but an impudent Cause, as ever was undertaken by learned Pens. And nothing could have kept it so long from becoming ridiculous in the Judgment of Mankind, but its being so strongly supported by a wordly Interest. For there is not one tolerable Argument for it, and there are a thousand invincible Reasons against it. There is neither from Scripture, nor Reason, nor Antiquity, any evidence of it; The past and the present state of* Christendom, *the Histories and Records of all Ages, are a perpetual Demonstration against it: And there is no other ground in the whole World for it, but that now of a long time it hath been by the Pope's* Janizaries *boldly asserted, and stiffly contended for without reason. So that any one might with as much colour and evidence of truth maintain, that the* Grand Seignior *is of right, and for many Ages hath been acknowledg'd* Sovereign *of the whole World, as that the Bishop of* Rome *is of right, and in all Ages from the beginning of Christianity hath been own'd*

to

to be the Universal Monarch *and* Head *of the Christian Church.*

To this Treatise *of* The Pope's Supremacy *I have, for the affinity of the Argument, added by way of* Appendix *another* Discourse *of the same* Author's *concerning* The Unity of the Church; *which he so explains as quite to take away the necessity of a* Visible Head *over the whole Church for the preservation of its* Unity, *which is the only specious, but yet a very remote pretence for the* Pope's Supremacy: *For if a* Visible Monarch *of the* Church *were granted necessary, many things more must be supposed, (which neither yet are, nor ever can be proved) to make the* Bishop *of* Rome *the Man.*

The Testimonies *relating to both* Parts, *were very few of them translated by the* Author; *which he certainly intended, having left Spaces for it, and is since done with great Care by two of his Worthy and Learned Friends of his own College.*

This is all the Advertisement I thought necessary.

J. Tillotson.

THE

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IMPRIMATUR,

Geo. Thop, R^mo. in Christo Patri & D^no D^no *Gulielmo*, Archiep. *Cant.* à Sacris Domesticis.

Ex Ædibus *Lamb.* *Feb.* 27. 167$\frac{8}{9}$

A TREATISE OF THE Pope's Supremacy.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE *Roman* Party doth much glory in Unity and Certainty of Doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other Men have any means to attain: Yet about divers matters of notable consideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to descry.

They pretend it very needful that Controversies should be decided, and that they have a special knack of doing it: Yet do many Controversies of great weight and consequence stick on their hands unresolved, many Points rest in great doubt and debate among them.

The αἱρέσεις δόξαι of the *Roman* Sect (concerning Doctrine, Practice, Laws and Customs of Discipline, Rites and Ceremonies) are of divers sorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some established by (pretended) General Synods. 2. Some founded on Decrees of Popes. 3. Some entertained as upon Tradition, Custom, common Agreement. 4. Some which their eminent Divines or Schoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the *Roman* Court, and its zealous Dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their Religion consisteth: for those Grounds divers times seem to clash, and accordingly their Divines (some building on these, some on others) disagree.

This being so in many Points of importance, is so particularly in this.

For instance, The Head of their Church (as they call it) is, one would think, a Subject about which they should thoroughly consent, and which they by this time should have cleared from all disputes; so that (so far as their decisive faculty goeth) we might be assured wherein his Authority consisteth, and how far it doth extend; seeing the resolution of that Point so nearly toucheth the heart of Religion, the Faith and Practice of all Christians, the good of the Church, and peace of the World; seeing that no one Question (perhaps not all Questions together) hath created so many tragical Disturbances in Christendom, as that concerning the bounds of Papal Authority. Upon this one Point the very sum and substance of Christianity depends.

Agitur de summa rei Christianæ. Bell. *Præf. de Rom. Pont.*

This disagreement of the *Roman* Doctors about the nature and extent of Papal Authority is a shrewd prejudice against it. If a Man should sue for a piece of Land, and his Advocates (the notablest could be had, and well payed) could not find where it lieth, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him—one would be very apt to suspect his Title. If God had instituted such an Office, it is highly probable, we might satisfactorily know what the Nature and use of it were the Patents and Charters for it would declare it.

Yet for resolution in this great Case we are left to seek; they not having either the will, or the courage, or the power to determine it. This insuperable Problem hath baffled all their infallible methods of deciding Controversies; their Traditions blundring, their Synods clashing, their Divines wrangling endlesly about what kind of thing the Pope is, and what Power he rightly may claim.

Tanta est inter Doctores controversia de plenitudine Ecclesiasticæ potestatis, & ad quæ se extendat, ut pauca sint in ea materia secura——Almain. *de Auct. Eccl. cap.* 3.

There is (saith a great Divine among them) *so much controversy about the plenitude of Ecclesiastical Power, and to what things it may extend it self, that few things in that matter are secure* ——

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the Pope's power in judging and deciding Controversies, or of his Cause in this matter; that he cannot define a Point so nearly concerning him, and which he so much desireth an Agreement in; that he cannot settle his own Claim out of doubt; that all his Authority cannot secure it self from contest.

So indeed it is, that no Spells can allay some Spirits; and where Interests are irreconcilable, Opinions will be so.

Some Points are so tough and so touchy, that no-body dare meddle with them, fearing that their resolution will fail of success, and submission. Hence even the anathematizing Definers of *Trent* (the boldest Undertakers to decide Controversies that ever were) did wave this Point

——*di avertire, Che non si venga mai per qual causa si sia alla disputa dell Autorita di Papa. Concil.* Trid. *lib.* 2. *p.* 159.

the Legates of the Pope being injoined, *to advertise, That they should not for any cause whatever come to dispute about the Pope's Authority.*

It was indeed wisely done of them to decline this Question, their Authority not being strong enough to bear the weight of a Decision in favour of the *Roman* See, against which they could do nothing,) according to its Pretences; as appeareth by one clear instance. For whereas that Council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any Prince should be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any City or Place where he should permit a Duel to be fought; the Prelates of *France* in the Convention of Orders, *Anno* 1595. did declare against that Decree as infringing their King's Authority.

Hic articulus est contra authoritatem Regis, qui non potest privari suo dominio temporali, respectu cujus nullum superiorem recognoscit. Bochel. *l.* 5. *tit.* 20. *c.* 45

This Article is against the Authority of the King; who cannot be deprived of his Temporal Dominion, wherein he acknowledges no Superior.

It was therefore advisedly done not to meddle with so tickliish a point. But in the mean time their Policy seemeth greater than their Charity which might have inclined them not to leave the World in darkness and doubt, and unresolved in a Point of so main importance; (as indeed they did in others of no small consequence, disputed among their Divines with obstinate Heat, *viz.* The Divine Right of Bishops, the Necessity of Residence, the immaculate Conception, *&c.*)

The Opinions therefore among them concerning the Pope's Authority, as they have been, so they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

§. II. There

§.II. There are among them those who ascribe to the Pope an universal, absolute and boundless Empire over all Persons indifferently, and in all Matters; conferred and settled on him by Divine immutable sanction: so that all Men of whatever degree are obliged in conscience to believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatever he doth prescribe. So that if Princes themselves do refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, cashier them, depose them, extirpate them. If he chargeth us to hold no Communion with our Prince, to renounce our Allegiance to him, to abandon, oppose and persecute him even to death, we may without scruple, we must in duty obey. If he doth interdict whole Nations from the exercise of God's Worship and Service, they must comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect Sovereign Lord of all the World; and superiour, even in Temporal or Civil matters, unto all Kings and Princes.

It is notorious, that many Canonists (if not most) and many Divines of that Party do maintain this Doctrine; affirming, that all the Power of *Christ (the Lord of Lords, and King of Kings*, to whom all Power in Heaven and Earth doth appertain) is imparted to the Pope, as to his Vice-gerent. *Prima sententia est, summum Pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus Ecclesiasticis quam Civilibus. Ita docent* Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, *& alii non pauci.* Bell. 5. 1.

The first Opinion is, that the Pope hath a most full Power over the whole World, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil affairs. This is the Doctrine of *Aug. Triumphus, &c.* and of many others.

This is the Doctrine which almost 400 years ago *Augustinus Triumphus*, in his *egregious Work* concerning Ecclesiastical Power, did teach; attributing to the Pope *an incomprehensible and infinite Power; because great is the Lord, and great is his Power, and of his Greatness there is no end.* *Scripsit egregiam summam de potestate Ecclesiæ.* Bell. *de script. An.* 1301. *Error est, non credere Pontificem Rom. Universalis Ecclesiæ Pastorem, Petri Successorem, & Christi Vicarium, supra temporalia & spiritualia Universalem non habere Primatum; in quem quandoq; multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignorantiâ; quæ cùm sit infinita, eò quòd* magnus est Dominus, & magna vertus ejus, & magnitudinis ejus non est finis, *omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere.* Aug. Triumph. *de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P.* Joh. *XXII.*

This is the Doctrine which the leading Theologue of their Sect, their Angelical Doctor, doth affirm, both directly, saying, that *in the Pope is the top of both Powers*; and by plain consequence, asserting, that *when any one is denounced excommunicate for Apostasy, his Subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their Oath of Allegiance to him.* Thomas *in fine Secund. Sentent. dicit in Papa esse apicem utriusq; Potestatis.* Bell. 5. 1. *Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter Apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi à dominio, & juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.* Th. 2. *Secund. qu.* 12. *art.* 2.

This the same *Thomas* (or an Author passing under his name, in his Book touching *the Rule of Princes,*) doth teach, affirming, that the Pope, *as Supreme King of all the World, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy Towns and Castles for the preservation of Christianity.* S. Thomas *(in lib. 3. de Regim. Princ. cap.* 10. *&* 19.) *affirmat summum Pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem & temporalem Potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi Regem, adeò ut etiam taleas omnibus Christianis possit imponere, & civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis.* Bell. 5. 5.

This (as Card. *Zabarell* near 300 years ago telleth us) is the Doctrine *which, for a long time, those who would please Popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea and things unlawful; and could do more than God.* *Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia malè considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere Pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, & usq; ad hodierna suaserunt, quòd omnia possent; & sic quòd facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, & sic plus quàm Deus.* Zab. *de Schism.*

According to this Doctrine then current at *Rome*, in the last *Lateran* Great Synod, under the Pope's nose and in his ear, one Bishop styled him *Prince of the World*; another Orator called him *King of Kings, and Mo-* *Orbis Princeps,* Episc. Spal. *Sess.* 1. *p.* 24.

Regum Rex, & Orbis terrarum Monarcha, Del Rio, *Sess.* 8. *p.* 87. --- *Virum, in quo erat Potestas supra omnes Potestates, tam cœli, quàm terræ Episc.* Patrac. *Sess.* 10 *p.* 132.

Monarch of the Earth; another great Prelate said of him, that *he had all Power above all Powers both of Heaven and Earth.* And the same roused up Pope *Leo* X. in these brave terms; *Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of Divine Power, committed to thee; and injoin, command and charge, that an universal Peace and Alliance be made among Christians for at least* 10 *years; and to that bind Kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain Nobles by the iron manacles of Censures: for to thee is given all Power in Heaven and in Earth.*

Arripe ergò gladium Divinæ Potestatis tibi creditum, bis acutum; & jube, impera, manda, ut Pax universalis & Colligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; & Reges ad id in compedibus magni Regis liga, & Nobiles in manicis ferreis Censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis Potestas in cœlo & in terra. Ibid. *p.* 133.

* *Politicum Principatum Sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio. An.* 57. §. 23.

This is the Doctrine which *Baronius* with a *Roman* confidence doth so often assert, and drive forward, saying, *that *there can be no doubt of it, but that the Civil Principality is subject to the Sacerdotal:* And, † that *God hath made the Political Government subject to the Dominion of the Spiritual Church.*

† *Politicum Imperium subjecit spiritualis Ecclesiæ dominio.* Ib. §. 33.

Tertia sententia media & Catholicorum communis, Pontificem ut Pontificem non habere directè & immediatè ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solùm spiritualem, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirectè potestatem quandam, eamq; summam, in temporalibus. Bell. 5. 1.

§. III. From that Doctrine the Opinion in effect doth not differ, which *Bellarmine* voucheth for the common Opinion of Catholicks, that *by reason of the Spiritual Power the Pope at least indirectly hath a Supreme Power even in temporal matters.*

This Opinion, so common, doth not, I say, in effect, and practical consideration, any-wise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other Assertion: for the qualifications, *by reason of the Spiritual Power*, and, *at least indirectly*, are but notional, insignificant and illusive in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a Sovereign Power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account; seeing he is sole Judge upon what account he doth act; seeing experience sheweth, that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended Authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike Princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or slantingly.

§. IV. That such an universal and absolute Power hath been claimed by divers Popes, successively for many Ages, is apparent from their most solemn Declarations, and notorious Practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upward toward the source of this Doctrine) we shall represent some.

An. 1585. The Bull of P. *Sixtus* V. against *the Two Sons of wrath, Henry* K. of *Navarre*, and the P. of *Conde*, beginneth thus; *The Authority given to Saint* Peter *and his Successors by the immense Power of the Eternal King excels all the Powers of earthly Kings and Princes. --- It passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all.---- And if it find any of them resisting God's Ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their Thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the Ministers of aspiring Lucifer.* And then he proceeds to thunder against them, *We deprive them and their posterity for*

Ab immensa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejusq; Successoribus tradita Auctoritas omnes terrenorum Regum & Principum supereminet Potestates — Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia — Et si quos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore hos vindictâ ulciscitur, &, quamvis potentiores, de solio dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terræ deturbatos prosternit.---- Dominiis, Regnis, &c. nos illos illorúmq; posteros privamus in perpetuum.----

for ever of their Dominions and Kingdoms, and accordingly he depriveth those Princes of their Kingdoms and Dominions, absolveth their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegience, and forbiddeth them to pay any Obedience to them. *By the Authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such Oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of Dominion, Fealty and Obedience, and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their Admonitions, Laws and Commands.*

A Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus Dominii, Fidelitatis & Obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universè quàm singulatim auctoritate præsentium absolvimus & liberamus; præcipimúsque & interdicimus eis universis & singulis, nè illis eorúmque monitis, legibus & mandatis audeant obedire. *Bulla* Sixti *V. Contra* Henr. Navarr. *R. &c.*

P. *Pius* V. (one of the Holiest Popes of the last stamp, who hardly hath scaped Canonization until now) beginneth his Bull against our Q. *Elizabeth* in these words; *He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all Power in Heaven and in Earth, hath committed the one H. Catholick and Apostolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to one alone on earth, namely to* Peter *Prince of the Apostles, and to the Roman Pontife, Successor of* Peter, *to be governed with a plenitude of Power: This one he hath constituted Prince over all Nations, and all Kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant and build.*—— And in the same Bull he declares, that *he thereby deprives the Queen of her pretended Right to the Kingdom, and of all Dominion, Dignity and Privilege whatsoever; and absolves all the Nobles, Subjects and People of the Kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their Oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of Dominion, Fidelity and Obedience.* *An.* 1570.

Pius *V.*—*Quem mirum est in albo Sanctorum nondum relatum esse.* Briet. *Chr. Anno* 1572.

Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo & in terra potestas, unam Sanctam, Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est Salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petríq; Successori Romano Pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: Hunc unum super omnes gentes & omnia regna Principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet & ædificet. —— P. Pius *V. in Bull. contra R.* Eliz. (Cambd. *Hist. Anno* 1570.)

Ipsam prætenso regni jure, nec non omni quocunq; dominio, dignitate privilegióq; privamus; & iterum Proceres, subditos, &c. Ibid.

P. *Clement* VI. did pretend to depose the Emperour *Lewis* IV. *An.* 1346.

P. *Clement* V. in the great Synod of *Vienna*, declared the Emperour subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper Oath of Fealty. *Apostolica auctorita-*

te de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere & censeri debere. Clem. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 9. *Vide Conc.* Vienn. *p.* 909. *An.* 1311.

P. *Boniface* VIII. hath a Decree extant in the Canon-Law running thus; *We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to Salvation, for every humane Creature to be subject to the Romane Pontife.* The which Subjection, according to this intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double Sword, and asserteth to himself Jurisdiction over all Temporal Authorities: for, *One Sword* (saith he) *must be under another, and the temporal Authority must be subject to the Spiritual Power--- whence if the Earthly Power doth go astray, it must be judged by the Spiritual Power.* The which Aphorisms he proveth by Scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose. *An.* 1294.

Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, & pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. Extrav. com. lib. 1. tit. 8. cap. 1.

Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, & temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. Ibid.

Ergò si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur à potestate spirituali. Ibid.

This Definition might pass for a Rant of that boisterous Pope, *(a Man above measure ambitious and arrogant,)* vented in his passion against K. *Philip* of *France*, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no Papal Decree is capable) of being expresly confirmed by one of their General Councils; for, *We* (saith Pope *Leo* X. in his Bull read and passed

Vir super modum ambitiosus & arrogans (Binius *in vita* Bonif. *VIII.*)

in

Constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsenti Concilio approbante, innovamus & approbamus. Concil. Lateran. *Sess.* 11. *p.* 152.
Quam extravagantem renovavit & approbavit Concilium Lateranense sub Leone X. Canus *loc* 6 4.
Hæc Bonifacius, *cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab Ecclesia excidit.* Baron. *Anno* 1053. § 14.

in the *Lateran* Council) *do renew and approve that H. Constitution, with approbation of the present H. Council.* Accordingly *Melch. Canus* saith, that *the Lateran Council did renew and approve that extravagant* (indeed extravagant) *Constitution:* and *Baronius* saith of it, that *all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth, who doth not by discord fall from the Church.*

The Truth is, P. *Boniface* did not invent that Proposition, but borrowed it from the School; for *Thomas Aquinas*, in his work against the *Greeks*, pretendeth to shew, that *it is of necessity to Salvation to be subject to the Roman Pontife.* The which Scholastica Aphorism P. *Boniface* turned into Law, and applied to his purpose of exercising domination over Princes; offering in virtue of it to deprive King *Philip* of his Kingdom.

Ostenditur etiam quod subesse Romano Pontifici sit de necessitate salutis. (Tho. *in opusc. contra Græcos.*)

The Appendix to *Mart. Pol.* saith of P. *Boniface* VIII. *Regem se Regum Mundi Monarcham, unicum in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus Dominum promulgavit*; That *he openly declar'd himself to be King of Kings, Monarch of the World, and sole Lord and Governour both in Spirituals and Temporals.*

An. 1245. Before him, P. *Innocent* IV. did hold and exemplify the same notion declaring the Emperour *Frederick* II. *his Vassal, and denouncing in his General Council of* Lyons *a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms: We having about the foregoing and many other his wicked Miscarriages had before a careful deliberation with our Brethren and the H. Council, seeing that we, although unworthy to hold the place of* Jesus Christ *on earth, and that it was said unto us in the Person of Saint* Peter *the Apostle, Whatever thou shalt bind on earth-- the said Prince (who hath rendred himself unworthy of Empire and Kingdom and of all Honour and Dignity, and who for his Iniquities is cast away by God, that he should not reign or command, being bound by his Sins, and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all Honour and Dignity) do shew, denounce and accordingly by Sentence deprive; absolving all who are held bound by Oath of Allegiance from such Oath for ever; by Apostolical Authority firmly prohibiting, that no Man henceforth do obey or regard him as Emperour or King and decreeing, that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as Emperour or King, shall immediately lie under the band of Excommunication.*

Nos itaque super præmissis, &c. P. Innoc. *IV. in Conc.* Ludg.

Matt. Paris (*Anno* 1253.) saith, he deemed Kings *Mancipia Papæ.*

Verè stupor mundi, & immutator seculi. Matt. Par. *Anno* 1217.
Ut quanta est inter Solem & Lunam tanta inter Pontifices & Reges differentia cognoscatur. P. Innoc. *III. in Decret.* Greg. *lib.* 1. *tit.* 33. *cap.* 6.

Before him, Pope *Innocent* the Third, (that *true wonder of the World, and changer of the Age,* did affirm *the Pontifical Authority so much to exceed the Royal Power, as the Sun doth the Moon* and applieth to the former that of the Prophet *Jeremy, Ecce, constitui te super gentes & regna* — * *See, I have set thee over the Nations and over the Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down,* &c.

*Jer. 1. 10.

Imperatorem --- ut rebellem Sedi Apostolicæ & inobedientem anathemate primùm, deinde in pertinacia perseverantem, in Concilio Præsulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab Imperio depositum percussit & pronunciavit. Naucl. *Anno* 1212.

Of this Power that Pope made experiment, by deposing the Emperour *Otho* IV; *whom,* (saith *Nauclerus*) *as rebellious to the Apostolic See, he first did strike with an Anathema; then him persevering in his obstinacy did in a Council of Prelates held at* Rome *pronounce deposed from Empire.*

Th

The which Authority was avowed by that great Council under this Pope, (the which, according to the Men of *Trent*, did represent or constitute the Church,) wherein it was ordain'd, that if a *Temporal Lord, being required and admonished by the Church, should neglect to purge his Territory from Heretical filth, he should by the Metropolitan and the other Comprovincial Bishops be nooſed in the band of Excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the Pope, that he might from that time denounce the Subjects absolved from their Fealty to him, and expose the Territory to be seized on by Catholicks*, &c.

Neque enim per Lateranense Concilium Ecclesia statuit, &c. Syn. Trid. Sess. 14. cap. 5.

Si vero Dominus temporalis requisitus & monitus. Conc. Later. *cap.* 3. *in Decret.* Greg. *lib.* 5. *tit.* 7. *cap.* 13.

Before that, Pope *Paschal* II. deprived *Henry* IV. and excited enemies *to persecute him*; telling them, that they could not *offer a more acceptable Sacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the Kingdom from God's Church.*

Anno 1099. *Nam in hac non tantùm parte, sed ubique, cùm poteris, Henricum, Hæreticorum caput, & ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profectò gratius Deo sacrificium, quàmsi eumimpugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui Ecclesiæ regnum auferre conatur.* P. Pasch. *Ep.* 7. *ad* Rob. *Fland. Com.*

Before him, Pope *Urban* II. (called *Turban* by some in his Age) did preach this Doctrine, recommended to us in the Decrees, that *Subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the Fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian Prince, who opposes God and his Saints, or violateth their Precepts.* An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the Canons of *Tours*; * *which* (saith he) *if any Emperour, King, Prince*, &c. *shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power.*

Anno 1088. *Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano Principi jurârunt, Deo ejusque Sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere.* Caus. 15. qu. 7. cap. 5. * *Si quis Imperator, Rex, Princeps* ——— *contra hanc Constitutionem venire tentaverit* ——— *potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat* ——— P. Urb. II. *Ep.* 12.

But the great Apostle (if not Author) of this confounding Doctrine was Pope *Gregory* VII. (a Man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that See to bear sway, and drive on daring projects, possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the Papal Interest to the utmost,) who did *lift up his voice like a Trumpet*, kindling Wars and Seditions thereby over Christendom. His Dictates and Practices are well known, being iterated in his own Epistles, and in the *Roman* Councils under him, extant: Yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language.

Vid. ejus dictata apud Bin. *post. Ep. l.* 2. *Ep.* 55.

Ep. 4. 2. 8. 21. *& passim. Ep.* 1. 58. 2. 5, 12, 13, 18, 32. 3. 10. 4. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

For the dignity and defence of God's Holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from Imperial and Royal Administration King Henry, *Son of* Henry *sometime Emperour, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy Church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the Empire from that Oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true Kings: for it is right, that he should be deprived of Dignity, who doth endeavour to diminish the Majesty of the Church.*

Hâc itaque fiduciâ fretus, pro dignitate & tutela Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei

omine, Patris, Filii, & Spiritus S. Henricum Regem, Henrici quondam Imperatoris filium, qui audaciter nimium & temerariè in Ecclesiam tuam manus injecit, Imperatoriâ administratione Regiâque dejicio; & Christianos omnes Imperio subjectos Juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris Regibus præstare consueverunt: dignum tum est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem Ecclesiæ imminuere causatur. Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. & Tom.* 7. *Conc. om.* 3. *apud* Bin. *p.* 484.

Go to therefore, most Holy Princes of the Apostles, and what I said, by interposing your Authority, confirm; that all Men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and loose in Heaven, that ye also can upon Earth take away and give

Agite igitur, Apostolorum sanctissimi Principes,

& quod dixi— Plat. *in* Greg. VII. *Conc.* Rom. 7. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 491.

give Empires, Kingdoms, and whatsoever Mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferiour and profane things? And if it is your part to judge Angels, who govern proud Princes, what becometh it you to do toward their Servants? Let Kings now and all Secular Princes learn by this Man's example, what ye can do in Heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of Holy Church: but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all Men may understand, that not casually, but by your means this Son of iniquity doth fall from his Kingdom.

So did that Pope, not unadvisedly in heat or passion, but out of settled judgment, upon cool deliberation, express himself in his Synods at *Rome*.

This Pope is indeed by many held the inventor and broacher of this strange Doctrine; and even those, who about his Age did oppose it, did express themselves of this mind; calling it *the novel Tradition, Schism, Heresie of Hildebrand.*

Quod ex novella Traditione Hildebrandus—Eccl. Leod. *apud* Bin. *Tom. 7. p. 521.*

Hildebrandus P. author est hujus novelli Schismatis,

Pope *Hildebrand* (saith the Church of *Leige*, in their answer to the Epistle to P. *Paschal.*) *is Authour of this New Schism, and first did raise the Priests Lance against the Royal Diadem.——Who first did girt himself, and his example other Popes, with the sword of war against the Emperors.*

& primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni. Ib. *p.* 522. *Qui primus se, & suo exemplo alios Pontifices, contra Imp. accinxit gladio belli.* Ibid. *p.* 523.

Hæc sola Novitas, nè dicam Hæresis nondum in mundo emersérat, ut Sacerdotes illius qui dicit Regi,

This only Novelity, (saith *Sigebert*) *not to say Heresie, had not yet sprung up in the World, that the Priests of him * who saith to the King, Apostate, and who maketh Hypocrites to reign for the sins of the People, should teach the People, that they owe no subjection to bad Kings, and although they have sworn Allegiance to the King: they yet owe him none and that they who take part against the King may not be said to be perjured; yea, that he who shall obey the King may be held excommunicate; he that shall oppose the King, may be absolved from the crime of injustice and perjury.*

Apostata, & qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quòd malis Regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, & licèt ei Sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec pro juri dicantur, qui contra Regem senserint; imò, qui Regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra Regem fecerit, à noxa injustitiæ & perjurii absolvatur. Sigeb. *Chron. Anno* 1088. *Job 34. 18. 30.

Indeed certain it is, that this Man did in most downright strains hold the Doctrine, and most smartly apply it to practice; yet did he disclaim the invention or introduction of it; professing that he followed the notions and examples of his Predecessors, divers of which he alledged in defence of his proceedings. *We,* (saith he) *holding the Statutes of our Holy Predecessors, do by Apostolical authority absolve those from their Oath who are obliged by Fealty or Sacrament to excommunicate Persons, and by all means prohibit that they observe Fealty to them.*

Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos

qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolicâ auctoritate à sacramento absolvimus, & nè ei fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 8. 21. *Caus.* 15. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 4.

And so it is, that (although for many successions before Pope *Hildebrand* the Popes were not in condition or capacity to take so much upon them; there having been a row of Persons intruded into that Seat, void of virtue, and of small authority, most of them very Beasts, who depended upon the favour of Princes for their admittance, confirmation or support in the place; yet) we may find some Popes before him, who had a great spice of those imperious conceits, and upon occasi

casion made very bold with Princes, assuming power over them, and darting menances against them. For,

Pope *Leo* IX. telleth us, that *Constantine M. did think it very unbecoming, that they should be subject to an Earthly Empire whom the Divine Majesty had set over an Heavenly:* and surely he was of his Author's mind, whom he alledged; although indeed this Pope may be supposed to speak this, and other sayings to that purpose, by suggestion of *Hildebrand*, by whom he was much governed.

Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio subdi, quos Divina Majestas præfecit cœlesti. P. Leo IX. *Ep.* 1. *c.* 12.

Plat. *in vita* Leon. IX. *Quis te seduxit, ut Pontificem Oecumenicum scommatibus lacesseres, & S. Romanam Ecclesiam maledictis incesseres, cui cum omni veneratione subditus esse debes?* Steph. *VI. Ep.* 1. Baron. *Anno* 885. §. 11.

Pope *Stephanus* VI. told the Emperor *Basilius*, that *he ought to be subject with all veneration to the Roman Church.*

Pope *John* VIII. (or IX.) did pretend Obedience due to him from Princes; and in default thereof threatned to excomunicate them.

Anno 873. *—cunctis venire per inobedientiam neglexistis.* Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 119. *deinceps excommunicamus omnes, &c. Ibid.*

Pope *Nicolas* I. cast many imperious sayings and threats at King *Lotharius*; these among others. *We do therefore by Apostolical authority, under obtestation of the Divine judgment, injoin to thee, that in* Triers *and* Colen *thou shouldst not suffer any Bishop to be chosen, before a report be made to our Apostleship.* (Was not this *satis pro imperio?*) And again, *That being compelled thou mayst be able to repent, know, that very soon thou shalt be struck with the Ecclesiastical Sword; so that thou mayst be afraid any more to commit such things in God's holy Church.*

Anno 858. *Idcirco Apostolicâ authoritate, sub Divini judicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirenurbe & in Agrippina Colonia nullum elegi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro Apostolatui fiat.* Grat. *st.* 63. *cap.* 4.

Ut saltem compulsus resipiscere valeas, noveris, te citissimè mucrone Ecclesiastico feriendum; ità ut ulteriùs ia in S. Dei Ecclesia perpetrare formides. P. Nic. *I. Ep.* 64.

And this he suggesteth for right Doctrine, that Subjection is not due bad Princes; perverting the Apostle's words to that purpose, *Be subt to the King as excelling, that is,* saith he, *in vertues, not in vices*: where the Apostle meaneth eminency in power.

Regi quasi præcellenti, virtutibus scilicet, non vitiis, subditi estote. P. Nic *I. Epist.* 4. *append. p.* 626.

Pope *Gegory* VII. doth also alledge Pope *Zachary, who* (saith he) *did pose the King of the* Franks, *and did absolve all the* French *from the Oath fidelity which they had taken unto him, not so much for his iniquities, as because he was unfit for such a Power.*

Alius item Rom. Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, Regem ancorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quàm pro eo quòd tantæ potestati erat inutilis, deposuit — omnes Francigenas à juramento fidelitatis quod illi —— Decret. 2. *part. Caus.* 15. *q.* 6.

This indeed was a notable act of jurisdiction, if Pope *Gregory*'s word ay be taken for matter of fact, but divers mantain, that Pope *Zachary* d only concur with the rebellious deposers of King *Chilperick* in way of lvice or approbation, not by authority

It was pretty briskly said of Pope *Ardian* I. *We do by general decree constitute, that whatever King, or Bishop, or Potentate, shall hereafter believe, permit that the Censure of the Roman Pontifes may be violated in any case, he ll be an execrable Anathema, and shall be guilty before God as a betrayer of the tholick Faith.*

An. 772. *Generali decreto constituimus, ut exsecrandum Anama sit, & veluti prævaricator Catholicæ Fidei semper apud Deum reus existat, quicunque Regum, seu Epiporum, vel Potentum, deinceps Romanorum Pontificum Censuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiserit violandam.* P. Had. *I. Capit. apud* Grat. *Caus.* 25. *qu.* 1. *cap.* 11.

Constitutiones contra Canones & decreta Præsulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti. Distinct. 10. cap. 4.

Constitutions against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishops of Rome, *or against good manners, are of no moment.*

Before that, Pope *Gregory* II. because the Eastern Emperor did cross the worship of Images, did withdraw Subjection from him, and did thrust his Authority out of *Italy*. *He* (saith *Baronius*) *did effectually cause both the* Romans *and* Italians *to recede from Obedience to the Emperor.*

An. 730. *Tum Romanos tum Italos ab ejus obedientia recedere penitùs fecit.* Baron. *Anno* 730. § 40.

This was an act in truth of Rebellion against the Emperor, in pretence of Jurisdiction over him; for how otherwise could he justify or colour the fact? *So* (as *Baronius* reflecteth) *he did leave to posterity a worthy example*, (forsooth,) *that Heretical Princes should not be suffered to reign in the Church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error.*

Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum, nè in Ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici Principes, si sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo inventi rentur. Baron. *ibid.*

And no wonder he then was so bold, seeing the Pope had obtained so much respect in those parts of the World, that (as he told the Emperor *Leo Is.*) *all the Kingdoms of the West did hold Saint* Peter *as an earthly God* of which he might be able to seduce some to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

Ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς θεὸν ὁπίγειον ἔχουσι. Greg. II. Epist. 1. Bin. *Tom.* 5. p. 508.

This is the highest source, as I take it, to which this extravagant Doctrine can be driven. For that single passage of Pope *Felix* II though much ancienter, will not amount to it. *It is certain, that, in causes relating to God, 'tis the safest course for you, that according to his institution, endeavour to submit the will of the King to the Priests*, &c.

Certum est rebus vestris hoc esse salutare, ut, cùm de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, Regiam voluntatem Sacerdotibus Christi studea subdere, non præferre — &c. P. Felix III. (*Anno* 483) *dist.* 10. *cap.* 3.

For while the Emperor did retain any considerable Authority in *Italy* the Popes were better advised than to vent such notions, and while they themselves did retain any measure of pious or prudent Modesty, they were not disposed to it. And we may observe divers Popes near the time in word and practice thwarting that practice. For instance,

Pope *Gelasius*, a vehement stickler for Papal Authority, doth say to the Emperor *Anastasius*, *I, as being a* Roman *born do love, worship, reverence thee as the* Roman *Prince*. And he saith, that *the Prelates of Religion (knowing the Empire conferr'd on him by Divine Providence) did obey his Laws*. And otherwhere he discourseth that *Christ had distinguished by their proper acts and dignities the offices of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power*, that one should not meddle with the other; so disclaiming Temporal Power due to himself, being content to screw up his Spiritual Authority.

Te, sicut Romanus natus, Romanum Principem amo, colo, suspicio. P. Gelas. 1. *Epist.* 8. (*ad* Anast. *Imp.*)

——*cognoscentes imperium tibi supernâ dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis Antistites.* Ibid.

Christus, dispensatione magnificâ temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibúsque distinctis officia Potestatis utriusque discrevit, &c.

After him, as is well known, Pope *Gregory* I. (who became a pious and good man) did avow the Emperor for *his Lord, by God's gift superiour to all men, to whom he was subject, whom he in duty was bound to obey*;

Ad hoc potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines.

Ego indignus famulus vester——
Ego quidem jussioni subjectus.

obey; and supposed it a high presumption for any one to *set himself above the honour of the Empire*, by assuming the title of Universal Bishop.

P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 2. 26.
Qui honori quoque Imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. Ep. 4. 32.

After him, Pope *Agatho*, in the Acts of the sixth General Council, doth call the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus his Lord*; doth avow *himself together with all Presidents of the Churches servants to the Emperor*; doth say, that his See and his Synod were subject to him, and did own Obedience to him.

Anno 680.
δεσπότῃ καὶ τέκνῳ. *Act. Syn.* 6. *p.* 53.
ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως. *p.* 304.
ἡμετέρᾳ δουλείᾳ. *p.* 32.
τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προέδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τῆς χριστωνυμωτάτης ὑμῶν κράτους. *p.* 94.
δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θρόνος. *p.* 64.
ἕνεκεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ὀφείλομεν. *p.* 33, 34.

Presently after him, Pope *Leo* II. who confirmed that General Synod, doth call the Emperor *the prototype Son of the Church*; and acknowledgeth the body of Priests to be servants (*meanest servants*) *of his Royal Nobleness*.

πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τέκνον. *Act. Syn. VI. p.* 303.
ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἐξάπτοις ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβαινε. *Ibid. p.* 304.

After him, Pope *Constantine*, (the immediate Predecessor of Pope *Greg.* II.) when the Emperor did command him to come to *Constantinople*, *The most holy man*, saith *Anastasius* in his Life, *did obey the Imperial Commands*.

Anno 709. *Missit imp. ad Constantinum P. sacram, per quam jussit eum ad Regiam ascendere urbem; qui sanctiss. vir jussis imperialibus obtemperans* — Anast. *in vit.* P. Const.

Yea, Pope *Gregory* II. himself, before his defection, (when perhaps the circumstances of time did not animate him thereto,) did, in his Epistle to *Leo Isaurus*, acknowledge him as Emperor to be *the Head of Christians*, and himself consequently subject to him.

ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ κεφαλῇ τῶν χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. *II. ad* Leon Is. *Ep.* 1. (p. 502.)

This *Gregory* therefore may be reputed the Father of that Doctrine, which, being fostered by his Successors, was by Pope *Gregory* VII. brought up to its robust pitch and stature.

I know, Pope *Gregory* VII. to countenance him, doth alledge Pope *Innocent* I. excommunicating the Emperor *Arcadius* for his proceeding against St. *Chrysostome*: and the Writers of St. *Chrysostome*'s Life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein. But seeing the Historians who lived in St. *Chrysostome*'s own time, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any such thing; seeing that, being the first Act in the kind, must have been very notable, and have made a great noise; seeing that story doth not suite with the tenor of proceedings, reported by those most credible Historians, in that case; seeing that fact doth no-wise sort to the condition and way of those Times; that report cannot be true, and it must be numbred among the many fabulous narrations, devised by some wanton Greeks, to set out the Life of that excellent Personage.

Greg. *VII. Epist.* 8. 2.
Baron. *Anno* 407. §. 23.

Georg. Alex. *vit* Chrys. *cap.* 68.
Anon. *vit.* Chrys *cap.* 39.

Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

The same Pope doth also alledge St. *Gregory M.* denouncing Excommunication, and *Deprivation of honour, to all Kings, Bishops, Judges*, &c. who should violate the Privilege granted to the Monastery of St. *Medard*. But this (as are many such Privileges) is a rank Forgery, unworthily imposed on P. *Gregory*, (that prudent, meek and holy man,) much to his wrong and disgrace: which I will not be at trouble to confute, having shewed St. *Gregory* to have been of another judgment and temper, than to behave himself thus towards Princes; and seeing that task is abundantly discharged by that very learned man, Monsieur *Launoy*.

Siquis autem Regum, Antistitum, Judicum, vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus Apostolicæ auctoritatis, & nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit, ——cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur.——
Greg. M *post Epist.* 38. *libri* 2.

Epist. pars VII.

Indeed (upon this occasion to digress a little farther) it doth not seem to have been the opinion of the ancient Popes, that they might excommunicate their Sovereign Princes: for if they might, why did they forbear to exercise that power, when there was greatest reason, and great temptation for it?

Why did not Pope *Julius* or Pope *Liberius* excommunicate *Constantius* the great Favourer of the *Arians*, against whom *Athanasius*, St. *Hilary*, and *Lucifer Calar.* do so earnestly inveigh, calling him Heretick, Antichrist, and what not? How did *Julian* himself escape the censure of Pope *Liberius*? Why did not Pope *Damasus* thunder against *Valens*, that fierce Persecutor of Catholicks? Why did not *Damasus* censure the Empress *Justina*, the Patroness of *Arianism*? Why did not Pope *Siricius* censure *Theodosius* I. for that bloudy fact, for which St. *Ambrose* denied him the Communion? How was it that Pope *Leo* I. (that stout and high Pope) had not the heart to correct *Theodosius Junior* in his way, who was the supporter of his adversary *Dioscorus*, and the obstinate protector of the second *Ephesine* Council, which that Pope so much detested? Why did not that Pope rather compel that Emperor to reason by censures, than supplicate him by tears? How did so many Popes connive at *Theodorick*, and other Princes professing *Arianism* at their door? Wherefore did not Pope *Simplicius* or Pope *Felix* thus punish the Emperor *Zeno*, the supplanter of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, for which they had so much zeal?

Quid sibi vult autem, quod dixerit Imperator à nobis se in religione damnatum, cùm super hac parte decessor meus non solùm minimè nomen ejus attigerit--- P. Gelas. *I. Epist.* 4.

Why did neither Pope *Felix*, nor Pope *Gelasius*, nor Pope *Symmachus*, nor Pope *Hormisdas* excommunicate the Emperor *Anastasius*, (yea did not so much, Pope *Gelasius* saith, as *touch his name*,) for countenancing the Oriental Bishops in their Schism, and refractory Non-compliance with the Papal Authority? Those Popes did indeed clash with that Emperor, but they expresly deny, that they did condemn him with others whom he did favour. *We* (saith Pope *Symmachus*) *did not excommunicate thee, O Emperor, but Acacius.---- If you mingle your self, you are not excommunicated by us, but by your self.* And, *If the Emperor pleaseth to join himself with those condemned,* (saith Pope *Gelasius*) *it cannot be imputed to us.*

Nos te non excommunicavimus, Imperator, sed Acacium.—Si te misces, non à nobis, sed à te ipso excommunicatus es. P. Symmachus *I. Ep.* 7. *Si isti placet se miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari.* P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 4.

Baron. *Anno* 503. §. 17. Wherefore *Baronius* doth ill, in affirming Pope *Symmachus* to have anathematized *Anastasius*: whereas that Pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, yea, denied it even in those words which are cited to prove it, being rightly read: for they are corruptly written in *Baronius* and *Binius*; *Ego* (which hath no sense, or one contradictory to his former assertion) being put for *Nego*, which is good sense, and agreeable to what he and the other Popes do affirm in relation to that matter.

Dicis quòd mecum conspirante Senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego (nego,) sed rationabiliter factum à decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor. P. Sym. *Epist.* 7.

You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the Senate. This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reason done by my Predecessors.

Why do we not read that any Pope formally did excommunicate, though divers did zealously contradict and oppose, the Princes who did reject Images?

In fine, a noble Bishop above 500 years ago did say, *I read and read again the Records of the Roman Kings and Emperors, and I no where find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his Kingdom by the Roman Pontife.*

Lego & relego Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, & nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel Regno privatum. Otho Frising. *Chron. lib. 6. cap.* 35.

Surely

Surely therefore the ancient Popes did either not know their Power, or were very negligent of their Duty.

Such have been the Doctrine and behaviour of Popes in reference to their Power.

§. V. This Doctrine of the Pope's Universal Power over all Persons in all Matters may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all Popes continually for a long time, even for more than 500 years unto this present day. For,

1. If this Doctrine be false, it implieth no slight Error, but one of a very high nature and most dangerous consequence; which involveth great arrogance and iniquity, which tendeth to work enormous wrongs and grievous mischiefs: whence, if any Pope should conceive it false, he were bound openly to disclaim, to condemn, to refute it; lest the authority of his Predecessors, and his connivence, should induce others into it, or settle them in it; as it is (in regard to Pope *Honorius*) charged upon P. *Leo* II. *who did not, as it became the Apostolical Authority, extinguish the flame of Heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting cherish it.* In such a case a Pope must not be silent: For, *No small danger* (said P. *Gelasius*) *lieth upon Popes in being silent about what agreeth to the service of God:* and, *If* (saith P. *Paschal*) *a Pope by his silence doth suffer the Church to be polluted with the gall of bitterness and root of impiety, he should no wise be excusable before the Eternal Judge:* and *Error* (saith P. *Felix* III.) *which is not resisted,* (by those in eminent office,) *is approved; and Truth which is not defended, is oppressed:* and, *He is not free from suspicion of a close society in mischief, who ceaseth to obviate it:* and, *We* (saith P. *Gregory* I.) *do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected.* But all Popes since the time specified have either openly declared for his Doctrine; or have been silent, and so have avowed it by tacit consent.

—*cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit Apostolicam authoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit,* P. Leo *II. Ep.* 2.

Non leve discrimen incumbit Pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit. P. Gelas. 1. *Epist.* 8. (*ad* Anastas. *Imp.*

Si vero nostro silentio pateremur Ecclesiam felle amaritudinis & impietatis radice polluì, quâ ratione possemus apud æternum Judicem excusari? P. Paschal *II. Ep.* 3. (*ad* Anselm. *Cant.*)

Error cui non resistitur, approbatur; & veritas quæ minimè defensatur, opprimitur. P. Felix *III. Ep.* 1. (*ad* Acacium.)

Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare. Id. ibid.

Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda sunt tacemus, valde delinquimus. P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 2. 37.

2. Any Pope disapproving that Tenent were bound to renounce communion with those that hold and profess it; or at least to check and discountenance it. But on the contrary they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence and audience; and have hugged that sort of Men with special favour, as their most affectionate and sure friends: they have suspected, discountenanced and frowned on those who have shewed dislike of it.

Those Men indeed who vouch this Doctrine, may reasonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the Popes, on purpose to gratifie and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it.

Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι, Rom. 1. 32. *They not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.*

3. The chief Authors and most zealous Abettors of these notions Popes, Synods, Doctors of the School) have continually passed for most authentick Masters of Divinity, and have retained greatest authority in the Church governed and guided by the Pope.

4. The Decrees containing them do stand in their Canon-Law, and in their Collections of Synods, without any caution or mark of dislike; which

which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this Doctrine.

5. The common style of the Papal Edicts or Bulls doth import their sense; which is imperious, in regard to all persons without exception: *Let no Man* (say they) *presume to infringe this our will and command*, &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even those who have passed for the most wise and moderate among them, have been ready to practise according to those principles, when occasion did invite, and circumstances of things did permit; interdicting Princes, absolving Subjects from their Allegiance, raising or encouraging Insurrections; as appeareth by their transactions not long since against our Princes, and those of *France*; which shews the very *See* imbued with those Notions.

7. They do oblige all Bishops most solemnly to avow this Doctrine, and to engage themselves to practise according to it. For in the Oath prescribed to all Bishops they are required to avow, that *they will observe the Apostolical commands with all their power, and cause them to be observed by others*; that *they will aid and defend the Roman Papacy and the Royalties of Saint Peter against every Man*; that *they will to their power persecute and impugn Hereticks, Schismaticks and Rebels to the Pope or his Successors*, without any exception; which was I suppose chiefly meant against their own Prince, (if occasion should be;) together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the Pope's universal Domination.

Mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, & ab aliis observari faciam.

Papatum Romanum & Regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum & defendendum contra omnem hominem.

Hæreticos, Schismaticos & Rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar & impugnabo.

Greg. *Decret. lib.* 2. *tit.* 24. *cap.* 4. *Concil.* Rom. *VI. apud* Bin. *p.* 489.

These horrible Oaths of Bishops to the Pope do seem to have issued from the same shop with the high *Hildebrandine* dictates: for the Oath in the Decretals is ascribed to Pope *Gregory*, (I suppose *Greg.* VII.) And in the sixth *Roman* Synod under *Greg.* VII. there is an Oath of like tenor exacted from the Bishops of *Aquileia*; perhaps occasionally, which in pursuance of that example might be extended to all.

Decret. Greg. lib. 1. *tit.* 6. *cap.* 4.

And that before that time such Oaths were not imposed doth appear from hence, that when P. *Paschal* II. did require them from some great Bishops, (the Bishop of *Palermo*, and the Archbishop of *Poland*,) they did wonder and boggle at it as an uncouth Novelty; nor doth the Pope in favour of his demand alledge any ancient precedent, but only propose some odd reasons, for it. *You have signified unto me, most dear Brother, that the King and his Nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an Oath with such a condition should be every where offered you by my Commissioners, and that you should take that Oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you.*

Significâsti, frater charissime, Regem & Regni Majores admiratione permotos, quòd passim tibi ab Apocrisiariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si sacramentum quod à nobis scriptum detulerant, jurares, P. Pasch. II. *Epist.* 6.

§. VI. All *Romanists*, in consistence with their Principles, do seem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the Pope's Universal Power. For seeing many of their standing Masters and Judges of Controversies have so expressly from their Chair declared and defined it; all the Row of so many Ages consenting to it and countenancing it; not one of them having signified any dissent or dislike of it: And considering that, if in any thing they may require or deserve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more skilfull and credible than about the nature of their own Office? *What* (saith *Bellarmine* wisely) *may they be conceived to know better than the Authority of their own See?* Seeing it hath been approved

Ipsis præcipuè debet esse nota suæ Sedis authoritas. Bell. 4. 3.

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by their most great and famous Councils, which they hold Universal, and which their adored Synod of *Trent* doth alledge for such, (the *Laterane* under P. *Innocent* III. that of *Lions* under P. *Innocent* IV. the other *Laterane* under P. *Leo* X.) Seeing it hath been current among their Divines of greatest vogue and authority, the great Masters of their School: Seeing by so large a consent and concurrence, during so long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other Points of great importance) to be confirmed by Tradition or Prescription: Why should it not be admitted for a Doctrine of the Holy *Roman* Church, *the Mother and Mistress of all Churches?* How can they who disavow this Notion be true Sons of that Mother, or faithfull Scholars of that Mistress? How can they acknowledge any Authority in their Church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to assent?

How can they admit the Pope for authentick Judge of Controversies, or Master of Christian Doctrine, or in any Point credible, who hath in so great a matter erred so foully, and seduced the Christian World; whom they desert in a Point of so great consideration, and influence on practice; whom they, by virtue of their dissent from him in this Opinion, may often be obliged to oppose in his proceedings?

How can they deny, that bad Doctrines might creep in, and obtain sway in the Church, by the interest of the Pope and his Clients?

How can they charge Novelty or Heterodoxy on those who refuse some Dictates of Popes, of Papal Councils, of Scholastick Divines, which stand upon no better grounds than those on which this Doctrine standeth?

Why hath no Synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Christendom, clearly disclaimed this Opinion; but all have let it slip, or have seemed by silence to approve it?

Yea, how can the Concord and Unity of that Church well consist with a Dissent from this Doctrine? For,

No Man apprehending it false, seemeth capable with good conscience to hold Communion with those who profess it: for, upon supposition of its falshood, the Pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettours of the highest violation of Divine Commands, and most enormous sins, of Usurpation, Tyranny, Imposture, Perjury, Rebellion, Murther, Rapine, and all the Villanies complicated in the practical influence of this Doctrine.

It seemeth clear as the Sun, that if this Doctrine be an Error, it is one of the most pernicious Heresies that ever was vented; involving the highest Impiety, and producing the greatest Mischief. For, If he that should teach Adultery, Incest, Simony, Theft, Murther, or the like Crimes, to be lawful, would be a Heretick; how much more would he be such, that should recommend Perjury, Rebellion, Regicide, (things inducing Wars, Confusions, Slaughters, Desolations, all sorts of Injustice and Mischief,) as Duties?

How then can any Man safely hold Communion with such persons? May we not say with P. *Symmachus*, that *to communicate with such, is to consent with them?* with P. *Gelasius*, that *it is worse than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?* and, that *He who communicateth with such an Heresie is worthily judged to be removed from our society?*

An communicare non est consentire cum talibus? P. Sym. I. Ep. 7. *Quasi non sit deterius, & non ignorâsse veritatem, & tamen communicâsse cum veritatis inimicis.* P. Gelas I. Ep. 1. *Cuicunque hæresi communicans meritò judicatur à nostra societate removendus. Idibid. Vide Ep.* 13. *p.* 642.

§. VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the Principles of the Party which

is jumbled in adherence to the Pope, that divers will not allow us to take this Tenent of Infinite Power to be a Doctrine of their Church; for divers in that Communion do not assent to it.

Altera non tam sententia quàm hæresis duo docet, primò, Pontificem ut

For there is a sort of Hereticks (as *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* call them) sculking every-where in the bosom of their Church, all about Christendom, and in some places stalking with open face, who restrain *the Pope's Authority so far, as not to allow him any Power over Sovereign Princes in Temporal Affairs; much less any power of depriving them of their Kingdoms and Principalities.*

Pontificem ex jure Divino nullam habere temporalem potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare Principibus secularibus, nedum eos regnis & principatu privare——Bell. *V.* 1.

Hæresis errore notantur omnes qui ab Ecclesia

They are all branded for Hereticks, who take from the Church of Rome, *and the See of St.* Peter, *one of the two Swords, and allow only the Spiritual.* This Heresie *Baronius* hath nominated the *Heresie of the Politicks.*

Rom. cathedra Petri è duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. Baron. *Anno* 1053. §. 14. *Hæresis Politicorum*, Baron. *Anno* 1073. § 13.

This Heresie a great Nation, otherwise sticking to the *Roman* Communion, doth stiffly maintain, not enduring the Papal Sovereignty over Princes in Temporals to be preached in it.

There are many persons, yea, Synods, who did oppose Pope *Hildebrand* in the birth of his Doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious Novelty, and branding it with the name of Heresie: as we before shewed.

Otto Frising. Sigebert. Abbas Ubsp. Occam, Marsilius Patav. &c.

Since the *Hildebrandine* Age there have been in every Nation (yea in *Italy* it self) divers Historians, Divines and Lawyers, who have in elaborate Tracts maintained the Royal Sovereignty against the Pontifical.

This sort of Hereticks are now so much encreased, that the *Hildebrandine* Doctrine is commonly exploded. Which, by the way, sheweth, that the *Roman* Party is no less than others subject to change its sentiments; Opinions among them gaining and losing vogue, according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things.

§. VIII. Neither are the adherents to the *Roman* Church more agreed concerning the extent of the Pope's Authority even in Spiritual matters.

For, although the Popes themselves plainly do claim an absolute Supremacy in them over the Church; although the stream of Divines who do flourish in favour with them doth run that way; although, according to their principles, (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed,) that might seem to be the Doctrine of their Church: Yet is there among them a numerous party, which doth not allow him such a Supremacy, putting great restraints to his Authority; (as we shall presently shew.) And as the other party doth charge this with Heresie, so doth this return back the same imputation on that.

§. IX. That their Doctrine is in this matter so various and uncertain, is no great wonder; seeing Interest is concerned in the question, and Principles are defective toward the resolution of it.

1. Contrary Interests will not suffer the Point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely disputed on either hand.

On one hand, the Pope will not allow his Prerogatives to be discussed; according to that maxim of the great Pope *Innocent* III. *When there is a question touching the Privileges of the Apostolick See, we will not that others judge about them.* Whence (as we before touched) the Pope did peremptorily command his Legates at *Trent*, in no case to permit any dispute about his Authority.

Cum super privilegiis sedis Apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari. Greg. *Decr. lib.* 2. *tit.* 1. *c.* 12.

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On the other hand, the *French* will not permit the Supremacy of their King in Temporals, or the Privileges of their Church in Spirituals, to be contested in their Kingdom. Nor, we may suppose, would any Prince admit a Decision prejudicial to his Authority and Welfare, subjecting and enslaving him to the will of the *Roman* Court. Nor (we may hope) would any Church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppression of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory establishment of Papal Omnipotency.

2. Nor is it easie for their Dissensions to be reconciled upon Theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their Schools and Masters of their Doctrine do in the case disagree, but their Synods do notoriously clash.

§. X. Yea even Popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style, according to the different circumstances of time, and their variety of humours, designs, interests.

In time of prosperity and upon advantage, when they might safely do it, any Pope almost would talk high, and assume much to himself: but when they were low, or stood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldest Popes would speak submissly or moderately. As for instance, Pope *Leo* I. after the second *Ephesine* Synod, when he had to do with *Theodosius* II. did humbly supplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the Synod of *Chalcedon*, having got the Emperor favourable, and most of the Bishops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may observe, that even Pope *Gregory* VII. who did swagger so boisterously against the Emperor *Henry*, was yet calm and mild in his contests with our *William* the Conqueror; who had a spirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And Popes of high spirit and bold face, (such as *Leo* I. *Gelasius* I. *Vic.* I. *Gregory* II. *Gregory* VII. *Innocent* III. *Boniface* VIII. *Julius* II. *Paul* IV. *Sextus* V. *Paulus* V, *&c.*) as they did ever aspire to screw Papal authority to the highest peg; so would they strain their language in commendation of their See as high as their times would bear. But other Popes of meeker and modester disposition, (such as *Julius* I. *Anastasius* II. *Gregory* I. *Leo* II. *Adrian* VI, *&c.*) were content to let things stand as they found them, and to speak in the ordinary style of their times; yet so, that few have let their Authority to go backward or decline.

We may observe, that the pretences and language of Popes have varied according to several periods, usually growing higher as their State grew looser from danger of opposition or controll.

In the first times, while the Emperors were Pagans, their pretences were suted to their condition, and could not soar high; they were not then so mad as to pretend to any Temporal Power, and a pittance of Spiritual eminency did content them.

When the Empire was divided, they could sometimes be more haughty and peremptory; as being in the West, shrowded under the wing of the Emperors there, (who commonly did affect to improve their Authority, in competition to that of other Bishops) and at distance from the reach of the Eastern Emperor. *P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511, & 513.*

The cause of *Athanasius* having produced the *Sardican* Canons, concerning the Revision of some causes by the Popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their Authority, and raise their style; especi-

ally in the West, where they had great advantages of augmenting their Power.

When the Western Empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the Empire which came under protection of the Eastern Emperors rendring them able to do service or disservice to those Emperors, they, according to the state of Times and the need of them, did talk more big, or more tamely.

Pope *Boniface* III. having by compliance with the Usurper *Phocas* obtained a declaration from him concerning the Headship of the *Roman* Church, did make a considerable step forward toward the height of Papal Greatness.

After that Pope *Greg.* II. had withdrawn *Italy* from the Oriental Empire, and *Rome* had grown in a manner loose and independent from other secular powers; in the confusions of the West, the Pope interposing to arbitrate between Princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occasion served, for mutual aid and countenance, did grow in Power, and answerably did advance his pretences.

The spurious Decretal Epistles of the ancient Popes (which asserted to the Pope high degrees of Authority) being foisted into mens hands, and insensibly creeping into repute, did inspire the Pope with confidence to invade all the ancient Constitutions, Privileges and Liberties o Churches; and having got such interest every where, he might say wha he pleased, no Clergy-man daring to check or cross him. Having drawn to himself the final decision of all Causes, having got a finger in disposa of all Preferments, having by Dispensations, Exemptions and Grant of privileges tyed to him so many Dependents, what might not he say or do?

Pope *Gregory* VII. being a Man of untameable Spirit, and taking advantage from the distractions and corruptions of his Times, did venture to pull a feather with the Emperor; and with success having mated him, did set up a peremptory claim to Sovereignty over all Persons in all Causes.

In his footsteps his Successors have trodden, being ever ready upon occasion to plead such a title, and to practise according to it. No Pope would forgoe any Power which had been claimed by his Predecessors. And Popes would ever be sure to have dancers after their pipe, numberless abetters of their pretences.

No wonder then that persons deferring much regard to the Authority of Popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them, (or of persons depending on them,) should in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of Papal Authority; it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in several Ages continued the same thing.

§. XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to discuss the pretended Authority of the Pope, and to shew that He by no Divine institution, and by no Immutable right, hath any such power as he doth claim; by reason of this perplexed variety of Opinions I do find it difficult to state the Question, or to know at what distinct mark I should level my Discourse.

§. XII. But seeing his pretence to any Authority in Temporals, or to the Civil Sword, is so palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a serious dispute, having nothing but impudence and sophistry to countenance it; seeing so many in the *Roman* Communion do reject it, and have substantially confuted it; seeing now most are ashamed of it, and very few

few, (even among those Sects, which have been its chief Patrons) will own it; seeing *Bellarmine* himself doth acknowledge it a Novelty, devised about 500 years ago in St. *Bernard*'s time; seeing the Popes themselves, what-ever they think, dare now scarce speak out, and forbear upon sufficient provocation to practise according to it; I shall spare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my Discourse to the Pope's Authority in Ecclesiastical affairs; the pretence whereto I am persuaded to be no less groundless, and no less noxious than the other to Christendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as superstructed on it, must also necessarily fall.

Primi qui temporalem potestatem summo Pontifici ex Christi institutione tribuunt, videntur esse Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c. Bell. 5. 5.

The first that yield the Pope Temporal power by Christ's Institution, seem to be *Hugo*, &c.

§. XIII. And here the Doctrine which I shall contest against is that in which the Cordial partizans of that See do seem to consent, which is most common and current, most applauded and countenanced in their Theological Schools; which the Popes themselves have solemnly defined, and declared for standing law, or rule of Jurisdiction; which their most authentick Synods (whereby their Religion is declared, and distinguished from others) have asserted, or supposed; which the tenour of their Discipline and Practice doth hold forth; which their Clergy by most solemn professions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the Clients and Confidents of *Rome* do zealously stand for (more than for any other point of Doctrine;) and which no man can disclaim without being deemed an enemy, or a prevaricator toward the Apostolick See.

§. XIV. Which Doctrine is this, That (in the words of the *Florentine* Synod's Definition) *the Apostolical Chair and the Roman High-Priest doth hold a Primacy over the Universal Church; and that the Roman High-Priest is the Successor of St.* Peter *the Prince of the Apostles; and the true Lieutenant of Christ, and the Head of the Church; and that he is the Father and Doctor of all Christians; and that unto him in St.* Peter *full Power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the Catholick Church under Christ; according as is contained in the Acts of General Councils, and in the Holy Canons.*

Ἐπ ὁρίζομεν τὸν ἁγιώτατον Πάπαν τὸν Ῥώμης ἐν τοῖς οἰκουμενικοῖς καὶ ἱεροῖς κανόσι, &c. Concil. Flor. *defin.* p. 854.

That (in the words of Pope *Leo* X. approved by the *Laterane* Synod) *Christ, before his departure from the world, did in solidity of the Rock institute Peter and his Successors, to be his Lieutenants, to whom it is so necessary to obey, that who doth not obey must die the death.*

Christus—migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate Petræ Petrum ejusque Successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ità obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur. P. Leo X. *in Conc.* Later. *Sess.* 11. p. 151.

That to the Pope as Sovereign Monarch, by Divine Sanction of the whole Church, do appertain Royal Prerogatives, (*Regalia Petri*, the Royalties of *Peter* they are called in the Oath prescribed to Bishops.) such as these which follow;

To be Superiour to the whole Church, and to its Representative a General Synod of Bishops. To convocate General Synods at his pleasure; all Bishops being obliged to attend, upon summons from him. To preside in Synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, over-rule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their Determinations, giving like to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent. To define Points of Doctrine, or to decide Controversies authoritatively; so that none may presume to contest, or dissent from his Dictates. To enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons. To relax or evacuate Ecclesiastical Censures by indulgence, pardon, *&c.* To void Promises, Vows, Oaths, Obligations to Laws

Bell. 4. 22. by his Dispensation. To be the Fountain of all Pastoral Jurisdiction and Dignity. To constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile Bishops. To conferr Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefices by paramount Authority, in way of Provision, Reservation, *&c.* To exempt Colleges, Monasteries, *&c.* from Jurisdiction of their Bishops and ordinary Superiors. To judge all persons in all Spiritual Causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating Judges for them; with a final and peremptory Sentence. To receive Appeals from all Ecclesiastical Judicatories; and to reverse their Judgments, if he findeth cause. To be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, abolish Episcopal Sees. To exact Oaths of Fealty and Obedience from the Clergy. To found Religious Orders; or to raise a Spiritual *Militia* for propagation and defence of the Church. To summon and commissionate Soldiers by Croisade, *&c.* to fight against Infidels, or persecute Infidels.

Some of these are expressed, others in general terms couched in those words of *P. Eugenius*, telling the *Greeks* what they must consent unto. *The Pope* (said he) *will have the Prerogatives of his Church; and he will have Appeals to him; and to feed all the Church of Christ, as Shepherd of the Sheep. Beside these things, that he may have authority and power to convoke General Synods, when need shall be; and that all the Patriarchs do yield to his will.*

Θέλει τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλητον, καὶ ποιμαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥσπερ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων· πρὸς τούτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτεῖν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν, ὅτι δεήσειε· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπείκειν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. *Conc.* Flor. *p.* 846.

That the Pope doth claim, assume and exercise a Sovereignty over the Church endowed with such Prerogatives, is sufficiently visible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their Canon-law, and shall be distinctly proved by competent allegations, when we shall examine the branches of this pretended Authority.

In the mean time it sufficeth to observe, that in effect all Clergy-men do avow so much, who *bonâ fide* and without prevarication do submit to take the Oaths and Engagements prescribed to them of course by Papal appointment. For this surely, according to the Pope's meaning, (by which their obligation is to be measured,) is designed in the profession ordained by Pope *Pius* IV. wherein every beneficed Clergy-man is injoined to say, *And I do promise and swear true Obedience to the Roman Pontif the Successor of St.* Peter *and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.* Which profession was appointed in pursuance of a Sanction made by the *Trent* Council, that all such persons *should vow and swear to abide in Obedience to the Roman Church*; and consequently, how hard soever its Yoke should be, they would not shake it off: which inferreth most absolute Sovereignty of that Church, or of the Pope, who ruleth the roast in it.

—Romanóque Pontifici, B. Petri successori, ac Jesu Christi Vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. Bull. Pii *IV. super forma juram.*

Provisi de beneficiis —— in Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 24. *cap.* 12.

But what that *true Obedience* doth import, or how far the Papal Authority in the Pope's own sense, and according to the publick spirit of that Church, doth stretch, is more explicitly signified in the Oath which all Bishops at their Consecration, and all Metropolitans at their Instalment, are required to take; the which, as it is extant in the *Roman* Pontifical, set out by order of Pope *Clement* VIII. doth run in these terms.

Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. *Anno* 1626. *p.* 59. *&* *p.* 86.

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I *N.* Elect *of the Church of N.* from henceforward will be faithful *and obedient* to St. *Peter the Apostle*, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, *the Lord N.* Pope N. and to his Successors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, *consent*, or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their Persons may be seized *or hands any-wise laid upon them, or any injuries offer'd to them under any pretence whatsoever.* The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves, *their Messengers* or Letters, I will not *knowingly* reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, *and the Royalties of St.* Peter, saving my Order, against all Men. The Legate of the Apostolick See, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities, *The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope, and his foresaid Successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action or treaty in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signifie it to our said Lord, or to some other by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolick decrees, ordinances or disposals, reservations, provisions and mandates I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Hereticks, Schismaticks, and Rebels to our said Lord or his foresaid Successors I will to my power persecute and oppose.* I will come to a Council when I am call'd, unless I be hinder'd by a Canonical impediment. I will by my self in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every *three* years; *and give an account to our Lord and his foresaid Successors of all my Pastoral Office, and of all things any wise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my Clergy and People, and lastly to the salvation of Souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolick commands. And if I be detain'd by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid* by a certain Messenger *hereto specially impower'd, a member of my Chapter, or some other in Ecclesiastical Dignity or else having a Parsonage; or in default of these, by a Priest of the Diocese; or in default of one of the Clergy [of the Diocese] by some other Secular or Regular Priest of approved Integrity and Religion, fully instructed in all things abovementioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid Messen-*

Ego *N.* Electus *Ecclesiæ N.* ab hac hora in antea fidelis *& obediens* ero B. Petro *Apostolo*, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, & Domino nostro, *Domino N.* Papæ N. suisque Successoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, *aut consensu*, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione; *aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore.* Consilium verò quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, *aut Nuncios suos*, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, *me sciente*, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum *& Regalia Sancti Petri* adjutor eis ero ad defendendum & retinendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis in eundo & redeundo honorificè tractabo, & in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. *Jura, honores, privilegia, & auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ & Successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status & potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia à quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, & quanto citius potero significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones & mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, & faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos & Rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel Successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar & impugnabo.* Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonicâ præpeditione. Apostolorum limina singulis triennis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, *& Domino nostro ac Successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastorali officio ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri, & populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, & vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam & quàm diligentissimè exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo* per Certum Nuncium *ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu aliàs personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diœcesanum Sacerdotem; & clero deficiente omninò per aliquem alium Presbyterum secularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis & religionis de supradictis omnibus plenè instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem Proponentem in Congregatione Sacri Concilii per supradictum Nuncium transmittendas. Possessiones verò ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo*

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vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo, Sic me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.

ger to the Cardinal Proponent of the Holy Roman Church in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The Possessions belonging to my Table I will neither sell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, no not even with the consent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontife. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the Penalties contain'd in a certain Constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and the Holy Gospels of God.

Such is the Oath prescribed to Bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all Men, who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the Clergy is in that Church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their Prince.

Gregor. *Decret. lib. 2. tit. 24. cap. 4.*

And in perusing it we may note, that the clauses in a different character are in the more ancient Oath extant in the *Gregorian* Decretals: by which it appeareth how the Pope doth more and more enlarge his Power, and straiten the bands of Subjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new Oath hath chang'd those words *REGULAS SANCTORUM PATRUM* into *REGALIA SANCTI PETRI*, i. e. *THE RULES OF THE HOLY FATHERS* into *THE ROYALTIES OF SAINT PETER.*

§. XV. I know there are within the *Roman* Communion great store of Divines, who do contract the Papal Sovereignty within a much narrower compass, refusing to him many of those Prerogatives, yea scarce allowing to him any of them.

There are those who affirm the Pope, in Doctrine and Discipline, subject to the Church, or to a General Synod representing it. Which opinion thwarteth a proposition, in *Bellarmine*'s opinion, *e'en almost an Article of Faith:* but to be even with him, they do hold his proposition to be quite heretical: *The Pope is simply and absolutely above the Universal Church—this proposition is almost an Article of Faith*, saith *Bellarmine:* The Cardinal of *Lorrain* on the contrary, *But I* (saith he) *cannot deny but that I am a French-man, and bred up in the Church of* Paris, *which teaches that the Roman Pontife is subject to a Council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as Hereticks.*

⌜ *Summus Pontifex simpliciter & absolutè est supra Ecclesiam Universam; —— hæc propositio est ferè de fide.* Bell. *de Conc.* 2. 17.

Ego verò negare non possum quin Gallus sim, & Parisiensis Ecclesiæ alumnus, in quâ Rom. Pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, & qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. Card. Loth. *apud* Laun. *Ep.* 1. 1.

* *Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea & hæresi proxima.* Bell. 4. 2.

There are those who affirm the Pope, if he undertake Points of Faith without assistance of a General Synod, may teach Heresie: (*which opinion, as *Bellarmine* thought, doth *closely border on Heresie:*) And those who conceive that Popes may be, and have been Hereticks; whence Christians sometimes are not obliged to admit their Doctrine, or observe their pleasure.

There are those who maintain the Pope, no less than other Bishops, subject to the Canons, or bound to observe the Constitutions of the Church; that he may not infringe them, or over-rule against them, or dispense with them: and that to him attempting to do so obedience is not due.

There are those who maintain, that the Pope cannot subvert or violate the Rights and Liberties of particular Churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient Canons of the Church Universal.

There are those who assert to General Councils a power of Reforming the Church, without or against the Pope's consent.

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There are those who (as *Bellarmine* telleth us) do allow the Pope to be no more in the Ecclesiastical Republick, than as the Duke of *Venice* in his Senate, or as the General of an Order in his Congregation; and that he therefore hath but a very limited and subordinate Power.

There are consequently those who conceive the Pope notoriously erring, or misdemeaning himself to the prejudice of the Christian State, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be discarded by a General Synod.

Such notions have manifestly prevailed in a good part of the *Roman* Communion, and are maintained by most Divines in the *French* Church; and they may be supposed every-where common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the Inquisition doth not reign.

There have been seasons wherein they have so prevailed, as to have been defined for Catholick Truths in great Synods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For,

In the first great Synod of *Pisa* it was declared, that Councils may *reform the Church sufficiently both in Head and Members:* and accordingly that Synod did assume to judge two Popes (*Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII.) contending for the Papacy, (whereof one was the true Pope,) and deposing them both, did substitute *Alexander* V. *who for one year* (as *Antoninus* reporteth) *according to the common opinion did hold the Seat of* Peter. *An.* 1409. *Conc.* Pis. *Sess.* 16, 17.

Qui anno uno sedem Petri tenuit, secundum communem opinionem. Anton. *de Concil.* Pis. *cap.* 5. §. 3.

The Synod of *Constance* declared, that *the Synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a General Council representing the Catholick Church militant, hath immediately power from Christ; to which every one, of whatever state or dignity he be, although it be Papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to Faith, and the extirpation of (the said) Schism, and the general reformation of the Church of God in Head and Members.* *Primò declarat quòd ipsa Synodus, &c. Sess.* 4. & 5.

The which Doctrine they notably put in practice, exercising jurisdiction over Popes, and for Errors, Misdemeanors, or Contumacies discarding three (of whom it is hard if one were not true Pope,) and chusing another, who afterward did pass for a right Pope, and himself did confirm the Acts of that Council. (So that this Semi-heresie hath at least the authority of one Pope to countenance it.) *Our most holy Lord the Pope said in answer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were conciliarly determin'd, concluded and decreed by the present Council in matters of Faith.* *Sanctiss. Dominus noster Papa dixit, respondendo ad prælata, quod omnia & singula determinata, concluſa & decreta in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter tenere, & inviolabiliter observare volebat. Conc.* Const. *Sess.* 45. *p.* 1119.

The Synod of *Basil* declared the same Point, *that Councils are superiour to Popes, to be a truth of Catholick Faith, which whoever doth stiffly oppose is to be accounted a Heretick: Nor* (say they) *did any skilful Man ever doubt the Pope to be subject to the judgment of General Synods in things concerning Faith. In virtue of which Doctrine, and by its irresistible authority,* the Synod did sentence and reject Pope *Eugenius* as criminal, heretical and contumacious.

Veritas de potestate Concilii supra Papam——est veritas fidei Catholicæ——cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus. Conc. Bas. *Sess.* 33. (*p.* 95.)

Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum Pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio earundem generalium Synodorum esse subjectum. Concil. Bas. *Sess.* 45. *p.* 117.

Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili & inexpugnabili authoritate——Sess. 38. *p.* 101.

These Synods, although reprobated by Popes * in Counter-synods, are yet by many *Roman* Catholick Divines retained in great veneration; and their Doctrine is so current in the famous *Sorbonne*, that (if we may believe the great Cardinal of *Lorrain*) the contrary is there reputed *heretical.* * (*Concil. Later. &c.*)

Ego verò negare non possum, &c.

§. XVI.

§. XVI. Yet notwithstanding these oppositions, the former Opinion averring the Pope's absolute Sovereignty, doth seem to be the genuine Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, if it hath any.

Nam adhuc videmus ab Ecclesia tolerari, qui eam sententiam sequuntur —— Bell. 4. 2.

For those Divines by the Pope and his intimate Confidents are looked upon as a mongrel brood, or mutinous faction; which he by politick connivence doth only *tolerate*, because he is not well able to correct or suppress them. He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his sense, lest he spend his artillery in vain, and lose all his power and interest with them.

Nor indeed do those Men seem to adhere to the *Roman* Party out of entire judgment or cordial affection; but in compliance with their Princes, or upon account of their Interest, or at best with regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the Pope, because his Interest is twisted with their own, so as not easily to be disentangled.

For how can they heartily stick to the Pope, whenas their Opinion doth plainly imply him to be an Usurper and a Tyrant, (claiming to himself, and exercising authority over the Church, which doth not rightfully belong to him;) to be a Rebel and Traitor against the Church, (invading and possessing the Sovereignty due to it; for such questionless the Duke of *Venice* would be, should he challenge and assume to himself such a Power over his Commonwealth, as the Pope hath over Christendom;) to be an Impostor and Seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he hath not.

How can they honestly condemn those who (upon such grounds) do shake off such yokes, refusing to comply with the Pope, till he correct his Errors, till he desist from those Usurpations and Impostures, till he restore to the Church its Rights and Liberties?

How are the Doctrines of those Men consistent or congruous to their practice? For they call the Pope Monarch of the Church, and Universal Pastor of Christians, by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his Laws, and reject Doctrines which he teacheth particularly those which most nearly touch him, concerning his own Office and Authority. They profess themselves his loyal Subjects, yet pretend Liberties which they will maintain against him. They hold that all are bound to entertain Communion with him, yet confess that he may be heretical, and seduce into Error. They give him the name and shadow of a Supremacy, but so that they void the substance and reality thereof.

Manifestum autem Schismatis argumentum est, cùm quis se communioni subtrahit Apostolicæ sedis. Balus. *not. ad* Agobard. *p.* 112.

It is a manifest Argument of Schism, when any Man withdraws himself from Communion with the Apostolick See.

In fine, where should we seek for the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church but at *Rome*, or from *Rome* it self? Where these Doctrines are Heterodoxies.

§. XVII. We shall not therefore have a distinct regard to the Opinions of these *Semi-romanists*; nor consider them otherwise, than to confirm that part of Truth which they hold, and to confute that part of Error which they embrace; allowing, at least in word and semblance, more power to the Pope, than we can admit as due to him. Our discourse shall be levelled at him as such as he pretendeth himself to be, or as assuming to himself the forementioned Powers and Prerogatives.

§. XVIII. Of such vast Pretences we have reason to require sufficient Grounds. He that demandeth assent to such important Assertions, ought to produce clear proofs of them: He that claimeth so mighty Power

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should be able to make out a good Title to it; for *No Man may take this* (more than Pontifical) *honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as was* Aaron. *They are worthily to be blamed, who tumultuously and disorderly fall upon curbing or restraining those who by no law are subject to them.* Heb. 5. 4.

Jure culpandi sunt, qui turbidè atque inordinatè in eos coërcendos insiliunt, qui nullâ sibi lege subjecti sunt. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 17.

We cannot well be justified from a stupid Easiness, in admitting such a Lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not see exhibited to us manifest and certain Patents assuring its Commission to us. We should love the Church better, than to yield up its Liberty to the will of a Pretender, upon slight or no ground. Their boldly claiming such a Power, their having sometime usurped such a Power, will not excuse them or us. Nor will precarious Assumptions, or subtil Distinctions, or blind Traditions, or loose Conjectures serve for probations in such a case.

Nemo sibi & professor & testis est. Tertul. 5. 1. *adv.* Marc. None can be both a Claimer and a Witness for himself.

6. XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk: wherefore for satisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St. *Peter*; affirming that on him by our Lord there was instated a Primacy over his brethren, all the Apostles and the Disciples of our Lord, importing all the Authority which they claim; and that from him this Primacy was devolved by succession to the Bishops of *Rome*, by right indefectible for all future Ages.

Which Plea of theirs doth involve these main Suppositions,

I. *That St.* Peter *had a Primacy over the Apostles.*

II. *That St.* Peter's *Primacy with its Rights and Prerogatives was not personal but derivable to his Successors.*

III. *That St.* Peter *was Bishop of* Rome.

IV. *That St.* Peter *did continue Bishop of* Rome, *after his Translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That the Bishops of* Rome (*according to God's Institution, and by original right derived thence*) *should have an Universal Supremacy and Jurisdiction over the Christian Church.*

VI. *That in fact the* Roman *Bishops continually from St.* Peter's *time have enjoyed and exercised this Sovereign Power.*

VII. *That this Power is indefectible and unalterable.*

The Truth and Certainty of these Propositions we shall in order discuss; so that it may competently appear, whether those who disclaim these Pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of Heresie and Schism; or they rather are liable to the imputations of Arrogancy and Impiety who do obtrude and urge them.

A TREATISE OF THE Pope's Supremacy.

MATTH. X. 2.

πρῶτος Σίμων. *Now the Names of the twelve Apoſtles were theſe; the firſt, Simon, who is called Peter.*

AMONG the Modern Controverſies there is ſcarce any of greater conſequence, than that about Univerſal Supremacy, which the Biſhop of *Rome* claimeth over the Chriſtian Church; the aſſertion whereof on his ſide dependeth upon divers *Suppoſitions*; namely theſe.

I. *That Saint* Peter *by our Lord's appointment had a Primacy, implying a Sovereignty of Authority and Juriſdiction over the Apoſtles.*

II. *That the Rights and Prerogatives of this Sovereignty were not perſonal but derivable, and tranſmitted to Succeſſors.*

III. *That Saint* Peter *was Biſhop of* Rome.

IV. *That Saint* Peter *did continue Biſhop of* Rome *after his Tranſlation, and was ſo at his deceaſe.*

V. *That hence of Right to the Biſhops of* Rome, *as Saint* Peter's *Succeſſors, an Univerſal Juriſdiction over the whole Church of* Chriſt *doth appertain.*

VI. *That in Fact the ſaid Biſhops continually from Saint* Peter's *time have enjoyed and exerciſed this Power.*

VII. *That this Power is indefectible; ſuch as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the diſcuſſion and reſolution of the firſt Point, I ſhall treat upon the Primacy of Saint *Peter*; endeavouring to ſhew what Primacy he was capable of, or might enjoy; what he could not pretend to, nor did poſſeſs.

I. SUP-

SUPPOSITION. I.

The first *Supposition* of those who claim Universal Jurisdiction to the Pope over the Church, is, *That Saint* Peter *had a Primacy over the Apostles.*

IN order to the resolution of this Point, we may consider, that there are several kinds of Primacy, which may belong to a Person in respect of others: for there are,

1. *A Primacy of Worth, or Personal Excellency.*
2. *A Primacy of Reputation and Esteem.*
3. *A Primacy of Order, or bare Dignity and Precedence.*
4. *A Primacy of Power or Jurisdiction.*

To each of these what Title Saint *Peter* might have, let us in order examine.

I. As for the first of these (*a Primacy of Worth, or Merit*, as some of the Ancients call it) we may well grant it to Saint *Peter*, admitting that probably he did exceed the rest of his Brethren in personal Endowments and Capacities, (both natural and moral) qualifying him for the discharge of the Apostolical Office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickness of apprehension, in boldness of spirit, in readiness of speech, in charity to our Lord, and zeal for his Service, in resolution, activity and industry he was transcendent, may seem to appear by the tenour of the Evangelical and Apostolical Histories; in the which we may observe him upon all occasions ready to speak first, and to make himself *the mouth* (as the *Fathers* speak) of the Apostles, in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onset; being πανταχοῦ θερμὸς, *always hot* and eager, always *prompt* and vigorous, as St. *Chrysostom* often affirmeth concerning him: these things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiss to set down some instances.

Ἐνπερίστροφος γὰρ ἀεί πως ἦν ἄνθρωπος, κεκεντρωμένος οὐ μετρίως εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν προθυμίαν. Cyrill. *in* Joh. 21. 15. He was a very active and stirring man, exceedingly spurr'd on with much promptness and alacrity in doing and speaking.

Πανταχοῦ εὑρίσκεται ἀπὸ πόθου ὁρμῶν. Chrys. *in* Joh. *Or.* 12. (13. 24.)

Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνει θερμότητα. Chrysost. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 59.

When our Lord observing the different apprehensions men had concerning him, asked the Apostles, *but whom say ye that I am*, up starteth he, προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνεται, *he skippeth forth, and preventeth the rest*, crying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* The other Apostles were not ignorant of the Point; for they at their Conversion did take *Jesus* for the *Messias*, which (even according to the common Notion of the *Jews*) did imply his being the Son of God; *Nathanael* (that is, Saint *Bartholomew*, as is supposed) had in terms confessed it; the whole company, upon seeing our Lord walk on the Sea, had avowed it; Saint *Peter* before that, in the name of them all had said, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν, *We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* They therefore had the same Faith, but he from a special alacrity of spirit, and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it; *He was more hot* (saith St. *Greg. Naz.*) *than the rest at acknowledging Christ.*

Matt. 16. 16.

Licèt cæteri Apostoli sciant, Petrus tamen respondet pro cæteris. Ambr. *in* Luc. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 9.

Joh. 1. 42, 46. Matt. 26. 63. Joh. 1. 50. Matt. 14. 33. Joh. 6. 69.

Θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν χριστοῦ. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 34.

Matt. 14. 28. When our Saviour walked on the Sea, who but He had the Faith and the Courage to venture on the Waters towards him?

Joh. 18. 10. When our Lord was apprehended by the Souldiers, presently up was his spirit, and out went his Sword in defence of him.

When our Lord predicted, that upon his coming into trouble all the Matt. 26. 33. 35. Joh. 13. 37. Disciples would be offended, and desert him; he was ready to say, *Though all men should be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended*; and, *Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee*; such was his natural courage and confidence.

Matt 16. 22. When our Lord was discoursing about his Passion, he suddenly must be advising in the case, and urging him *to spare himself*; upon which St. *Chrysostom* biddeth us to *consider, not that his answer was unadvised, but that it came from a genuine and fervent affection.*

Μὴ τοῦτο ἐξετάσωμεν, ὅτι ἀπρίσκεπτος ἡ ἀπόκρισις· ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίου πόθου ἦν καὶ ζέοντος. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

Μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει. Mark 9. 6. Luk. 9. 33. And at the Transfiguration, he fell to proposing about making an abode there, *not knowing what he said*; so brisk was he in imagination and speech.

Luk. 24. 12, 34. Joh 20. 3. Upon the good Womans report that our Lord was risen from the dead, he first ran to the Sepulchre, and so (as Saint *Paul* implieth) did obtain the first sight of our Lord after the Resurrection; such was his zeal and activity upon all occasions.

καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα. 1 Cor 15. 5. *And that he appeared to Cephas, after that to the twelve.*

Acts 1. 15. At the Consultation about supplying the place of *Judas*, he *rose up*, proposed, and pressed the matter.

Acts 15. 7. At the Convention of the Apostles and Elders about resolving *the debate* concerning observance of Mosaical Institutions, he first rose up, and declared his sense.

In the Promulgation of the Gospel, and Defence thereof before the Jewish Rulers, he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the Speaker; the rest standing by him, implying assent, and ready to avow his word; *Peter* (saith Saint *Luke*) *standing with the rest lift up his voice, and said unto them*; so *did they utter a common voice*, (saith St. *Chrys.*) *and he was the mouth of all.*

Κοινὴν προεβάλλοντο φωνὴν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ἦν τὸ στόμα.

Aug. *in* Joh. *Tract.* 123.
Ὁ μανικὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ χριστοῦ. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 24. An extreme lover of Christ.

Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amorisq; quam maximi fuisse Petrum in Dominum. Hier. *in* Mat. 16. 22.

We have often said that Peter was transported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord.

Ipse enim Petrus in Apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus. Aug. *Serm.* 13. *de verb. Dom. in* Matt. 1.

For Peter himself being first in the Order of the Apostles, and most prompt and forward in the Love of Christ, answer'd oftentimes alone for all the rest.

That in affection to our Lord, and zeal for for his service, Saint *Peter* had some advantage over the rest, that Question, *Simon Peter, dost thou love me more than these?* may seem to imply: (although the words πλεῖον τούτων may bear other interpretations, whereby the seeming invidiousness of the Question according to that sense will be removed.) However, that he had a singular zeal for promoting our Lord's service, and propagation of the Gospel, therein outshining the rest, seemeth manifest in the History, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently did shew to him.

Upon these Premisses we may well admit that Saint *Peter* had a Primacy of Worth; or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the twelve Apostles; (although afterward there did spring up one, who hardly in any of these respects would yield to him; who could confidently say,

That

That he did not come behind the very chief Apostles: and of whom St. *Ambrose* saith, * *Neither was Paul inferiour to Peter —— being well to be compar'd even to the first, and second to none:* and St. *Chrysostom*, † *For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul?*) This is the Primacy which *Eusebius* attributeth to him, when he calleth him, *the excellent and great Apostle, who for his vertue was the Proloquutor of all the rest.*

1 Cor. 15. 10. 2 Cor. 11. 23. 2 Cor. 11. 5. & 12. 11.

* *Nec Paulus inferior Petro —— cum primo quoq; facilè conferendus, & nulli secundus.* Ambr. *de Sp. S.* 2. 12.

† Τί γὰρ Πέτρε μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλε ἴσον. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Orat.* 167.

Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προήγορον. Euseb. *Hist.* 2. 4.

II. As to *a Primacy of Repute*; which Saint *Paul* meaneth, when he speaketh of the οἱ δοκοῦντες, *those which had a special reputation*, of those Gal 2. 2, 6. *who seemed to be Pillars*, of the ὑπερλίαν Ἀπόστολοι, the *supereminent Apostles*; Gal 2. 9. 2 Cor. 11. 5. 12. 11. this advantage cannot be refused him; being a necessary consequent of those eminent qualities resplendent in him, and of the illustrious performances atchieved by him, beyond the rest.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renown, which he hath had propagated from the beginning to all posterity.

This at least those elogies of the Fathers (styling him the Chief, Prince, Head of the Apostles) do signify.

Ὁ ὑπερνίκητος τῶν Ἀποστόλων Πέτρος. Ath. *disp. c.* Arium, *p* 121.

This also may be collected from his being so constantly ranked in the first place, before the rest of his Brethren.

III. As to *a Primacy of Order, or bare Dignity*, importing, that commonly in all meetings and proceedings the other Apostles did yield him the precedence, the προηγορία or privilege of speaking first (whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice) in the conduct and moderation of affairs; that this was stated on him, may be questioned; for that this were a kind of womanish privilege; and that it doth not seem to befit the gravity of such persons, or their condition and circumstances to stand upon ceremonies of respect; for that also our Lords Rules do seem to exclude all semblance of ambition, all kinds of inequality, and distance between his Apostles; for that this practice doth not seem constantly and thoroughly to agree to his being endowed with this advantage; especially seeing all that practice which favoureth it, may fairly be assigned to other causes; for that also the Fathers Authority (if that be objected, as a main argument of such a Primacy) in points of this nature, not bordering on essentials of Faith, is of no great strength; they in such cases speaking out of their own ingeny and conjecture; and commonly indulging their imaginations no less freely than other men.

But yet this Primacy may be granted, as probable upon divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be useful to preserve order, and to promote expedition, or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost, which is natural to men.

For seeing all could not go, speak, or act first, all could not guide affairs, it was expedient that one should be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue; *See* (saith St. *Chrysostom*, noting on *Act.* 2. 14. where Saint Peter speaketh for the rest) *the concord of the Apostles; they yield unto him the speech, for they could not all speak*; and *One* (saith St. *Hierom*) *is chosen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occasion of Schism might be removed.*

Σκόπει τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτοὶ ἀλλήλοις παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ δημηγορεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔδει πάντας φθέγγεσθαι Chrys. *in* Act 2. 14.

Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto Schismatis tolleretur occasio. Hier. *in* Jovin. *I. cap.* 14.

St. *Cyprian*,

Cyp. *Ep.* 73. *de unit. Eccl. &c.* St. *Cyprian* hath a reason for it somewhat more subtile and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his Brethren (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other *African* Doctors (*Optatus* and St. *Austin*) do commonly harp on the same notion: I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm.

In typo unitatis — Aug. *de Bapt* 3.17.

However, supposing this Primacy (at least in respect to the Fathers, who generally seem to countenance it) divers probable reasons may be assigned, why it should especially be conferred on Saint *Peter*.

Petrus — naturâ unus homo erat, gratiâ unus Christianus, abundantiore gratiâ unus idémq; primus Apostolus. Aug. *in* Joh. *tract.* 123.

Peter was by nature one Man, by grace one Christian, by a more abundant grace one and the same prime Apostle.

Ipse enim Petrus in Apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus. Aug *de verbis Dom. sup.* Mat. 1. *Serm.* 13.

For Peter himself being the first in the Order of the Apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, he alone oft times answers for all the rest.

1. It is probable, that Saint *Peter* was first in standing among the Apostles; I mean not that he was the first Disciple, or first converted to Faith in *Christ*; but first called to the Apostolical Office; or first nominated by our Lord, when out of all his Disciples *he chose twelve and called them Apostles; Simon whom he called Peter, and Andrew his Brother* —— He was one of the first Believers at large; he was perhaps the first, that distinctly believed our Lord's Divinity; he was probably the very first Apostle; * as the fittest Person in our Lord's eye for that employment. *He* (saith St. *Hilary*) *did first believe, and is the Prince* (or first man) *of the Apostleship. He* (saith St. *Cyprian*) *was the first, whom the Lord chose. He* (saith St. *Basil*) *was by judgment preferred before all the Disciples.* He by other Ancients is called *the first-fruits of the Apostles.* And according to this sense St. *Hierom* (I suppose) doth call *him*, and his Brother *Andrew*, *Principes Apostolorum*, that is (according to frequent usage of the word *Principes* in Latin) *the first of the Apostles.*

[Περισσότερον δὲ Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι. Theoph. *in* Matt. 10.]
Luke 6. 14. Matt. 4. 18.
Mark 1. 16. Luke 5. 3.

* Γινώσκων τις ἐν πρώτοις ἄξιον πίστιδαι, ἐξελέξατο Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι —— Epiph. *hær.* 51.

Primus credidit, & Apostolatûs est Princeps. Hil. *in* Matt. *Can.* 7.

Quem primum Dominus elegit. Cypr. *Ep.* 71.

Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν πρωτεύσας. Bas. *de Judicio Dei, Tom.* 2. *p.* 268.

Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Modest. *apud* Phot. *Cod.* 275. Clem. *ad* Jac. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1.

So that as in divers Churches, (perhaps when time was, in all) anciently priority in ordination did ground a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with some exception; so might Saint *Peter* upon this account of being first ordained Apostle, obtain such a Primacy.

2. Saint *Peter* also might be the first in age; which among Persons otherwise equal is a fair ground of preference; for he was a married Man; and that before he was called, as is intimated in Saint *Luke*; and may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he *had left all*, and devoted himself to follow our Lord. Upon which account of Age St. *Hierom* did suppose that he was preferred before the beloved Disciple; *why* (saith he) *was not Saint* John *elected, being a Batchelour? it was deferred to age, because* Peter *was elder, that a youth and almost a boy might not be preferred before men of good age.*

Luk. 4 38. 5. 7. Matt. 19. 27.

Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat; nè adhuc adolescens & penè puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Μικρότερος ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας. Epiph. *hær.* 51.
Peter being the younger in age.

I know that *Epiphanius* affirmeth St. *Andrew* to have been the elder Brother; but it doth not appear whether he saith it from conjecture or upon any other ground. And his Authority, although we should suppose

pose it bottomed on tradition, is not great; tradition it self in such matters being very slippery; and often one tradition crossing another.

3. The most eminent qualifications of Saint *Peter*, (such as we before described) might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honest confidence, pushing him forward on all occasions to assume the former place, and thence by custom to possess it; for *qui sibi fidet, Dux regit examen* — it being in all action, as in walking, where he that naturally is most vigorous and active doth go before the rest. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 19.

They might induce others to a voluntary concession thereof; for to those, who indisputably do excel in good qualities or abilities, honest and meek Persons easily will yield precedence, especially on occasions of publick concernment; wherein it is expedient, that the best qualified persons should be first seen.

Αὐτοὶ παραχωρῶσιν αὐτῷ, &c. Chrys. *in* Acts 2. 14.
They yield unto him, &c.

They probably might also move our Lord himself to settle, or at least to insinuate this order; assigning the first place to him, whom he knew most willing to serve him, and most able to lead on the rest in his service.

It is indeed observable, that upon all occasions our Lord signified a particular respect to him, before the rest of his Collegues; for to him more frequently than to any of them he directed his discourse; unto him, by a kind of anticipation he granted or promised those gifts and privileges, which he meant to confer on them all; Him he did assume as Spectator and Witness of his glorious Transfiguration; Him he picked out as Companion and Attendant on him in his grievous Agony; His feet he first washed; to him he did first discover himself after his Resurrection (as Saint *Paul* implieth;) and with him then he did entertain most discourse; in especial manner recommending to him the Pastoral care of the Church; by which manner of proceeding our Lord may seem to have constituted Saint *Peter* the first in order among the Apostles, or sufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admonishing them by his example to render unto him a special deference.

Matt. 16. 16. Mat. 17. 1. Matt. 26. 37. John 13. 6. 1 Cor. 15. 5. John 21.

4. The Fathers commonly do attribute his priority to the merit of his faith and Confession, wherein he did outstrip his Brethren. *He obtained supereminent glory by the confession of his blessed faith*, saith St. *Hilary*. *Because he alone of all the rest professeth his love*, Joh. 21. *therefore he is preferred above all*, saith St. *Ambrose*.

Hil. *in* Mat. *Can.* 14. *p.* 566. *Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit.* Hil. *de Trin. lib.* 6. *p.* 121. *Ideo quia solus profitetur amorem suum* (John 21.) *ex omnibus, omnibus anteferetur.* Ambr. *in* Luc. *cap. ult.*

5. Constantly in all the Catalogues of the Apostles Saint *Peter*'s name is set in the front; and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first, which seemeth not done without careful design, or special reason. Matt. 10. 2. Mar. 3. 17. Luk. 6. 14. Acts 1. 13. Joh. 21. 2.

Upon such grounds it may be reasonable to allow Saint *Peter* a primacy of order; such a one as the Ring-leader hath in a Dance, as the Primipilar Centurion had in the Legion, or the Prince of the Senate had here, in the *Roman* State; at least, as among Earls, Baronets, *&c.* and others co-ordinate in degree, yet one hath a precedence of the first.

VI. As to a Primacy, importing Superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction; this by the *Roman* Party is asserted to Saint *Peter*, but we have great reason to deny it, upon the following considerations.

1. For

1. For such a Power (being of so great importance) it was needful that a Commission from God, its Founder, should be granted in downright and perspicuous terms; that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon, might have any doubt of it, or excuse for boggling at it; * it was necessary not only for the Apostles to bind and warrant their Obedience, but also, for us, because it is made the sole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us; which we cannot heartily discharge without being assured of our obligation thereto, by clear revelation, or promulgation of God's will in the Holy Scripture; for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true Rule, which St. *Austin* in one case thus expresseth, *I do believe that also on this side there would be most clear authority of the Divine Oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it, without damage of his salvation*; and *Lactantius* thus, *Those things can have no foundation, or firmness, which are not sustained by any Oracle of God's word.*

* It was a reasonable demand, which was made to our Saviour, *Tell us by what authority thou dost these things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?* (*Luke* 20.2) and the reasonableness of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no sin to disbelieve or reject him, (*John* 5. 31,36. 10. 25,37. 15. 22, 24.)

Credo etiam hinc divinorum eloquiorum clarissima authoritas esset, si homo sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset. Aug. *de pec. mer. & rem.* 2. 36.

Nullum fundamentum, aut firmitatem possunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis. Lact. 7. 2.

But apparently no such Commission is extant in Scripture; the allegations for it being, as we shall hereafter shew, no-wise clear, nor probably expressive of any such Authority granted by God; but on the contrary divers clearer testimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If so illustrious an Office was instituted by our Saviour, it is strange that no-where in the Evangelical or Apostolical History (wherein divers acts and passages of smaller moment are recorded) there should be any express mention of that Institution; there being not only much reason for such a report, but many pat occasions for it: The time when Saint *Peter* was vested with that Authority; the manner and circumstances of his Instalment therein; the nature, rules and limits of such an Office had surely well deserved to have been noted, among other occurrences relating to our Faith and Discipline, by the Holy Evangelists; no one of them, in all probability, could have forborn punctually to relate a matter of so great consequence, as the settlement of a Monarch in God's Church, and a Sovereign of the Apostolical College (from whom so eminent Authority was to be derived to all posterity for compliance wherewith the whole Church for ever must be accountable;) particularly it is not credible that Saint *Luke* should quite slip over so notable a passage, who *had* (as he telleth us) *attained a perfect understanding of all things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were surely believed among Christians* in his time, of which things this, if any, was one of the most considerable.

Luk. 1. 1.

The time of his receiving Institution to such Authority can hardly be assigned. For was it when he was constituted by our Lord an Apostle? Then indeed probably he began to obtain all the primacy and preeminence he ever had; but no such power doth appear then conferred on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at least, if it was, it was so covertly and indiscernibly, that both he himself, and all the Apostle must be ignorant thereof, who a little before our Lord's Passion did more than once earnestly contest about Superiority. And it is observable that whereas our Lord before his Passion did carefully teach and press on the Apostles the chief duties, which they were to observe in their behaviou

Matt. 10. 1.

ehaviour towards each other, The maintenance of peace, of charity, of nity, of humility toward one another; yet of paying due respect and bedience to this Superior he said nothing to them. Mar. 9. 50. Joh. 13. 34. 15. 12. 17. 21.

The collation of that Power could not well be at any time before the elebration of our Lord's Supper, because before that time Saint *Peter* vas scarce an Ecclesiastical Person; at least he was no Priest, as the Con- ention of *Trent* under a curse doth require us to believe; for it were trange, that an unconsecrated Person, or one who was not so much as Priest, should be endowed with so much spiritual Power. Joh. 13. 14.

Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse Apostolos Sacerdotes —— anathema sit. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 22. *Can.* 2.

If any one shall say that in those words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Christ did not ordain his Apostles Priests —— Let him be accursed.

After his Resurrection, our Lord did give divers common Instruc- tions, Orders, and Commissions to his Apostles, but it doth not appear hat he did make any peculiar grant to St. *Peter*; for as to the pretence f such an one drawn out of the *Appendix* to Saint *John*'s Gospel, or rounded on the words *Pasce oves*, we shall afterward declare that to e invalid.

Ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις —— Acts 1. 2. Joh. 20. 21. Matt. 28. 19 Luke 24. 49. Mark 16. 15.

4. If Saint *Peter* had been instituted Sovereign of the Apostolical Se- ate, his Office and State had been in nature and kind very distinct from he common Office of the other Apostles; as the Office of a King from he Office of any Subject; as an ordinary, standing, perpetual, successive Office from one that is only extraordinary, transitory, temporary, per- onal and incommunicable; (to speak according to distinctions now in se, and applied to this case) whence probably, as it was expedient to e, it would have been signified by some distinct name, or title, cha- acterizing it, and distinguishing it from others; as that of Arch-apostle, Arch-pastour, High-priest, Sovereign Pontife, Pope, his Holiness, the Vicar of *Christ*, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there vas such an Officer, what the nature of his Office was, what specialty f respect and obedience was due to him: But no such name or title upon any occasion) was assumed by him, or was by the rest attributed o him, or in History is recorded concerning him; the name of an Apostle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to im.

5. There was indeed no Office above that of an Apostle known to he Apostles, or to the Primitive Church; this (saith St. *Chrysostom*) was *the greatest authority*, nd *the top of authorities*; there was (saith he) one *before an Apostle*, *none superiour*, *none equal to him*; this he asserteth of all the Apostles, this he particularly applieth to Saint *Paul*; this he demonstrateth from Saint *Paul* himself, who pur- posely enumerateth the chief Officers instituted by God in his Church, doth place Apostles in the highest rank; *Our Lord* (*saith Saint *Paul*) *gave some Apostles*, *some Prophets*, *some Evangelists*, *some Pastors and Teachers*; and God hath set some in †*his Church*, *first Apostles*, *secondarily Prophets*, *thirdly Teachers*; πρῶτον Ἀποστόλους, why not first a Pope, an Universal Pastor, an Oecumenical Judge, a Vicar of *Christ*, a Head of the Catho-

Ἀρχὴ μείζων κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 114.

Εἶδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν Ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ἀνώτερον. *Ibid.*

Τῶν δὲ Ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 33.

Αὐτὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἀκόσμως ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὴν Ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *ubi suprà.*

We have heard *Paul* himself reckoning up powers or authorities, and placing the Apostolical in the highest place.

* Eph. 4. 11.

† 1 Cor. 12. 28.

lick Church? Could Saint *Paul* be so ignorant, could he be so negligent, or so envious, as to pass by, without any distinction, the Supreme Officer, if such a one then had been? As put case, that one should undertake to recite the Officers in any State, or Republick, would he not do strangely if he should pretermit the King, the Duke, the Consul, the Major thereof? Would not any one, confiding in the skill, diligence and integrity of such a Relator, be induced from such an omission to believe there was no such Officer there? St. *Chrysostom* therefore did hence very rationally infer, that the Apostolical Office was the Supreme in the Christian state, having no other Superiour to it.

Saint *Peter* therefore was no more than an Apostle, and as such he could have no command over those, who were in the same highest rank co-ordinate to him; and who as Apostles could not be subject to any.

6. Our Lord himself, at several times, declared against this kind of Primacy, instituting equality among his Apostles, prohibiting them to affect, to seek, to assume or admit a superiority of Power one above another.

Luke 22. 14. Luke 22. 24. Τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

There was (saith St. *Luke among the twelve*, at the participation of the Holy Supper) *a strife among them, who of them should be accounted the greatest*, or who had the best pretence to Superiority; this strife our Lord presently did check and quash; but how? not by telling them that he already had decided the case in appointing them a Superiour but rather by assuring them, that he did intend none such to be; that he would have no Monarchy, no exercise of any Dominion or authority by one among them over the rest; but that notwithstanding any advantages one might have before the other, (as *greater in gifts, or as preceding in any respect) they should be one as another, all humbly condescending to one another, each being ready to yield help and service to one another; *The Kings* (said he) *of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them; and they that exercise authority over them, are called benefactors: but ye shall not be so; but he that is* †*greater among you let him be as the younger; and he that is* ‖ *leader as he that doth minister*; that is, whatever privilege any of you obtaineth, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and subserviency, as occasion shall require; let him not pretend to be a Superior, but rather behave himself as an Inferior: thus our Lord did smother the debate, by removing from among them, whatever greatness any of them did affect or pretend to; forbidding that any of them should κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν, exercise any Dominion or Authority over the rest as worldly Princes did over their Subjects.

So doth St. *Clemens* interpret μείζων, alluding to this place.

* Ἤτω τις πιστὸς, ἤτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἤτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἤτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πᾶσιν, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. Clem. *ad* Corinth. *I. p.* 63. *apud* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6. *p.* 466.

Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wise in discovering reasons, let him be strenuous in works, by so much the more ought he to be humble-minded, by how much the more he seems to be greater than others; and to seek the common benefit of all, and not of himself.

† ὁ μείζων.

‖ ὁ ἡγούμενος.

Luke 22. 25, 26.

Again upon another occasion (as the circumstances of the place do imply) when two of the Apostles (of special worth and consideration with our Lord, Saint *James* and Saint *John* the Sons of *Zebedee*) did affect a preeminence over the rest, requesting of our Lord, *Grant unto us that we may sit one on thy right-hand, and the other on thy left-hand, in thy Glory*, (or *in thy Kingdom*, as Saint *Matthew* hath it, that is, in that new state, which they conceived our Lord was ready to introduce;) which request doth not seem to import any great matter of Authority; nor probably did they desire so much, as our Adversaries do give to Saint *Peter*

Mark 10. 37. Matt. 20. 25.

ye

yet our Lord doth not only reject their ſute, but generally declareth, that none of them were capable of ſuch a preferment in his Kingdom; which therein differed from worldly Dominion, becauſe in it there was no room for ſuch an ambition; eſpecially in that ſtate of things, wherein the Apoſtles were to be placed; which was a ſtate of undergoing Perſecutions, not of enjoying Dignity, or exerciſing Command; all the preferment, which they reaſonably could aſpire to, being to be diſpenſed in the future ſtate (whereof they were not aware) according to God's preparation, in correſpondence to the patience and induſtry any of them ſhould exert in God's ſervice (upon which account St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *it was a clear caſe, that St.* Paul *ſhould obtain the preference.*

Εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἐπολαύσει τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας. Chryſ. Tom. 5. Orat. 33.

It was indeed (as our Lord intimateth) incongruous for thoſe, who had forſaken all things for *Chriſt*, who had embraced a condition of diſgrace, who were deſigned by ſelf-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealth and honour; by undergoing perſecution, and undertaking conformity to our Lord *(being baptized with the baptiſm, with which he was baptized)* to propagate the Faith of a Crucified Maſter; to ſeek, or take on them authoritative dignity; for among them there could not well be any need of commanding, or being commanded; it was more fit, that all of them ſhould conſpire to help and ſerve one another, in promoting the common deſign and ſervice of their Lord, with mutual condeſcenſion, and compliance; which was the beſt way of recommending themſelves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him anſwerable reward. Such was the drift of our Lord's diſcourſe; whereinto (as in the other caſe) he did annex the prohibition of exerciſing dominion; *Ye know* (ſaith he) *that the Princes of nations exerciſe dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe authority upon them, but it ſhall not be ſo among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter; and whoſoever will be firſt among you, let him be your ſervant*; Ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ, whoever among you hath a mind to ſpecial grandeur and preeminence, let him underſtand, that there is no other to be attained, beſide that which reſulteth from the humble performance of charitable Offices to his Brethren: the which whoever ſhall beſt diſcharge, he alone will become greateſt and higheſt in the eye of God.

* Τότε ἡ ἐξουσία ἦν οὐ τιμὴ, ἀλλὰ προνοία τῶν ἀρχομένων, &c. Chryſ. *in* Acts 1. 26.

Then the Government was not an honour, but a provident care of the governed, &c.

Matt. 20. 26.

Again at another time, the Apoſtles dreaming of a ſecular Kingdom to be erected by our Lord, *diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould be the greateſt*; and for ſatisfaction preſumed to enquire of our Lord about it; when as they ſurely were very ignorant of Saint *Peter*'s being their head, ſo there was a fair occaſion as could be of our Lord's inſtructing them in that point, and injoining their duty towards him; but he did not ſo, but rather taught him together with the reſt not to pretend to any ſuch thing, as preferment above the reſt; *He ſitting down called the twelve, and ſaid unto them, If any one deſire to be firſt, the ſame ſhall be laſt of all, and ſervant of all*; how could he (conſidering the occaſion and circumſtances of that ſpeech) in plainer terms eſtabliſh equality, or diſcountenance any claim to ſuperiority among them? Had Saint *Peter* then advanced ſuch a plea, as they now affirm of right belonging to him, would he not thereby have depreſſed and debaſed himſelf to the loweſt degree?

Mar. 9. 34. Luk. 9. 46. Matt. 18. 1.

Mar. 9. 35.

Καὶ τοῖς περὶ φιλοτιμίαν φιλονεικοῦσι γνωρίμοις μετὰ ἁπλότητος καὶ ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾷ, λέγων ὡς τὰ παιδία αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι δεῖν. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5. (*p.*409.)

And to those familiar friends striving for the preeminence, he commends equality together with simplicity, saying, that they ought to become as little Children.

To impress this rule, our Lord then *calling a little child, did set him in the midst of them*, telling them, that *except they were converted* (from such ambitious pretences) *and became like little children*, (wholly void of such conceits) *they could not enter into the Kingdom of heaven*, that is, could not in effect be so much as ordinary good Christians; adjoining, that *whosoever should humble himself as did that little child* (not affecting, or assuming more than such an innocent did) *should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven*; in real worth, and in the favour of God transcending the rest; so that St. *Peter* claiming superiority to himself would have forfeited any title to eminency among Christians.

Again, as to the power, which is now ascribed to Saint *Peter* by the Party of his pretended Successors, we may argue from another place; where our Saviour prohibiting his Disciples to resemble the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees in their ambitious desires and practices, their affectations of preeminence, their assuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, He saith, *But be ye not called Rabbi, for there is one Master* (one Guide, or Governour) *of you, even Christ, but ye are Brethren.* How more pregnably could he have declared the nature of his Constitution, and the relation of Christians one to another established therein, to exclude such differences of power? Whereby one doth in way of domination impose his opinion or his will on others.

Matt. 23. 8. Εἷς καθηγητής.

Ye are all fellow-scholars, fellow-servants and fellow-children of God it therefore doth not become you to be any wise imperious over one another; but all of you humbly and lovingly to conspire in learning and observing the Precepts of your common Lord; the doing which is backed with a Promise, and a Threat sutable to the purpose; *He that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that will abase himself shall be exalted* the which sentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the Rules foregoing.

If it be said, that such discourse doth impugn all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; I answer, that indeed thereby is removed all such haughty, and harsh Rule, which some have exercised over Christians; that ἀυθεντία *(arbitrary power,)* that ἐξουσία ἀνυπεύθυνος *(absolute, uncontrollable authority)* that τυραννικὴ πρεσβεία *(tyrannical prerogative)* of which the Fathers complain, that κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων *(domineering over their charges)* which Saint *Peter* forbiddeth. *We* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *were designed to teach the word, not to exercise empire or absolute sovereignty; we do bear the name of advisers exhorting to duty.*

Chrys. *in* 1 Tim. 3. 1. *in* Eph. *Or.* 11. Isid. Pel. *Ep.* 4. 219. 2. 125. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 28. 1 Pet. 5. 3.

Εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προσχειρίσθημεν, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐθεντίαν· συμβούλων τάξιν ἐπέχομεν παρακαλούντων. Chrys. *in* Eph. *Orat.* 11.

Ille enim nolentibus præest, hic volentibus. Hier. *Ep.* 3. *ad Nepot.*

Ὁ μὲν τοι ἑκόντων ὀφείλων ἄρχειν, &c. Chrys. *in* Tit 1 7.

He ought to rule them so as they may be willing to be ruled, &c.

1 Pet. 5.

Sed contenti sint honore suo; Patres se sciant esse non dominos —— Hier. *Ep.* 62. *ad* Theoph. *cap.* 3.

A Bishop (saith St. *Hierom*) differeth from a King, in that a Bishop *presideth over those that are willing*, the King *against their will*; (that is, the Bishop's governance should be so gentle and easy, that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it; but should obey, as Saint *Peter* exhorteth, οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, *not by constraint, but of their own accord*) and, *Let* (saith he) *the Bishops be content with their honour; let them know*

know themselves to be Fathers, not Lords; they should be loved, not feared.

Amari parens, & episcopus debet, non timeri. Ibid. cap. 1.

And *Thou* (saith St. *Bernard* to Pope *Eugenius*) *dost superintend, the name of Bishop signifying to thee not dominion, but duty.*

Indè denique superintendis, sonante tibi Episcopi nomine non dominium, sed officium. Bern. *de Consid. 2. 6.*

At least those precepts of our Lord do exclude that power, which is ascribed to Saint *Peter* over the Apostles themselves, the which indeed is greater, than in likelihood any Pharisee did ever affect; yea in many respects doth exceed any domination which hath been claimed or usurped by the most absolute Monarch upon earth; for the power of Saint *Peter*, in their opinion was the same, which now the *Roman* Bishop doth challenge to himself over the Pastors and People of God's Church, by virtue of succession to him; (Saint *Peter*'s power being the base of the Papal, and therefore not narrower than its superstructure; (but what domination comparable to that hath ever been used in the world?

What Emperor did ever pretend to a rule so wide in extent (in regard either to persons, or matters) or so absolute in effect?

Who ever, beside his Holiness, did usurp a command not only over the external actions, but the most inward cogitations of all mankind; subjecting the very minds and consciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his censures?

Who ever thundred Curses and Damnations on all those, who should presume to dissent from his Opinion, or to contest his pleasure?

Who ever claimed more absolute Power, in making, abolishing, suspending Laws, or imposing upon men what he pleased, under obligation of conscience, and upon extremest penalties?

What Prince ever used a style more imperious, than is that which is usual in the Papal Bulls; *Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expression of our will and command, or to go against it with bold rashness.*

Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis & mandati infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire.

What *Domitian* more commonly did admit the appellation of Lord, than doth the Pope? *our most Holy Lord*, is the ordinary style, attributed to him by the Fathers of *Trent*, as if they were his slaves, and intended to enslave all Christendom to him.

Sanctissimus Dominus noster. Concil. Trid. Sess. 22. cap. 11. &c.

Who ever did exempt his Clients and Dependents in all Nations from subjection to Civil Laws, from undergoing common burthens and taxes, from being judged or punished for their misdemeanors and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to dispose of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly? to dispose even of Kingdoms, to judge Sovereign Princes, and to condemn them, to depose them from their authority, absolving their Subjects from all allegiance to them, and exposing their Kingdoms to rapine?

To whom but a Pope were ever ascribed prerogatives like those of judging all men, and himself being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame; so that (as a Papal Canon assureth us) *let a Pope be so bad, as by his negligence and male-administration to carry with him innumerable people to Hell, yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults; because he being to judge all men is himself to be judged of no man except he be catcht swerving from the Faith*; which is a case they will hardly suffer a man to suppose possible.

Si Papa suæ, &c. Grat. *dist.* 40. *cap.* 6.

To

To whom but to a Pope was such Power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himself, that he could hear those words applying to him, *All Power is given to thee in Heaven and in Earth?*

Concil. Lat. *sub* Leone X. *Sess.* 11. *p.* 133. (*in Orat. Archiep. Patrac.*)

Such Power the Popes are wont to challenge, and when occasion serveth do not fail to execute; as Successors of St. *Peter*; to whom therefore consequently they ascribe it; and sometimes in expres terms; as in that brave apostrophe of P. *Gregory* VII. (the Spirit of which Pope hath possessed his Successors generally) *Go to therefore* (said he, directing his Speech to Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*) *most Holy Princes of the Apostles, and what I have said confirm by your Authority, that now at length all men may understand, whether ye can bind and loose; that also ye can take away and give on Earth Empires, Kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have.*

Hâc itaque fiduciâ fretus, &c. Excommun. Henrici R. in Concil. Rom. 3. *sub* Greg. 7. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 484.

Agite Apostolorum Sanctissimi Principes, &c. Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. In Concil.* Rom. 6. *apud* Bin. *p.* 491.

Now if the assuming and exercising such Powers be not that καταυθεύειν, and καταξιάζειν, that exalting ones self, that being called Rabbi, Father, Master, which our Lord prohibiteth, what is so? what then can those words signify? what could our Lord mean?

The Authority therefore which they assign to Saint *Peter*, and assume to themselves from him, is voided by those Declarations and Precepts of our Lord; the which it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord would have proposed, if he had designed to constitute Saint *Peter* in such a Supremacy over his Disciples and Church.

7. Surveying particulars, we shall not find any peculiar administration committed to Saint *Peter*, nor any privilege conferred on him, which was not also granted to the other Apostles.

Was Saint *Peter* an Ambassador, a Steward, a Minister, a Vicar (if you please) or Surrogate of *Christ*; so were they, by no less immediate and expres warrant than he; for *As the Father sent me, so also I send you*, said our Lord presently before his departure; by those words (as St. *Cyprian* remarketh) *granting an equal Power to all the Apostles*; and *We* (saith St. *Paul*) *are Ambassadors for Christ; we pray you in Christ's stead be reconciled to God*; and, *So let a man esteem us as the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God.*

Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat & dicat, Sicut, &c. Cypr. *de Un. Eccl:*

2 Cor. 5. 20.
1 Cor. 4. 1. 2 Cor. 6. 4.

Was Saint *Peter* a Rock, on which the Church was to be founded? Be it so; but no less were they all; for the Wall of *Jerusalem*, which *came down from Heaven*, had *twelve foundations, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb*; and *We* (saith Saint *Paul*) *are all built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Christ himself being the chief Corner-stone*; whence *Equally* (saith St. *Hierom*) *the strength of the Church is settled upon them.*

Matt. 16. 18.
Apoc. 21. 10, 14.
Eph. 2. 20.

Ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Was Saint *Peter* an Architect of the *Spiritual house* (as himself called the Church?) so were also they; for *I* (saith Saint *Paul*) *as a wise Master-builder have laid the Foundation.*

1 Pet. 2. 5.
1 Cor. 3. 10.

Were *the Keys* of the Church (or *of the Kingdom of Heaven*) committed to him? So also were they unto them; They had a Power to open and shut it by effectual instruction and persuasion, by dispensation of the Sacraments, by exercise of Discipline, by exclusion of scandalous and heretical Persons; Whatever faculty the Keys did import, the

Matt. 16. 19.

Apostles

Apostles did use it in the foundation, guidance and government of the Church; and did (as the Fathers teach) impart it to those, whom they did in their stead constitute to feed and govern the Church.

Had Saint *Peter* a Power given him of binding and loosing effectually? So had they, immediately granted by our Saviour, in as full manner, and couched in the same terms; *If thou shalt bind on Earth, it shall be bound in Heaven*, said our Lord to him; and *Whatsoever things ye shall bind on Earth, they shall be bound in Heaven*, said the same Divine mouth to them. Matt. 16. 19. Matt. 18. 18.

— ὅπε γε καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν προβεβλημένοις ἀξίωμα, τὴν αὐτὴν προσεῖναι τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐξουσίαν πιστεύομεν. Phot. *Cod.*283. *p.* 1600.

Those, who by Succession from them (*viz.* the Apostles,) were endowed with Episcopal Authority, we believe to have the same Power of binding and loosing.

Had he a privilege to remit and retain sins? it was then by virtue of that common grant or promise; *Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Joh. 20. 23.

Had he power and obligation to feed the Sheep of *Christ* (all or some?) so had they indefinitely and immediately: so had others by Authority derived from them; who were nominated *Pastors*; who had this charge laid on them: *Take heed unto your selves, and to all the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood*; whom he doth himself exhort, *Feed the Flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof*: Let feeding signify what it can, instruction or guidance, or governance, or all of them together (*Regio more impera*, if you please, as *Bellarmine* will have it) it did appertain to their charge; to teach was a common duty, to lead and to rule were common functions; Saint *Peter* could not, nor would not appropriate it to himself; it is his own exhortation, when he taketh most upon him, *Be mindful of the commandment* (or precept) *of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour.* Eph. 4. 11. Act. 20. 28. 1 Pet. 5. 2. 2 Pet. 3. 2.

Was his commission universal, or unlimited? so was theirs, by the same immediate Authority; for *All Power* (said he to them, when he gave his last charge) *is given to me in Heaven and in Earth, Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I commanded you*, and *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every Creature.* Matt. 28. 19. Mark 16. 15. Luke 24. 47.

They (as St. *Chrysostom* speaketh) *were all in common intrusted with the whole world, and had the care of all Nations.*

Πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. *Tom* 8. *p.*115. *Tom.*5. *Orat.*47. *in* 2 Cor. 11. 28.

Was he furnished with extraordinary gifts, with special graces, with continual directions and assistances for the discharge of the Apostolical Office? so were they; for the *promise* was common of sending the Holy Spirit, *to lead them into all truth*, and *cloathing them with the power from on high*; and of endowing them with Power to perform all sorts of miraculous Works; Our Lord before his departure *breathed into them, and said, Receive ye the Holy Ghost*; *All of them* (saith Saint *Luke*) *were filled with the Holy Ghost*; all of them with confidence and truth could say, *It hath seemed God unto the Holy Ghost, and to us*; all of them did abundantly partake of that character, which Saint *Paul* respected, when he did say, *The Signs of an Apostle were wrought among you, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds.* Luke 24. 49. Joh. 16. 13, 14, 26. Luke 24. 49. Mark 10. 17. Joh. 20. 22. Act. 2. 24. Act. 15. 28. 2 Cor. 12. 11, 12.

Did Saint *Peter* represent the Church as receiving privileges in its behalf; as the Fathers affirm? so did they according to the same Fa-

Cui totius Ecclesiæ figuram gerenti, &c. Aug. *Ep.*165.

thers;

thers; *If therefore* (saith St. *Austin*, citing the famous place, *sicut me misit Pater*) *they did bear the Person of the Church, and this was said to them as if it were said to the Church it self, then the peace of the Church remitteth Sins.*

Ergò si personam gerebant Ecclesiæ, & sic eis hoc dictum est, tanquam ipsi Ecclesiæ diceretur, pax Ecclesiæ dimittit peccata, &c. Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 3. 18.

What singular prerogative then can be imagined appertaining to Saint *Peter?* what substantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other Apostles? Nothing surely doth appear; whatever the Patrons of his Supremacy do claim for him, is precariously assumed, without any fair colour of proof: he for it is beholding not to any testimony of Holy Scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy: We may well infer with Cardinal *Cusanus*; *We know that Peter did not receive more Power from Christ than the other Apostles; for nothing was said to Peter, which was not also said to the other; Therefore* (addeth he) *we rightly say, that all the Apostles were equal to Peter in Power.*

Scimus quòd Petrus nihil plus potestatis à Christo recepit aliis Apostolis; nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non est. Ideo rectè dicimus omnes Apostolos esse æquales cum Petro in potestate. Card. Cus. *de Conc.* Cath. 2. 13.

8. Whereas Saint *Peter* himself did write two *Catholick Epistles*; there doth not in them appear any intimation, any air or savour of pretence to this Arch-apostolical Power. It is natural for Persons endowed with unquestionable Authority (howsoever otherwise prudent and modest) to discover a spice thereof in the matter, or in the style of their writing; their Mind conscious of such advantage will suggest an authoritative way of expression; especially when they earnestly exhort, or seriously reprove, in which cases their very Authority is a considerable motive to assent or compliance, and strongly doth impress any other arguments; But no Critick perusing those *Epistles* would smell a Pope in them. The Speech of Saint *Peter*, although pressing his Doctrine with considerations of this nature, hath no tang of such Authority.

1 Pet. 5. 1. *The Elders,* (saith he) *which are among you, I exhort, who also am an Elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the Glory that shall be revealed*; by such excellent, but common advantages of his Person and Office he presseth on the Clergy his advices.

Had he been what they make him, he might have said, I the peculiar Vicar of *Christ*, and Sovereign of the Apostles do not only exhort, but require this of you; this language had been very proper, and no less forcible; but nothing like this, nothing of the Spirit and Majesty of a Pope is seen in his discourse; there is no *pagina nostræ voluntatis & mandati*, which now is the Papal style; when He speaketh highest, it is in the common name of the Apostles, *Be mindful* (saith he) *of the command* (that is of the Doctrine, and Precepts) *of us the Apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*

τὴ ἐντολῆς. 2 Pet. 3. 2.

9. In the Apostolical History, the proper place of exercising this power (*wherein, as* St. *Chrysostom* saith, *we may see the predictions of Christ which he uttered in the Gospels, reduced to act, and the truth of them shining in the things themselves*) no footstep thereof doth appear.

Καὶ γὰ τὰς προῤῥήσεις ἃς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Χριστὸς προεφώνει, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐνταῦθα ἰδεῖν ἔστιν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμπουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Chrys. *in* Act. 1.

We cannot there discern, that Saint *Peter* did assume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his Brethren was rendered to him as to their Governour or Judge. No instance there doth occur of his laying commands on any one Apostle, or exercising any act of jurisdiction upon any one; but rather to the contrary divers passages are observable, which argue, that he pretended to no such thing

thing, and that others did not understand any such thing belonging to him.

His temper indeed and zeal commonly did prompt him to be most forward in speaking and acting upon any emergency for the propagation or maintenance of the Gospel; and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him, strongly might instigate him thereto; regard to his special gifts, and sufficiency, did incline the rest willingly to yield that advantage to him; and perhaps because upon the considerations before touched, they did allow some preference in order to him; but in other respects, as to the main administration of things, he *is but one among the rest*; not taking upon him in his speech or behaviour beyond others. All things are transacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in cases of difference is made singly to him, no peremptory decision or decree is made by him; no orders are issued out by him alone, or in a special way; in Ecclesiastical Assemblies he acteth but as one member; in deliberations he doth only propound his opinion, and passeth a single vote; his judgment and practice are sometime questioned, but he is put to render an account of them; he doth not stand upon his Authority, but assigneth reasons to persuade his opinion, and justify his actions; yea sometimes he is moved by the rest, receiving orders and employment from them; these things we may discern by considering the instances which follow.

Ὡς θερμὸς, καὶ ὡς ἐμπεδωθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ποιμνίον καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ προστὰς ἀεὶ προτέρου ἄρχει τοῦ λόγου. Chrys. *in* Act. 1. 15.

As being a man hot and earnest, and as intrusted with the flock by Christ, and as the fore-man of the company, he ever begins to speak.

Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἐγένετο διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς — *in* Act. 1. 26.

Probably so it fell out by reason of the signal vertue of the man.

Ἕτερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χοροῦ Chrys. *de Sacerd. Or.* 4.

Ὅρα γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς. Chrys. *in* Act. 1. 16.

Behold him doing all things by common consent; nothing authoritatively, nor imperiously.

In the designation of a new Apostle, to supply the place of *Judas*, he did indeed suggest the matter and lay the case before them, he first declared his sense; but the whole company did chuse two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration.

Act. 1. Act. 1. 15; 21. Act. 23. 26

καὶ ἔστησαν δύο —

At the institution of Deacons, *the twelve did call the multitude of Disciples*, and directed them *to elect* the persons; and the proposal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly; *they chose Stephen*, &c. whom *they set before the Apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.*

Act. 6. 2.

V. 5. καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον.

In that important transaction about the observance of Mosaical Institutions, *a great stir and debate being started*; which Saint *Paul* and Saint *Barnabas* by disputation could not appease, what course was then taken? did they appeal to Saint *Peter* as to the Supreme Dictator and Judge of Controversies? not so; but *they sent to the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem to enquire about the question:* when those great Messengers were arrived there, *they were received by the Church, and the Apostles, and Elders*; and having made their report, *the Apostles and Elders did assemble to consider about that matter.* In this Assembly, *after much debate* passed, and that many had freely uttered their sense, Saint *Peter rose up*, with Apostolical gravity, declaring what his reason and experience did suggest conducing to a resolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded not only upon common reason, but upon special revelation concerning the case; whereupon Saint

Act. 15. Γενομένης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης. Ver. 2. V. 4. V. 6. V. 7.

Act. 15. V. 13 — V. 14. v. 15.

James, alledging that revelation and backing it with reason drawn from Scripture, with much authority pronounceth his judgment: *Therefore*, saith he, *I judge*, (that is, saith St. *Chrysostom*, *I authoritatively say*) *that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them*, &c. And the result was, that according to the proposal of Saint *James*, it was by general consent determined to send a decretal Letter unto the Gentile Christians, containing a Canon or Advice directive of their practice in the case; *It then seemed good to* (or was decreed by) *the Apostles and Elders, with the whole Church, to send*— and the Letter ran thus, *The Apostles and Elders, and Brethren to the Brethren of the Gentiles.*—— Now in all this action, (in his leading precedent for the management of things in Ecclesiastical Synods and Consistories) where can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or preeminence which Saint *Peter* had in respect to the other Apostles? did Saint *Peter* there any-wise behave himself like his pretended Successors upon such occasions? what authority did he claim or use before that Assembly, or in it, or after it; did he summon or convocate it? no, they met upon common agreement: did he preside there? no, but rather Saint *James*, *to whom* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *as Bishop of Jerusalem the Government was committed:* did he offer to curb or check any man, or to restrain him from his liberty of discourse there? no, *there was much disputation*, every man frankly speaking his sense: did he more than use his freedom of speech becoming an Apostle, in arguing the case, and passing his vote? no, for in so exact relation nothing more doth appear: did he form the definitions, or pronounce the Decree resulting? no, Saint *James* rather did that; for (as an ancient Author saith) *Peter did make an Oration, but Saint James did enact the Law:* was, beside his suffrage in the debate, any singular approbation required from him, or did he by any Bull confirm the Decrees? no such matter; these were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In short, doth any thing correspondent to Papal pretences appear assumed by Saint *Peter*, or deferred to him? If Saint *Peter* was such a Man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himself, how did he neglect the right and dignity of his Office, in not taking more upon him, upon so illustrious an occasion, the greatest he did ever meet with? How defective also were the Apostolical College, and the whole Church of *Jerusalem*, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their Sovereign, the Vicar of their Lord? Whatever account may be framed of these defailances, the truth is, that Saint *Peter* then did know his own place and duty better, than men do know them now; and the rest as well understood how it became them to demean themselves; St. *Chrysostom*'s reflections on those passages are very good, that indeed then *there was no fastuousness in the Church*, and *the souls of those primitive Christians were clear of Vanity*; the which dispositions did afterward spring up and grow rankly to the great prejudice of Religion, begetting those exorbitant pretences, which we now disprove.

Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω. V. 19.
Τί ἐστι κρίνω ἐγὼ; ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας λέγω τοῦτο εἶναι. Chrys.

Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c. V. 22.
Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Act. 16. 4.
Κρίναντες ἡμεῖς ἐπεστείλαμεν. Act. 21. 25.

Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τότε ἐπεσκόπευεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προειστήκει πάντων. Chry. Tom. 5. Or. 59.)
Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος —— ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἦν. Chrys. *in loc.*
For he had the Government committed to him —— he was impowered.

Πέτρος δημηγορεῖ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ. Hesych *apud* Phot. *Cod.* 275.

Οὕτως οὐδεὶς τύφος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὕτως καθαρὰ δόξης ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή. Chrys. *ibid.*

Again,

Again, when Saint *Peter* being warned from Heaven thereto, did receive *Cornelius*, a Gentile Souldier, unto Communion; divers good Christians, who were ignorant of the warrantableness of that proceeding (as others commonly were, and Saint *Peter* himself was, before he was informed by that special revelation) did not fear διαμφίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, *to contest with him* about it; not having any notion (as it seemeth) of his Supreme unaccountable Authority (not to say of that infallibility, with which the Canonists and Jesuits have invested him) unto whom Saint *Peter* rendreth a fair account, and maketh a satisfactory Apology for his proceedings; not brow-beating those audacious contenders with his Authority, but gently satisfying them with reason. But if he had known his Power to be such, as now they pretend it to be, he should have done well to have asserted it, even out of Good-will and Charity to those good Brethren; correcting their errour and checking their misdemeanour; shewing them what an enormous presumption it was so to contend with their Sovereign Pastor and Judge.

Act. 10. 28. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἔδειξε — Act. 11. 12. Act. 11. 2.

Bell. *de Pont.* Rom. 4. 3, 4, &c. Act. 11. 18. Ὅρα τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ ἀκενόδοξον, — ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῷ τῆς διδασκάλου ἀξιώματι κεχρῆσθαι. Chrys. See how free he is from pride and vain-glory; see how he excuses himself, and thinks himself not worthy to have the honour of a Master.

Ità ut Petrus quoq; timens ne culparetur ab ipsis. Iren. 3. 12.

N. In the matter at *Antioch* Saint *Peter* did comply with Saint *James*, and the Judaizers, which did not beseem such Authority.

Farther, so far was Saint *Peter* from assuming Command over his Brethren, that he was upon occasion ready to obey their Orders; as we may see by that passage, where upon the conversion of divers persons in *Samaria*, it is said, that *the Apostles hearing it, did send to them Peter and John, who going down prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.* The Apostles sent him, that, had he been their Sovereign, would have been somewhat unseemly and presumptuous; for Subjects are not wont to send their Prince, or Souldiers their Captain; to be sent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himself did teach; *A Servant* (said he) *is not greater than his Lord, nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him.* Saint *Luke* therefore should at least have so expressed this passage, that the Apostles might have seemed to keep their distance, and observed good manners: if he had said, they beseeched him to go, that had sounded well; but *they sent him*, is harsh, if he were *Dominus noster Papa*, as the modern Apostles of *Rome* do style their *Peter*. The truth is, then among Christians there was little standing upon *Punctilio*'s, private considerations and pretences to power then took small place; each one was ready to comply with that which the most did approve, the community did take upon it to prescribe unto the greatest persons, as we see again in another instance, where the Brethren at *Antioch* did *appoint Paul and Barnabas* (the most considerable persons among them) *to go up unto Jerusalem.* They were then *so generous, so merciful, so full of charity, as rather than to cause or foment any disturbance, to recede, or go whither the multitude pleased, and do what was commanded by it.*

Act. 8. 14. Joh. 13. 16. Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Π. καὶ Β. Act. 15. 2. 13. 3. Τίς ἐν ὑμῖν γυναῖος; τίς εὐσλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰ πάτω, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, καὶ ἔρεις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἀναχωρῶ, ἄπειμι ὅ ἐὰν βάλητε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Clem. *ad* Cor. *p.* 69. Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels of compassion? who is full of charity? Let him say, If for my sake there be sedition, and strife, and divisions, I will depart and go whither you would have me, and do what shall be enjoyned me by the multitude.

10. In all relations, which occur in Scripture, about Controversies incident of Doctrine or Practice, there is no appeal made to Saint *Peter*'s Judgment, or allegation of it as decisive, no Argument is built on his

Authority: dissent from his Opinion, or disconformity to his Practice, or disobedience to his Orders are not mentioned as ground of reproof, as aggravation of any errour, any misdemeanour, any disorder; which were very strange, if then he was admitted or known to be the Universal Prince and Pastor of Christians, or the Supreme Judge and Arbitrator of Controversies among them: for then surely the most clear, compendious and effectual way to confute any errour, or check any disorder, had been to alledge the Authority of Saint *Peter* against it; who then could have withstood so mighty a prejudice against his cause? If now a question doth arise about any Point of Doctrine, instantly the Parties (at least one of them, which hopeth to find most favour) hath recourse to the Pope to define it; and his Judgment, with those who admit his pretences, proveth sufficiently decisive, or at least greatly swayeth in prejudice to the opposite Party. If any Heresy, or any Opinion disagreeing from the current sentiments is broached, the Pope presently doth roar, that his voice is heard through Christendom, and thundreth it down; if any Schism or disorder springeth up, you may be sure that *Rome* will instantly meddle to quash it, or to settle matters as best standeth with its Principles and Interests; such influence hath the shadow of Saint *Peter*'s Authority now; but no such regard was then had to poor *Pope Peter* himself; he was not so busy and stirring in such cases: the Apostles did not send Hereticks to be knocked down by his Sentence, nor Schismaticks to be scourged by his Censure, but were fain to use the long way of Disputation, striving to convince them by Testimonies of Scripture, and rational Discourse. If they did use *authority*, it was their own; which they *challenge as given to them by Christ for edification*, or upon account of the more than ordinary gifts and graces of the Divine Spirit, conferred on them by God.

2 Cor. 13. 10. 10. 8. 12. 21. 1 Cor. 4. 2. 2 Thes. 3. 14. 1 Cor. 7. 25, 40. 1 Thes. 4. 8.

11. Saint *Peter* no where doth appear intermedling as a Judge or Governour paramount in such cases; yea where he doth himself deal with Hereticks, and disorderly persons, confuting and reproving them (as he dealeth with divers notoriously such) he proceedeth not as a Pope decreeing, but as an Apostle warning, arguing, and persuading against them.

It is particularly remarkable how Saint *Paul* reproving the factions, which were among Christians at *Corinth*, doth represent the several Parties, saying, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ*; Now supposing the case then had been clear and certain (and if it were not so then, how can it be so now?) that Saint *Peter* was Sovereign of the Apostles, is it not wonderful, that any Christian should prefer any Apostle, or any Preacher before him? as if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the Pope is truly what he pretendeth to be, would any body stand in competition with him, would any glory in a relation to any other Minister before him?

1 Cor. 1. 12. 3. 21.

It is observable how St. *Clemens* reflecteth on this contention; *Ye were* (saith he) *less culpable for that partiality; for ye did then incline to renowned Apostles, and to a man approved by them; but now*, &c.

Ἀλλ' ἡ προσκλισις ἐκείνη ἦττον ἁμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν προσεκλίνατε γὰρ Ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c. Clem. *ad* Corinth. *p* 61.

If it be replied, that *Christ* himself did come into the comparison; I answer that probably no man was so vain, as to compare him with the

the rest, nor indeed could any there pretend to have been baptized by him (which was the ground of the emulation in respect of the others) but those who said they were of *Christ*, were the wise and peaceable sort, who by saying so declined and disavowed faction; whose behaviour Saint *Paul* himself in his discourse commendeth and confirmeth, shewing that all indeed were *of Christ*, the Apostles being only his Ministers to work faith and vertue in them. *None* (saith St. *Austin*) *of those contentious persons were good, except those who said, but I am of Christ.*

1 Cor. 3 5.

Falsum est quòd illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Christi. Aug. cont. Cresc on. 1. 27.

We may also here observe, that Saint *Paul* in reflecting upon these contentions had a fair occasion of intimating somewhat concerning Saint *Peter*'s Supremacy, and aggravating their blameable fondness, who compared others with him.

12. The consideration of the Apostles proceeding in the conversion of people, in the foundation of Churches, and in administration of their spiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of Saint *Peter*'s Jurisdiction over them.

They went about their business not by Order or Licence from St. *Peter*, but according to special instinct and direction of God's Spirit *(being sent forth by the Holy Ghost; going by revelation)* or according to their ordinary prudence, and the habitual *wisdom given unto them*; by those aids, (without troubling St. *Peter* or themselves more) they founded Societies, they ordained Pastors, they framed Rules and Orders requisite for the Edification and good Government of Churches, reserving to themselves a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them; which in effect was only πατρικὴ ἐπιμέλεια, *a paternal care* over them; which they particularly claimed to themselves upon account of spiritual parentage, for that they had begotten them to *Christ*: *If* (saith St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*) *I am not an Apostle to others, I am however so to you?* why so? because he had converted them, and could say, *As my beloved Sons I warn you, for though ye have ten thousand Instructors in Christ, yet ye have not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.* This paternal charge they did exercise without any dependence, or regard to Saint *Peter*, none such appearing, it not being mentioned that they did ever consult his pleasure, or render him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded absolutely, by virtue of their Universal Office and Commission of our Lord.

Ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τ. πνεύμ. ἁγ. Act. 13. 4. 2. 16. 6, 9. Gal. 2. 2. κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν. 2 Pet. 3. 5.

1 Cor. 7. 17. 11. 34. 16. 1.

Tit. 1. 5.

Isid. Pel. 1 Thes. 2. 7, 11. 1 Cor. 9. 2. Act. 18. 1. 1 Cor. 4. 14, 15. Gal. 4. 19.

If it be alledged that Saint *Paul* went to *Jerusalem* to Saint *Peter*; I answer that it was *to visit him* out of respect and love; or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort; or at most to obtain approbation from him and the other Apostles, which might satisfy some doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative instructions from him; it being, as we shall afterwards see, the design of Saint *Paul*'s discourse to disavow any such dependence on any man whatever. So doth St. *Chrysostom* note, *What* (saith he) *can be more humble than this Soul? after so many and so great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his discourse, but being in dignity equal to him (for I will now say no more) he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater and ancien-*

Gal. 1. 18. ἱστορῆσαι.

Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς; μὴ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα κατορθώματα μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενον, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμον ὂν αὐτῷ (πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως) ὅμως ἀνέρχεται ὡς πρὸς μείζονα, καὶ πρεσβύτερον· καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκεῖ γίνεται αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέ-

ter;

τρὸς μόνον. —— ἐχ ὡς μαθησόμενός τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς διορθωσίν τινα δεξόμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ. Chrys. *in* Gal. 1. 18.

ter; and a sight alone of Peter is the cause of his journey thither. ---- And *He went* (saith he again) *not to learn any thing of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might see him, and honour him with his presence.*

And indeed that there was no such deference of the Apostles to Saint *Peter*, we may hence reasonably presume, because it would then have been not only impertinent and needless, but inconvenient and troublesome. For,

13. If we consider the nature of the Apostolical Office, the state of things at that time, and the manner of Saint *Peter*'s Life; in correspondence to those things, he will appear uncapable, or unfit to manage such a jurisdiction over the Apostles as they assign him.

The nature of the Apostolical Ministry was such, that the Apostles were not fixed in one place of residence, but were continually moving about the World, or *in procinctu*, ready in their gears to move whither Divine suggestions did call them, or fair occasion did invite them, for the propagation or furtherance of the Gospel.

2 Cor. 11. 25. Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἤμελλον τὴν οἰκουμένης ἅπασαν ἀναδέχεσθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία. Chrys. *in* John 21. 23.

For seeing they were to take upon them the inspection and superintendency of all the World, it behoved them not any longer to be mixt or conjoyned together, for this had been a great loss and hinderance to the World.

1 Cor 4.9. 2 Cor 4.8. 6.4. 11.25. Matt. 24.9. Luke 21. 12. The state of things was not favourable to the Apostles, who were discountenanced and disgraced, persecuted, and driven from one place to another; (as our Lord foretold of them) Christians lay scattered about at distant places, so that opportunities of dispatch for conveyance of instructions from him, or of accounts to him were not easily found.

Euseb. 3. 1. Niceph. 2. 38,39,40. Tertul. *ad* Jud. *cap.* 7

* Ὁ δὲ οἰκουμένῳ σαλεύσας, καὶ τῷ θείῳ πίστεως δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφήνας. Bas. Seleuc. *Or.* 2.

He that run his race through the whole Universe, and by his so eager running for the Faith made the World as it were too narrow for him.

Col. 1. 6. 23. Rom. 10. 18.

Saint *Thomas* preaching in *Parthia*, Saint *Andrew* in *Scythia*, Saint *John* in *Asia*, *Simon Zelote* in *Britain*, * Saint *Paul* in many places; other Apostles and Apostolical men in *Arabia*, in *Æthiopia*, in *India*, in *Spain*, in *Gaul*, in *Germany*, *in the whole World*, *and in all the Creation under Heaven* (as Saint *Paul* speaketh) could not well maintain correspondence with Saint *Peter*; especially considering the manner of his Life, which was not settled in any one known place, but movable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide World, preaching the Gospel, converting, confirming and comforting Christian People, as occasion starting up did induce; how then could he conveniently dispense all about his ruling and judging influence? how in cases incident could direction be fetched from him, or reference be made to him by those subordinate Governors, who could not easily know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To send to him had been to shoot at rovers, affairs therefore which should depend on his resolution and orders must have had great stops; he could but very lamely have executed such an office; so that his jurisdiction must have been rather an extreme inconvenience and encumbrance, than any-wise beneficial or useful to the Church.

Gold and Silver he had none, or a very small Purse to maintain Dependents and Officers to help him; (Nuncio's, Legates *à latere*, Secretaries, Auditors, *&c.*) Infinity of affairs would have oppressed a poor helpless man, and to bear such a burthen as they lay on him no one could be sufficient.

14.

14. It was indeed most requisite, that every Apostle should have a complete, absolute, independent Authority in managing the concerns and duties of his Office; that he might not any-wise be obstructed in the discharge of them; not clogged with a need to consult others, not hampered with orders from those who were at distance, and could not well descry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of him who had promised to be *perpetually present with them*, and by his Holy Spirit to guide, to instruct, to admonish them upon all occasion, was abundantly sufficient; they did not want any other conduct or aid beside that special Light and powerful Influence of Grace, which they received from him; the which ἱκάνωσεν ἀυτὰς, *did* (as Saint *Paul* speaketh) *render them sufficient Ministers of the New Testament.* Matt. 28. 20. Joh. 16. 13. 14. 26. 2 Cor. 3. 5. Rom. 15. 15.

Accordingly their discourse and practice do thoroughly savour of such an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true, which *Bellarmine* dictateth, that *the Apostles depended on Saint Peter, as on their head, and commander.*

—— *à quo illi tanquam à capite, & imperatore suo pendebant.* Bellarm. *de Pont.* 1. 16.

15. Particularly the discourse and behaviour of Saint *Paul* towards Saint *Peter* doth evidence, that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any subjection to him.

Saint *Paul* doth often purposely assert to himself an independent and absolute power, inferiour or subordinate to none other, insisting thereon for the enforcement or necessary defence of his Doctrine and Practice; '*I have become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me*, (saith he) alledging divers pregnant arguments to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his Office, the tenour of his proceedings in the discharge of it, the success of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of other Apostles. 2 Cor. 12. 11. Rom. 11. 13.

As for his call and commission to the Apostolical Office, he maintaineth (as if he meant designedly to exclude those pretences, that other Apostles were only called *in partem solicitudinis* with Saint *Peter*) that he was *an Apostle not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*; that is, that he derived not his Office immediately or mediately from men, or by the ministry of any man; but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the History plainly sheweth, in which our Lord telleth him, that he did *Constitute him an Officer, and a chosen instrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles.* Bell. 1. 9, 14, 16. Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου. Gal. 1. 1. † Προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην, &c. Act. 9. 15. 22. 21.

Hence he so often is careful and cautious to express himself an Apostle by *the will* and special *grace*, or favour and appointment, and command of God; and particularly telleth the *Romans*, that *by Christ he had received grace, and Apostleship.* Θελήματι Θεοῦ. 1 Cor. 1. 1. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Eph. 1. 1. Col. 1. 1. 2 Tim. 1. 1. Χάριτι. 1 Cor. 15. 10. Eph. 3. 7. 1 Tim. 1. 12. 2 Tim. 1. 12. Κατ' ἐπιταγήν. 1 Tim. 1. 1. Rom. 1. 5.

For the warrant of his Office, he doth not alledge the allowance of Saint *Peter*, or any other, but those special gifts and graces which were conspicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performances; *Truly*, saith he, *the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds*; and *I will not dare to speak of any of those things, which Christ hath not wrought by me to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.* 2 Cor. 12. 12. Rom. 15. 18, 19. 1 Cor. 2. 4.

To

To the same purpose he alledgeth his successful industry in converting men to the Gospel; *Am I not an Apostle?* (saith he) *are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an Apostle to others, I am surely one to you; for the seal of mine Apostleship are ye in the Lord.* And, *By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace which was on me became not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all.*

1 Cor. 9. 1. — 1 Cor. 15. 10. 2 Cor. 11. 23.

In the discharge of his Office, he immediately (after that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour) without consulting or taking licence from any man, did vigorously apply himself to the work, *Immediately*, saith he, *I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them, that before me were Apostles*, so little did he take upon himself to be accountable to any man.

Gal. 1. 16, 17.

In settling order, and correcting irregularities in the Church, he professed to act merely by his own Authority, conferred on him by our Lord; *Therefore* (saith he) *being absent* I write these things, *that being present I may not use severity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for destruction.*

2 Cor. 13. 10. 10. 8.

Such being the privileges, which he did assert to himself with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other Apostles, but the chief of them, *knowing the grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right-hand of fellowship*; in token of their acknowledgment and allowance of his proceedings.

Gal. 2. 9.

Upon these considerations (plainly signifying his absolute independence in the reception and execution of his Office,) he doth more than once affirm (and in a manner *boast*) himself *to be inferior in nothing to the very chief Apostles*; in nothing, that is in nothing pertinent to the Authority, or substantial Dignity of his place; for as to his personal merit he professeth himself *much less than the least of the Apostles*, but as to the authentickness and authority of his Office he deemed himself equal to the greatest; *being by the grace of God what he was; a Minister of the Gospel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was given him according to the effectual working of his power.*

2 Cor. 12. 16, 17. 2 Cor. 12. 11. 11. 5. 1 Cor. 15. 9. Eph. 3. 8. 1 Cor. 15. 10. Eph. 3. 7.

When he said he was *behind none*, he could not forget Saint *Peter*; when he said *none of the chief*, he could not but especially mean him (he did indeed, as St. *Chrysostom* saith, intend *to compare himself with St. Peter*;) when he said *in nothing*, he could not but design that which was most considerable, the Authority of his place; which in the context he did expressly mention. For when he objected to himself the semblance of fondness or arrogance in speaking after that manner, he declared that he did not speak rashly or vainly, but upon serious consideration, and with full assurance, finding it very needful or useful to maintain his Authority, or to *magnify his Office*, as he otherwhere speaketh.

Περὶ τοῦ μὲν Πέτρου ποιούμενος τὴν σύγκρισιν. 2 Cor. 11. 5. Κατὰ παρόρθωσιν. 2 Cor. 12. 11. 1. 16, 17. Rom. 11. 13.

If things had been, as now we are taught from the *Roman* School, it is strange, that Saint *Paul* should compare himself so generally, not excepting Saint *Peter*; that he should express (nor by the least touch intimate) no special consideration for his, as they tell us, *ordinary Pastor*; that he should not consider how liable such words were to be interpreted in derogation to Saint *Peter*'s due Prerogatives.

Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 11.

But it is no wonder, that Saint *Paul*, in Saint *Peter*'s absence, should thus stand on his own legs, not seeming to mind him, whenas in immediate transactions with him he demeaned himself as his fellow, yielding to him no respect or deference as to his Superior. For,

When Saint *Paul* went to *Jerusalem* to have conference with Saint *Peter*, and other Apostles, who were chief in repute, he professeth, that

they

they did not confer any thing to him, so as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary course of practice, which was different from theirs; this was (it seemeth) hardly proper or seemly for him to to say, if Saint *Peter* had been his Sovereign; but he seemeth to say it on very purpose, to exclude any ~~any~~ prejudice that might arise to his Doctrine from their authority or repute; their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the case; for *whatsoever* (addeth he) *they were, it maketh no matter to me, God respecteth no man's person*; the which might well be said of Persons greater in common esteem, but not so well of one was his Superior in Office; to whose opinion and conduct, as of his Judge and Pastor by God's appointment, he did owe a special regard. Gal. 2. 2. Gal. 2. 6.

Again, St. *Paul* at *Antioch observing St. Peter out of fear* and policy to act otherwise than became the simplicity and sincerity of Christians, to the prejudice of *Evangelical Truth*, Charity and Liberty, against his own judgment and former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the same unwarrantable course of behaviour, did *withstand him to the face*, did *openly reprove him before all, because he was blamable*, did as P. *Gelasius* I. affirmeth (to excuse another Pope misbehaving himself) *worthily confute him*; did (as St. *Augustine* often doth affirm and urge, in proof that greatest Persons may sometimes err and fail,) *correct him, rebuke him, chide him.* Gal. 2. 12, 13, 14.

(*Vid.* P. Pelag. *II. apud* Bin. *Tom.* 4. *p.* 308. *in Epist. ad* Eliam.)

V. 11. 14.
Nunquid ideò aut illa ejus sequenda sunt, quæ meritò ejus Co apostolus ejus facta redarguit. Gelas. *I. de* Anath. *(apud* Bin. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 645.)

Apostolo Paulo monstrante, & corrigente, Aug. *c.* Cresc on, 1. 32. 2. 32. *Ep.* 19. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 1. 2. *correptus cont. Don.* 2. 1. *objurgavit. Ep.* 8.

——*qui de minore causa conversationis ambiguæ Petro ipsi non pepercit.* Tert. 5. 3. *(contra* Marc.)

——who for a smaller matter of doubtful conversation spared not Peter himself.

Cùm laudetur etiam Pauli minimi Apostolorum sana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum Apostolorum primum adductum in hypocrisin, & non rectâ viâ incedentem ad veritatem Evangelii fidenter improbans, in faciem illi restitit, eúmque coràm omnibus coràm objurgavit. Fac. *Her.* 8. 6.

Whereas the sound reason and freedom even of Paul the least of the Apostles, is commended, in that, when Peter the chief of the Apostles was carried away with dissimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the Gospel, he boldly dislik'd, and withstood him to the face, and reprov'd him openly before all.

Which behaviour of Saint *Paul* doth not well consist with the *Supposition, That Saint Peter was his Superior in Office*; if that had been, *Porphyrius* with good colour of reason might have objected *procacity* to Saint *Paul* in taxing his betters; for he then indeed had shewed us no commendable pattern of demeanour towards our Governors, in so boldly opposing Saint *Peter*, in so openly censuring him, in so smartly confuting him. Hier. *ad* Aug. *Ep.* 11. *in Prol. ad* Gal.

More unseemly also it had been to report the business as he doth in writing to the *Galatians*; for to divulge the miscarriages of Superiors, to revive the memory of them, to register them, and transmit them down to all posterity, to set forth our clashing and contests with them, is hardly allowable; if it may consist with justice and honesty, it doth yet little savour of gravity and modesty: It would have been more seemly for Saint *Paul* to have privately and humbly remonstrated to Saint *Peter*, than openly and down-rightly to have reprehended him; at least it would have become him in cold blood to have represented his carriage more respectfully, consulting the honour of the Universal Pastor, whose reputation was like to suffer by such a representation of his proceedings. Pope *Pelagius* II. would have taught Saint *Paul* better manners; who saith, that *they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who do reprove or accuse their Prelates*; and Pope *Gregory*

Non sunt consentiendi, sed reprobandi, qui prælatos suos reprehendunt vel accusant. Pelag. *II. Ep.* 2.

Bonis subditis sic præpositorum suorum, mala displicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent. Greg. M. *Moral.* 25. 15.

Admonendi sunt subditi, nè præpositorum suorum vitam temerè judicent, siquid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, &c. Greg. *Past. part.* 3 *cap.* 1. *Admon.* 5.

would have taught him another lesson, namely, that *the evils of their Superiors do so displease good Subjects, that however they do conceal them from others*; and *Subjects are to be admonished, that they do not rashly judge the life of their Superiors, if perhaps they see them do blamably*, &c.

It is plain, that Saint *Paul* was more bold with Saint *Peter*, than any man now must be with the Pope; for let the Pope commit never so great crimes, yet *no mortal* (saith the Canon Law) *presume to reprove his faults.*

Grat. *dist.* 40. *cap.* 6.

But if Saint *Peter* were not in Office superior to Saint *Paul*, but his Collegue, and equal in Authority, although preceeding him in standing, repute, and other advantages; then Saint *Paul*'s free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable, but wholesom, and deserving for edification to be recited and recorded; as implying an example how Collegues upon occasion should with freedom and sincerity admonish their Brethren of their errours and faults; Saint *Peter*'s carriage in patiently bearing that correption also affording another good pattern of equanimity in such cases; to which purpose * St. *Cyprian* (alledged and approved by † St. *Austin*) doth apply this passage; *for* (saith he) *neither Peter whom the Lord first chose, and upon whom he built his Church, when Paul afterward contested with him about circumcision, did insolently challenge, or arrogantly assume any thing to himself, so as to say that he did hold the primacy, and that rather those who were newer and later Apostles ought to obey him, neither despised he Saint Paul, because he was before a persecutor of the Church, but he admitted the counsel of truth, and easily consented to the lawful course, which Saint Paul did maintain; yielding indeed to us a document both of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own things, but should rather take those things for ours which sometimes are profitably and wholesomly suggested by our Brethren and Collegues, if they are true and lawful*; this St. *Cyprian* speaketh, upon supposition that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* were equals, or (as he calleth them) Collegues and Brethren, in rank co-ordinate; otherwise St. *Cyprian* would not have approved the action; for he often severely doth inveigh against Inferiors taking upon them to censure their Superiors; *What tumour* (saith he) *of pride, what arrogance of mind, what inflation of heart, is it to call our Superiors and Bishops to our cognisance?* St. *Cyprian* therefore could not conceive Saint *Peter* to be Saint *Paul*'s Governor, or Superior in Power; he doth indeed plainly enough in the forecited words signify that in his Judgment Saint *Peter* had done *insolently and arrogantly*, if he had assumed any *obedience* from Saint *Paul*. St. *Austin* also doth in several places of his Writings make the like application of this passage.

* *Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit,* &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 71. (*ad* Quint.)

† Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 2.

Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio ad cognitionem suos præpositos & Sacerdotes vocare? Cypr. *Ep.* 69.

Aug. *c. Don. de Bapt.* 2. 1, 2. *Ep.* 19.

The ancient Writer contemporary to St. *Ambrose*, and passing under his name, doth argue in this manner; *Who dared resist Peter the first Apostle, to whom the Lord did give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but another such a one; who in assurance of his election knowing himself to be not unequal to him, might constantly disprove what he had unadvisedly done?*

Nam quis eorum auderet Petro primo Apostolo, cui claves regni cœlorum Dominus dedit, resistere, nisi alius talis, qui fiduciâ electionis suæ, sciens se non imparem, constanter improbaret quod ille sine consilio fecerat? Ambr. *in* Gal. 2. 9.

Paulus Petrum reprehendit, quod non auderet, nisi se non imparem sciret. (Hieron *vel alius ad* Gal. *citatus à* Grat. *Caus.* 2. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 33.)

Paul reprehended Peter, which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himself to be equal to him.

It

It is indeed well known, that *Origen*, and after him St. *Chrysostom* and St. *Hierom*, and divers of the Ancients beside, did conceive that Saint *Paul* did not seriously oppose or tax Saint *Peter*, but did only do it seemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good design.

S. Cyril. c. Jul. *lib.* 9. (*p.* 325.) Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. οὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς. Aug. *Ep.* 11.

This interpretation, however strained and earnestly impugned by Saint *Austin*, I will not discuss; but only shall observe, that it being admitted doth rather strengthen than weaken our discourse: for, if Saint *Peter* were Saint *Paul*'s Governor, it maketh Saint *Peter* to have consented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and scandalous; and how can we imagine, that Saint *Peter* would have complotted to the impairing his own just Authority in the eye of a great Church? doth not such a condescension imply in him a disavowing of Superiority over Saint *Paul*, or a conspiracy with him to overthrow good Order?

To which purpose we may observe, that St. *Chrysostom*, in a large and very elaborate discourse, wherein he professeth to endeavour *an aggravation* of the irregularity of Saint *Paul*'s demeanour, if it were serious; doth not lay the stress of that aggravation upon Saint *Paul*'s opposing his lawful Governor; but his only so treating a *Co-apostle* of such eminency: neither when to that end he designeth to reckon all the advantages of Saint *Peter* beyond Saint *Paul*, or any other Apostle, doth he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpose, that he was Saint *Paul*'s Governour; which observations if we do carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine, that St. *Chrysostom* had any notion of Saint *Peter*'s Supremacy in relation to the Apostles.

Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Καὶ γὰρ αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ μείζονα ποιῶ, &c.

Ὡς οὐδέν μοι ὄφελος ἂν Πέτρον τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀποσκευασαμένου, ὁ Παῦλος φαίνεται θαρσαλέως, καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως τοῦ συναποστόλου κατηγορῶν ——

So that 'tis no advantage to me, if, when Peter has confuted the charge, Paul appear to accuse his Fellow-Apostle boldly and inconsiderately.

In fine, the drift of Saint *Paul*, in reporting those passages concerning himself, was not to disparage the other Apostles, nor merely to commend himself, but to fence the truth of his Doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his Disciples against any prejudice that mighr arise from any authority, that might be pretended in any considerable respects superior to his, and alledged against them; to which purpose he declareth by arguments and matters of fact, that his Authority was perfectly Apostolical, and equal to the greatest; even to that of Saint *Peter* the prime Apostle, of Saint *John* the beloved Disciple, of Saint *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem*; the judgment or practice of whom, was no law to him, nor should be to them, farther than it did consist with that Doctrine, which he by an independent Authority, and by special *revelation from Christ* did preach unto them:) He might (as St. *Chrysostom* noteth) have pretended *to some advantage over them*, in regard that he *had laboured more abundantly than they all*, but he forbeareth to do so, *being contented to obtain equal advantages.*

Gal. 1. 12.

Καὶ ταύτημάλιστα τῶν Ἀποστόλων πλεονεκτήσας, περισσότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκοπίασα, φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τέως οὐ κατασκευάζει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φέρων. Chrys. *in* Gal. 1. 1.

Well therefore, considering the disadvantage with this passage bringeth to the *Roman* pretence might this History be called by *Baronius*, *a History hard to be understood, a stone of offence, a rock of scandal, a rugged place, which Saint Austin himself, under favour, could not pass over without stumbling.*

Baron. *An.* 51. § 32.--- 34, 35. &c.

Ro.11.13. It may also be considered, that Saint *Paul* particularly doth assert to himself an independent authority over the *Gentiles*, co-ordinate to that which Saint *Peter* had over the *Jews*; the which might engage him so earnestly to contest with Saint *Peter*, as by his practice seducing those, who belonged to his charge; the which also probably moved him thus to assert his authority to the *Galatians*, as being *Gentiles* under his care, and thence obliged especially to regard his authority. *They* (saith Saint *Paul*) *knowing that I was entrusted with the Gospel of uncircumcision, as Peter* was entrusted *with that of circumcision, —— gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship*; the which words do clearly enough signify, that he took himself, and that the other Apostles took him to have under *Christ* an absolute charge, subordinate to no man, over the *Gentiles*; whence he claimeth to himself, as the burthen, *the care of all the Churches*; he therefore might well contest for their liberty, he might well insist upon his authority among them.

Plena authoritas Petro in Judaismi prædicatione data dignoscitur, & Pauli perfecta authoritas in prædicatione Gentium invenitur. Ambr.

There is discerned a full authority given to Peter of preaching to the Jews, and in Paul there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles.

Gal.1.6,7.

2 Cor. 11. 28.

Τὸν μὲν ἐν Ἰουδαίοις ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπέστησεν ὁ Χριστός. Chrys. T.5. Or.59.

Δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπὸν. καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἄλλοις ἐξισοῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔλαχε τιμὴν ἀπόστολος ἀξίας. Chrys. *in* Gal.2.8.

Thus did St. *Chrysostom* understand the case; for *Christ* (saith he) *committed the Jews to Peter, but set Paul over the Gentiles*; and, *He* (saith that great Father) *farther doth shew himself to be equal to them in dignity, and compareth himself not only to the others, but even to the ring-leader; shewing that each did enjoy equal dignity.*

It may also by any prudent Considerer easily be discerned, that if Saint *Peter* had really been as they assert him, so in Authority superior to the other Apostles, it is hardly possible, that Saint *Paul* should upon these occasions express nothing of it.

16. If Saint *Peter* had been appointed Sovereign of the Church, it seemeth that it should have been requisite, that he should have outlived all the Apostles; for then either the Church must have wanted a Head, or there must have been an inextricable Controversy about who that Head was. Saint *Peter* dyed long before Saint *John* (as all agree) and perhaps before divers other of the Apostles. Now, after his departure, did the Church want a Head? (then it might before, and after have none; and our Adversaries lose the main ground of their pretence) did one of the Apostles become Head? (which of them was it; upon what ground did he assume the Headship, or who conferred it on him; who ever did acknowledge any such thing, or where is there any report about it?) was any other person made Head? (suppose the Bishop of *Rome*, who only pretendeth thereto;) then did Saint *John*, and other Apostles become subject to one in degree inferior to them; then what becometh of Saint *Paul*'s *first Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers*? what do all the Apostolical privileges come to, when Saint *John* must be at the command of *Linus*, and *Cletus*, and *Clemens*, and of I know not who beside? was it not a great absurdity for the Apostles to truckle under the *Pastors, and Teachers of Rome*?

1 Cor.12. 28.

Eph.4.11.

The like may be said for Saint *James*, if he (as the *Roman* Church doth in its *Liturgicks* suppose) were an Apostle; who in many respects might claim the preeminence. Who therefore in the Apostolical Constitutions is preferred before *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*.

17. Upon the same grounds, on which a Supremacy of power is claimed to Saint *Peter*, other Apostles might also challenge a Superiority therein

therein over their Brethren; but to suppose such a difference of power among the rest is absonous; and therefore the grounds are not valid, upon which Saint *Peter*'s Supremacy is built.

I instance in Saint *James* and Saint *John*, who upon the same probabilities had (after Saint *Peter*) a preferenc to the other Apostles. For to them our Saviour declared a special regard; to them the Apostles afterwards may seem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances seem to have surpassed; they, (after Saint *Peter* and his Brother) were first called to the Apostolical Office; they (as Saint *Peter*) were by our Lord new Christned (as it were) and nominated *Boanerges*, by a name signifying the efficacy of their endeavour in their Master's service; they, together with Saint *Peter*, were assumed to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our Lord in his agony; they also, with Saint *Peter* (others being excluded) were taken to attest our Lord's performance of that great Miracle, of restoring the Ruler's Daughter to life; they, presuming on their special favour with our Lord, did pretend to the chief places in his Kingdom.

Matt. 4. 21. Luk. 5. 10. Mar. 3. 17. Matt. 17. 1. 2 Pet. 1. 16. Matt. 26. 37. Mark 14. 15. Matt. 20. 20. Mark 10. 35. Mark 10. 37.

To one of them it is expressed that our Saviour did bear a peculiar affection, he being *the Disciple whom Jesus loved*, and *who leaned on his bosom*; to the other he particularly discovered himself after his Resurrection, and first honoured him with the Crown of Martyrdom.

Joh. 13. 23. 21. 7, 20. 1 Cor. 15. 7.

They in blood and cognation did nearest touch our Lord; being his Cousin Germans; (which was esteemed by the Ancients a ground of preferment;) as *Hegesippus* reporteth.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντες ἡγήσασθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν δὴ μάρτυρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου. Hegesipp. *apud* Euseb. 3. 20. They being dismist and sent away to govern the Churches, as being both Wstnesses, and also Kinsmen of our Lord.

Their industry and activity in propagation of the Gospel was most eminently conspicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that Saint *James* did first Suffer for it, and Saint *John* did longest persist in the faithful Confession of it; whose Writings in several kinds do remain as the richest magazines of Christian Doctrine, furnishing us with the fullest Testimonies concerning the Divinity of our Lord, with special Histories of his Life, and with his divinest Discourses; with most lively incitements to Piety and Charity; with prophetical Revelations concerning the state of the Church. He therefore was one of the στύλοι, chief Pillars and Props of the Christian Profession, one of the ὑπερλίαν Ἀπόστολοι, *the Superlative Apostles.*

Acts 12. 2. Gal. 2. 9. 2 Cor. 12. 11. 11. 5. Mar. 3. 17.

Accordingly in the Rolls of the Apostles, and in reports concerning them, their names usually are placed after Saint *Peter*.

Act. 1. 13.

Hence also some of the Fathers do take them, as Saint *Peter* was, to have been preferred by our Lord *; *Peter* (saith Saint *Gregory Nazianzen*) *and James and John, who both were indeed, and were reckoned before the others---- so indeed did Christ himself prefer them*; and *Peter, James and John*, (saith *Clemens Alex.*) *did not as being preferred by the Lord himself, contest for honour, but did chuse James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem*, (or as *Ruffinus* reads, *Bishop of the Apostles.*)

*Λαβὼν τοίνυν τοὺς κορυφαίους. Chrys. *in* Matt. 17. 1. Taking therefore the chief and principal. Διὰ τὶ τούτους παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες. Chrys. *ib.* Wherefore taketh he these only with him? because these were the chief and principal above the others.

Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰακωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀριθμούμενοι ——— αὕτη μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 26.

Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι. (*Ruffinus reddit Apostolorum Episcopum.*) Clem. Alex. *apud* Euseb. 2. 1.

Hence

Hence if by designation of *Christ*, by the Concession of the Apostolical College, by the prefulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground Saint *Peter* had the πρωτεῖα or first place, the δευτερεῖα or next place in the same kind, by like means, upon the same grounds seem to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage did imply difference not in Power but in Order only (not authoritative Superiority, but honorary Precedence) then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The Fathers both in expres terms, and implicitly or by consequence, do assert the Apostles to have been equal or co-ordinate in Power and Authority.

What can be more expres, than that of St. *Cyprian*. *The other Apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honour and power*; and again, *Although our Lord giveth to all the Apostles after his resurrection an equal power, and saith, As the Father sent me, so I send you.*

Hoc erant utiq; & cæteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis.

——— *quamvis Apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, ac dicat,&c.* Cypr. *de Un. Eccl.*

Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῶν ἴσων ἑκάστῳ ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. Chrys. *in* Gal. 2. 8.

What can be more plain than that of St. *Chrysostom*, *Saint Paul sheweth, that each Apostle did enjoy equal dignity?*

Chrys. *in* Gal. 1. 8.

How again could St. *Chrysostom* more clearly signify his Opinion, than when comparing Saint *Paul* to Saint *Peter*, he calleth Saint *Paul* ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ, *equal in honour to him*, adding, πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως, *for I will not as yet say any thing more*, as if he thought Saint *Paul* indeed the more honourable?

Vide Tert. *de Præscr. cap.* 20.

Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὸ καὶ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἅγιοι μαθηταί. *Act. Con.* Eph. *part.* 1. *p.* 209. Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were also the Apostles, and holy Disciples.

How also could Saint *Cyril* more plainly declare his sense to be the same, than when he called Saint *Peter* and Saint *John* ἰσοτίμους ἀλλήλοις, *equal to one another in honour?*

Did *Tertullian* think Saint *Paul* inferior to Saint *Peter*, when he said, *It is well that Peter is even in martyrdom equalled to Paul? Bene quòd Petrus Paulo & in martyrio adæquatur.* Tert. *de Præscr.* 24.

At dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licèt id ipsum alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, & ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur. Hieron. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Did not St. *Hierom* also sufficiently declare his mind in the case, when he saith of the Apostles, that *the strength of the Church is equally setled upon them.*

But you will say, the Church is founded upon Peter, though the same thing in another place is affirmed of all the Apostles, and that,*&c.*

Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν χορυφαῖος, μετὰ τοῦ ὁμοταγοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς δεκάδος. Dionys. *de Eccl.* Hier. *cap.* 5.

Doth not *Dionysius* (the supposed *Areopagite*) call *the Decad of the Apostles co-ordinate with their Foreman*, Saint *Peter?* in conformity, I suppose, to the current judgment of his Age.

Cæteri Apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris & potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi Evangelium prædicaverunt, quibúsq; decedentibus successerunt Episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus Apostolorum. Isid. *Hisp. de Off.* 2. 5.

What can be more full than that of *Isidore*, (whose words shew how long this sense continued in the Church) *The other Apostles did receive an equal share of honour and power*; *who also being dispersed in the whole world did preach the Gospel*; *and to whom departing the Bishops did succeed, who are constituted through the whole world in the Sees of the Apostles.*

By consequence the Fathers do assert this equality, when they affirm (as we before did shew) the Apostolical Office to be absolutely Supreme;

preme; when also they affirm (as afterwards we shall shew) all the Apostles Successors to be equal as such; and particularly that the *Roman* Bishop upon account of his succeeding Saint *Peter* hath no preeminence above his Brethren? for, *whereever a Bishop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, at Alexandria, or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same Priesthood: the force of wealth, and lowness of poverty, doth not render a Bishop more high, or more low; for that all of them are Successors of the Apostles.*

Ubicunq; fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c. Hier. *ad* Evagr. *Ep.* 85.

19. Neither is it to prudential esteem a despicable consideration, that the most ancient of the Fathers, having occasion sometimes largely to discourse of Saint *Peter*, do not mention any such Prerogatives belonging to him.

Clem. *ad* Corinth. Iren. 3 12. 3. 1, 3.

20. The last Argument which I shall use against this Primacy, shall be the insufficiency of those Arguments and Testimonies, which they alledge to warrant and prove it.

If this Point be of so great consequence as they make it; if, as they would persuade us, the subsistence, order, unity and peace of the Church, together with the Salvation of Christians, do depend on it; if, as they suppose, many great points of truth do hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main Article of Faith, and *not only a simple errour, but a pernicious heresy to deny this primacy:* then it is requisite that a clear revelation from God should be producible in favour of it (for upon that ground only such points can firmly stand) then it is most probable, that God (to prevent controversies, occasions of doubt, and excuses for errour about so grand a matter) would not have failed to have declared it so plainly, as might serve to satisfy any reasonable man, and to convince any froward Gainsayer; but no such revelation doth appear; for the places of Scripture which they alledge do not plainly express it, nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair consequence be inferred from them: No man unprepossessed with affection to their side would descry it in them; without thwarting Saint *Peter's* Order, and *wresting the Scriptures* they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their Allegations will appear.

Agitur de summa rei Christianæ, &c. Bell. *præf. ad lib. de Pontif. R.*

Est enim revera non simplex error, sed pernicioſa hæresis negare B. Petri primatum à Christo institutum. Bell. *de Pont. R.* 1. 10.

2 Pet. 3. 16.

I. They alledge those words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occasion of Saint *Peter's* confessing him to be the Son of God, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my Church*; here, say they, Saint *Peter* is declared the Foundation, that is, the sole Supreme Governor of the Church.

Matt. 16. 18. *S. Romana Ecclesia nullis Synodicis institutis cæteris Ecclesiis prælata est, sed Evangelicâ voce Domini & salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit; Tu es Petrus (inquiens) &c.* P. Gelas. 1. *dist.* 21. *cap.* 3.

The Holy Church of Rome is not preferr'd before other Churches by any Synodical Decrees, but has obtain'd the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the Gospel, saying, *Thou art Peter, &c.*

To this I answer.

1. Those words do not clearly signify any thing to their purpose; or they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot suffice to ground so main a point of Doctrine, or to warrant so huge a Pretence; these ought to stand upon down-right, evident and indubitable Testimony.

It is pretty to observe how *Bellarmine* proposeth this Testimony; *of which words* (saith he) *the sense is plain and obvious, that it be understood, that under two metaphors the principate of the whole Church was promised*; as

Quorum verborum planus & obvius sensus est, ut intelligatur sub duabus metaphoris promissum Petro totius Ecclesiæ principatum. Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 10.

if

if that sense could be so plain and obvious, which is couched under two metaphors, and those not very pat or clear in application to their sense.

2. This is manifestly confirmed from that the Fathers and Divines both ancient and modern have much differed in exposition of these words.

Tostat. *in* Matth. 16. *qu.* 67. [*Some* (saith *Abulensis*) *say that this rock is Peter* —— *others say, and better, that it is Christ* —— *others say, and yet better, that it is the confession which Peter maketh.*]

1 Cor. 3. 11. For some interpret *this rock* to be *Christ* himself, of whom Saint *Paul* saith, *Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*

Scio me postea sæpissimè exposuisse, ut super hanc Petram intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus; St. *Austin* telleth us in his Retractations, that he often had expounded the words to this purpose, although he did not absolutely reject that interpretation which made Saint *Peter* the rock; leaving it to the Reader's choice which is the most probable.

Lector. Aug. *Retr.* 1. 21. *Vide* Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 124. *de verb. Dom. in* Matt. *Serm.* 13.

Super hanc, inquit, Petram quam confessus es, ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 124. *& de verb. Dom. in* Matt. *Serm.* 13. (*Tom.* 10.)

Super hanc Petram, id est, super me ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Ans. *in* Matt. 16. 18.

Others (and those most eminent Fathers) do take the rock to be Saint *Peter*'s faith, or profession; *Upon the Rock* (saith the Prince of interpreters) *that is upon the faith of his profession*; and again, *Christ said that he would build his Church on Peter's confession*; and, again (he or another ancient Writer under his name) *upon this rock, he said not upon Peter, for he did not build his Church upon the man but upon his faith.*

Τῇ Πέτρᾳ —— τετέσι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. Chrys. *in* Matt. 16. 18.

—— ἢ Ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν ἐκείνε. Chrys. *in* Joh. 1. 50.

Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ, ἐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· ἔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τὴν ἑαυτῦ Ἐκκλησίαν ᾠκοδόμησε. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 163.

Super hanc igitur confessionis Petram Ecclesiæ ædificatio est. Hil. *de Trin.* 6.

—— Ἀποστόλων τὸ πρῶτον, ἧς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὡς τίνα κιονίδα, καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατέπηξε, ζώνεχώρησε σαλευθῆναι. Theod. *Ep.* 77.

Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητὴς, &c. Orig. *in* Matt. 16. *p.* 275.

Our Lord (saith *Theodoret*) *did permit the first of the Apostles, whose confession he did fix as a pillar or foundation of the Church, to be shaken.*

[Whence *Origen* saith, that *every disciple of Christ is the rock*, in virtue of his agreement with *Peter* in that holy confession.]

This sense even Popes have embraced.

In vera fide persistite, & vitam vestram in Petra Ecclesiæ, hoc est in confessione B. Petri Apostolorum Principis solidate. Greg. M. *Ep.* 3. 33. Persist in the true Faith, and establish and s your life upon the rock of the Church, that is, upon the confession of Blessed Peter the Prince of the Apostles.

Super ista confessione ædificabo Ecclesiam meam. Felix *III. Ep.* 5. *Vide* Nic. *I. Ep.* 2. 6. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 76.

Unus pro omnibus loquens, & Ecclesiæ voce respondens. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

One speaking for all, and answering in the name of the Church.

Cui Ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, Super hanc— Aug. *Ep.* 165.

To whom, representing the whole Church, our Lord saith, *Upon this rock*, &c.

Petrus ex persona omnium Apostolorum profitetur. Hier. *in loc.* Peter professes in the person of all the Apostles.

Others say, that as Saint *Peter* did not speak for himself, but in the name of all the Apostles and of all faithful people, representing the Pastors and people of the Church; so correspondently our Lord did declare, that he would build his Church upon such faithful Pastors and Confessors.

Others do indeed by the rock understand Saint *Peter*'s person, but do not thereby expound to be meant his being Supreme Governor of the Apostles, or of the whole Church.

Vide Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 27. 40. 70. 71. 73. 69. The Divines, Schoolmen and Canonists of the *Roman* Communion do not also agree in exposition of the words; and divers of the most learned

learned among them do approve the interpretation of St. *Chrysostom*.

Now then how can so great a Point of Doctrine be firmly grounded on a place of so doubtful interpretation? how can any one be obliged to understand the words according to their interpretation which Persons of so good sense, and so great Authority do understand otherwise? with what modesty can they pretend that meaning to be clear, which so perspicacious eyes could not discern therein? why may not I excusably agree with St. *Chrysostom*, or St. *Austin*, in understanding the place? may I not reasonably oppose their judgment to the Opinion of any Modern Doctors, deeming *Bellarmine* as fallible in his conceptions, as one of them; why consequently may I not without blame refuse their Doctrine as built upon this place, or disavow the goodness of this proof?

3. It is very evident that the Apostles themselves did not understand those words of our Lord to signify any grant or promise to Saint *Peter* of Supremacy over them; for would they have *contended* for the chief place, if they had understood whose it of right was by our Lord's own positive determination? would they have *disputed* about a question, which to their knowledge by their Master was already stated? would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who should be the greatest in his Kingdom, when they knew that our Lord had declared his will to make Saint *Peter* Viceroy? would the Sons of *Zebedee* have been so foolish and presumptuous as to beg the place, which they knew by our Lord's word and promise fixed on Saint *Peter*? would Saint *Peter* among the rest have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place by our Lord's immutable purpose and infallible declaration assured to him? And if none of the Apostles did understand the words to imply this *Roman* sense, who can be obliged so to understand them? yea who can wisely, who can safely so understand them? for surely they had common sense, as well as any man living now; they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning; their ignorance therefore of this sense being so apparent, is not only a just excuse for not admitting this interpretation, but a strong bar against it.

Luke 22. 14. 24 Mar. 9. 33. 34 Matt. 18. 1.

Matth. 20. 24. Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτησαν.
And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation.

4. This interpretation also doth not well consist with our Lord's answers to the contests, inquiries, and petitions of his Disciples concerning the point of Superiority: for doth he not (if the *Roman* expositions be good) seem upon those occasions not only to dissemble his own word and promise, but to disavow them or thwart them? can we conceive, that he would in such a case of doubt forbear to resolve them, clearly to instruct them, and admonish them of their Duty?

5. Taking the Rock as they would have it to be the Person of Saint *Peter*, and that on him the Church should be built, yet do not the words being a Rock probably denote Government; for what resemblance is there between being a Rock and a Governor; at least what assurance can there be that this *metaphor* precisely doth import that sense; seeing in other respects, upon as fair similitudes, he might be called so?

St. *Austin* saith, *the Apostles were Foundations, because their Authority doth support our weakness.*

Quare sunt fundamenta Apostoli & Prophetæ, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem nostram. Aug. *in* Ps 86.

In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primùm posita est fides Ecclesiæ. Hier. *in* Ps. 86.

St. *Hierom* saith, that they *were Foundations, because the Faith of the Church was first laid in them.*

Πέτρα δὲ ὑψηλὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ὠνόμασται, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐνερριζῶσθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερρῶς καὶ ἐνενδότως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐκ πειρασμῶν ἐναγομένας πληγάς. Bas. *in* Is. 2. *p.* 869.

St. *Basil* saith, that Saint *Peter's Soul was called the Rock, because it was firmly rooted in the Faith, and did hold stiff without giving way against the blows of temptation.*

Petrus à Petra nomen adeptus est, quia primus meruit Ecclesiam fidei firmitate fundare. Chrys. *Serm.* 53.

Chrysologus saith, that *Peter had his name from a Rock, because he first merited to found the Church by firmness of Faith.*

These are fair explications of the *metaphor*, without any reference to Saint *Peter*'s Government.

But however also admitting this, that being such a Rock doth imply Government and Pastoral Charge; yet do they (notwitstanding these grants and suppositions) effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words spoken exclusively in regard to other Apostles, or to import any thing singular to him above or beside them: He might be a governing Rock, so might others be; the Church might be built on him, so it might be on other Apostles; he might be designed a Governor, a great Governor, a principal Governor, so might they also be; this might be without any violence done to those words.

And this indeed was; for all the other Apostles in Holy Scripture are called Foundations, and the Church is said to be built on them.

Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἕνα ἐκεῖνον Πέτρον νομίζεις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν Ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσαις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἑκάστου τῶν Ἀποστόλων, &c. Orig. *in* Matth. 16. *p.* 275.

Eph. 2. 20.

If (saith *Origen*, the Father of Interpreters) *you think the whole Church to be only built on Peter alone, what will you say of John the Son of thunder, and of each of the Apostles?* &c. largely to this purpose.

Petra Christus est, qui donavit Apostolis, ut ipsi quoque Petræ vocentur. Hier. *in* Amos 9. 12.

Dicis super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licèt id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Christ (as St. *Hierom* saith) *was the Rock, and he bestowed on the Apostles, that they should be called Rocks.* And *You say* (saith he again) *that the Church is founded on Peter, but the same in another place is done upon all the Apostles.*

The twelve Apostles (saith another ancient Author) *were the immutable Pillars of orthodoxie, the Rock of the Church.*

Ἐκκλησία — ᾠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ Προφητῶν· ἓν τῶν ὄρεων ὑπῆν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ Πέτρας ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Basil. *in* Isa. 2. *p.* 869.

The Church (saith St. *Basil*) *is built upon the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Peter also was one of the Mountains; upon which Rock the Lord did promise to build his Church.*

Cypr. *Ep.* 71, & 73.

St. *Cyprian* in his disputes with Pope *Stephen* did more than once alledge this place, yet could he not take them in their sense to signify exclusively; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of Power among the Apostles or their Successors. He indeed plainly took these words to respect all the Apostles and their Successors, our Lord taking occasion to promise that to one, which he intended to impart to all for themselves and their Successors; *Our Lord* (saith he) *ordering the honour of a Bishop, and the order of his Church, saith to Peter, I say to thee,* &c. *hence through the turns of times and successions, the ordination of Bishops, and the manner of the Church doth run on, that the Church should be settled upon the Bishops, and every Act of the Church should be governed by the same Prelates:* as therefore he did conceive the Church to be built not on the Pope singularly, but on all

Dominus noster Episcopi honorem, & Ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico—— Inde per temporum & successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio, & Ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cypr. *Ep.* 27. & *de Unit. Eccl.*

all the Bishops; so he thought our Lord did intend to build his Church not upon Saint *Peter* only, but on all his Apostles.

6. It is not said, that the Apostles, or the Apostolical Office should be built on him; for that could not be, seing the Apostles were constituted, and the Apostolical Office was founded before that promise; the words only therefore can import, that according to some meaning he was a Rock, upon which the Church, afterward to be collected, should be built; he was *A Rock of the Church to be built*, as *Tertullian* speaketh; the words therefore cannot signify any thing available to their purpose, in relation to the Apostles.

Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ Ecclesiæ Petram dictum. Tertul. *de Præscr. cap.* 22.

7. If we take Saint *Peter* himself for the Rock, then (as I take it) the best meaning of the words doth import, that our Lord designed Saint *Peter* for a prime Instrument, (the first Mover, the most diligent, and active at the beginning, the most constant, stiff and firm) in the support of his Truth, and propagation of his Doctrine, or conversion of men to the belief of the Gospel; the which is called building of the Church; according to that of St. *Ambrose*, or some ancient *Homilist* under his name; *He is called a Rock, because he first did lay in the Nations the Foundations of Faith:* In which regard as the other Apostles are called Foundations of the Church; (the Church being founded on their labours,) so might Saint *Peter* signally be so called; who (as St. *Basil* saith, allusively interpreting our Saviour's words) *for the excellency of his Faith did take on him the edifying of the Church.*

Πέτρος ἐν Ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν. Chrys. Peter first of all the Apostles preached Christ.

Petra dicitur eò quòd primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit. Ambr. *de Sanctis. Serm.* 2.

Ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑπερόχως ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος. Bas. *contra* Eunom. *lib.* 2.

Petra ædificandæ Ecclesiæ. Tertul. *de præs. c.* 22.

Both he and they also might be so termed, for that upon their testimonies concerning the Life, Death and Resurrection of *Christ*, the Faith of Christians was grounded; as also it stands upon their convincing discourses, their holy practice, their miraculous performances, in all which Saint *Peter* was most eminent; and in the beginning of Christianity displayed them to the edification of the Church.

This interpretation plainly doth agree with matter of fact and history; which is the best interpreter of right or privilege in such cases; for we may reasonably understand our Saviour to have promised that, which in effect we see performed, so *the event sheweth, the Church was built on him, that is by him*; saith *Tertullian*.

Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso Ecclesia extructa est, id est per ipsum, &c. Tert. *de pudic. cap.* 21.

But this sense doth not imply any Superiority of Power, or Dignity granted to Saint *Peter* above his Brethren; however it may signify an advantage belonging to him, and deserving especial respect; as St. *Chrysostom* notably doth set out in these words; *Although John, although James, although Paul, although any other whoever may appear performing great matters; he yet doth surpass them all, who did precede them in liberty of speech, and opened the entrance, and gave to them as to a river carried with a huge stream to enter with great ease:* Doing this, as, I say, it might signify his being a Rock of the Church, so it denoteth an excellency of merit, but not a Superiority in Power.

Κἂν Ἰωάννης, κἂν Ἰάκωβος, κἂν Παῦλος κἂν ἄλλος ὁστισοῦν μὲν πολλὰ μέγα τι ποιῶν φαίνῃ, ἅπαντων οὗτος πλεονεκτεῖ, ὁ προφθάσας αὐτῶν τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ, καὶ διανοίξας τὴν εἴσοδον, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμὸν πολλῷ ῥεύματι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας εἰσελθεῖν, &c. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

8. It may also be observed, that Saint *Peter* before the speaking of those Words by our Lord may seem to have had a Primacy, intimated by the Evangelists, when they report his call to the Apostolical Office; and by his behaviour, when in this confession, and before in the like, he undertook to be their mouth and Spokesman; when *not being unmindful of his place* (saith St. *Ambrose*) *he did act a Primacy*; *a Primacy* (addeth that *Father*) *of Confession, not of honour*; *of Faith, not of order*; his Primacy therefore (such as he had) cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore possessed of it, and (as St. *Ambrose* conceived) exercising it at that time.

Matt. 10. 2. John 6. 69.

Loci non immemor sui primatum egit; —primatum Confessionis, non honoris; Fidei, non ordinis. Ambr. *de Incarn. cap.* 4.

II. They alledge the next words of our Lord, spoken in sequel upon the same occasion, *To thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, that is, say they, *the Supreme power over all the Church*; for he (say they) that hath the Keys is Master of the House.

Per claves datas Petro intelligimus summam potestatem in omnem Ecclesiam. Bell. *de Pont.* 1. 3.

To this testimony we may apply divers of the same answers, which were given to the former; for,

1. These words are figurate, and therefore not clear enough to prove their assertion.

2. They do admit and had received various interpretations.

3. It is evident, that the Apostles themselves did not understand these words as importing a Supremacy over them, that Saint *Peter* himself did not apprehend this sense, that our Lord upon occasion inviting to it did not take notice of his promise, according thereto.

4. The words, *I will give thee*, cannot any-wise be assured to have been exclusive of others, or appropriated to him. *He said* (as a very learned man of the *Roman* Communion noteth) *to Peter, I will give thee the Keys, but he said not, I will give them to thee alone*; nothing therefore can be concluded from them to their purpose.

Dixit Petro, dabo tibi claves, at non dixit, dabo tibi soli. Rigalt. *in Epist. Firmil.*

5. The Fathers do affirm, that all the Apostles did receive the same Keys.

Are (saith *Origen*) *the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of the Blessed ones receive them? but if this, I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, be common, how also are not all the things common, which were spoken before, or are added as spoken to Peter.*

Ἆρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τοῦ οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τὸ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τάτε προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα; Orig. *in* Matt. 16 *p.* 275.

St. *Hierom* says in express words, that all *the Apostles did receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Quod Petro dicitur, Apostolis dicitur. Ambr. *in* Psal. 38. What is said to Peter, is said to the Apostles.

Licèt id ipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat, & cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant. Hier. *in* Jov. 1. 14.

Though the same thing in another place is done upon all the Apostles, and all receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

He (saith *Optatus*) *did alone receive the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* (which were) *to be communicated to the rest*; that is (as *Rigaltius* well expoundeth those words) *which Christ himself would also communicate to the rest.*

Claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris solis solus accepit. Opt. *lib.* 7.

Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipse Christus communicaturus erat & cæteris. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *de Un. Eccl.*

Theophy-

Theophylact. *Although it be spoken to Peter alone, I will give thee, yet it is given to all the Apostles.*

Εἰ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται. Theoph. *in loc.*

It is part of Saint *John*'s character in St. *Chrysostom*, *He that hath the Keys of the Heavens.*

Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν. Chrys. *in præf. Evang.* Joh.

6. Indeed whatever (according to any tolerable exposition, or according to the current expositions of the *Fathers*) those Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven do import (whether it be a faculty of opening it by Doctrine, of admitting into it by dispensation of Baptism, and absolution, of excluding from it by Ecclesiastical censure, or any such faculty signified by the metaphorical expression) it plainly did belong to all the Apostles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea after them upon all the Pastors of the Church in their several precincts and degrees; who in all Ages have claimed to themselves the power of the Keys; to be (as the *Council of Compeign* calleth all Bishops) *clavigeri*, the *Key-bearers of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Claves intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Christi. Rigalt *in* Cyp. *Ep.* 13.

Episcopi—— quos constat esse vicarios Christi, & clavigeros regni cœlorum. Conc. Comp. *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 6. *p.* 361.

So that in these words nothing singular was promised or granted to Saint *Peter*; although it well may be deemed a singular mark of favour, that what our Lord did intend to bestow on all Pastors, *that* he did anticipately promise to him; or, as the *Fathers* say, to the Church and its Pastors in him. In which respect we may admit those words of Pope *Leo* I.

Transivit quidem in Apostolos alios vis istius potestatis, sed non frustra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergò singulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis Ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur. Leo *I. in Nat. Petri & Pauli. Serm.* 2.

The efficacy of this Power passed indeed upon all the Apostles; yet was it not in vain, that what was intimated to all, was commended to one. Therefore this is committed singly to Peter, because Peter's pattern and example is propounded to all the Governors of the Church.

7. Indeed divers of the Fathers do conceive the words spoken to Saint *Peter* not as a single person, but as a representative of the Church, or as standing in the room of each Pastor therein; unto whom our Lord designed to impart the power of the Keys.

*All we Bishops (*saith St. *Ambrose) have in Saint Peter received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes. Ambr. *de dign. Sac.* 1. *Ecclesia quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit, id est, potestatem ligandi solvendiq; peccata.* Aug. *tract.* 124. *in* Joh. *vide tract.* 50.

The Church which is founded upon Christ, received from him the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *i. e.* the power of binding and loosing Sins.

In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem—— Aug. *de Bap.* 3. 17.

Our Lord gave the power to Peter, as a type of Unity.

Ἐν προσώπῳ τῶ κορυφαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία δέδοται. Phot. *Cod.* 280.

Such Authority was given to the rest of the Apostles in the person of him who was the chief.

Non sine causa inter omnes Apostolos Ecclesiæ Catholicæ personas Justinet Petrus; huic enim Ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt, cùm Petro datæ sunt—— Aug. *de Ag. Chr. cap.* 30 *in* Ps. 108.

Not without cause does Peter among the rest of the Apostles sustain the Person of the Catholick Church; for to this Church are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven given, when they are given unto Peter.

8. These answers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoyned * equivalent to these, and interpretative of them, *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven*---- the which do import a power or privilege soon after expressly, and in the very same words promised or granted to all the Apostles; as also the same power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the Resurrection.

*Aug *supr.* Matt. 18. 18. Joh. 20. 23.

If therefore the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven do import supreme Power, then each Apostle had Supreme Power.

9. If

9. If we should grant (that which no-wise can be proved,) that something peculiarly belonging to Saint *Peter* is implied in those words, it can only be this, that he should be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the Gospel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to Believers; which is an opening of the Kingdom of Heaven; according to what *Tertullian* excellently saith of him; *So* (saith he) *the event teacheth, the Church was built in him, that is, by him; he did initiate the Key; see which, Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you,* &c. *He, in fine, in the baptism of Christ did unlock the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven,* &c.

Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso Ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum; ipse clavem imbuit; vide quam, Viri Israelitæ auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum virum à Deo vobis destinatum, &c. *Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni,* &c. Tert. *de pud.* 21.

10. It seemeth absurd, that Saint *Peter* should exercise the power of the Keys in respect to the Apostles: for did he open the Kingdom of Heaven to them, who were by our Lord long before admitted into it? ——

11. In fine, our Lord (as Saint *Luke* relateth it) did say to Saint *Peter*, and probably to him first, *Fear not from henceforth thou shalt catch men*; might it hence be inferred, that Saint *Peter* had a peculiar or sole faculty of catching men? why might it not by as good a consequence, as this, whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many such instances might in like manner be used.

Luk. 5. 10. Matt. 4. 19.

III. They produce those words of our Saviour to Saint *Peter*, *Feed my sheep*, that is, in the *Roman* interpretation, *Be thou Universal Governor of my Church.*

To this allegation I answer,

1. From words which truly and properly might have been said to any other Apostle, yea to any Christian Pastor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpose, importing a peculiar duty, or singular privilege of Saint *Peter.*

2. From indefinite words a definite conclusion (especially in matters of this Kind) may not be inferred; it is said, *do thou feed my Sheep*, it is not said do thou alone feed all my Sheep; this is their arbitrary gloss, or presumptuous improvement of the Text; without succour whereof the words signify nothing to their purpose, so far are they from sufficiently assuring so vast a pretence: for instance, when Saint *Paul* doth exhort the Bishops at *Ephesus to feed the Church of God*, may it thence be collected, that each of them was an Universal Governor of the whole Church, *which Christ had purchased with his own ~~his own~~ blood?*

Act. 20. 28.

3. By these words no new power is (assuredly at least) granted or instituted by our Lord; for the Apostles before this had their Warrant and Authority consigned to them, when our Lord did inspire them, and solemnly commissionate them, saying, *As the Father did send me, so I send you*; to which Commission, these words, (spoken occasionally, before a few of the Disciples) did not add or derogate. At most the words do only (as St. *Cyril* saith) *renew the former Grant of Apostleship*, after his great offence of denying our Lord.

Κεχειροτόνηλο μὲ ἤδη πρὸς τῆ θείαν Ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος. Cyril *in loc.*

Peter was ordained to the holy Apostleship together with the rest of the Disciples.

John 20. 21.

Διὰ τοῦτο φάναι τὸν Κύριον βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου, ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς ἤδη δοθείσης Ἀποστολῆς ἀυτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται. Cyril. *ib.*

4. These words do not seem institutive or collative of Power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the pressing a common duty, before incumbent on Saint *Peter*, upon a special

special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the Office, which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord (I say) presently before his departure, when his words were like to have a strong impression on Saint *Peter*, doth earnestly direct and warn him to express that special ardency of affection, which he observed in him, in an answerable care to perform his duty of feeding, that is of instructing, guiding, edifying in faith and obedience those Sheep of his, that is, those Believers, who should be converted to embrace his Religion, as ever he should find opportunity.

Paulus Apostolus boni Pastoris implebat Officium, quando Christum prædicabat Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 47.

Paul fulfilled the Office of a good Pastor, when he preached Christ.

5. The same Office certainly did belong to all the Apostles, who (as St. *Hierom* speaketh) *were the Princes of our Discipline, and Chieftains of the Christian Doctrine*; they at their first vocation had a commission and command *to go unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel*; *that were scattered abroad like sheep not having a shepherd*; they before our Lord's Ascension were enjoyned *to teach all Nations* the Doctrines and Precepts of *Christ*; to receive them into the fold, to feed them with good instruction, to guide and govern their Converts with good Discipline; Hence *All of them* (as St. *Cyprian* saith) *were shepherds*; *but the flock did appear one, which was fed by the Apostles with unanimous agreement.*

Principes Disciplinæ nostræ, & Christiani Dogmatis duces. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Matt. 10. 6. 9. 36.

Matt. 28. 19, 20.

Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur. Cypr. *de Un. Eccl.*

6. Neither could Saint *Peter*'s charge be more extensive, than was that of the other Apostles; for they had a general and unlimmited care of the whole Church; that is, according to their capacity and opportunity, none being exempted from it, who needed or came into the way of their discharging Pastoral Offices for them.

They were Oecumenical Rulers (as St. *Chrysostom* saith) *appointed by God, who did not receive several Nations or Cities, but all of them in common were entrusted with the world.*

Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τῦ Θεῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἄρχοντες ἐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῆ τ οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 115.

Hence particularly St. *Chrysostom* calleth Saint *John*, *a Pillar of the Churches over the world*, and Saint *Paul an Apostle of the world*; who *had the care not of one House, but of Cities and Nations, and of the whole Earth*; who *undertook the World, and governed the Churches*; on whom *the whole World did look*, and *on whose soul the care of all the Churches every where did hang*; *into whose hands were delivered the Earth, and the Sea, the inhabited and the uninhabited parts of the World.*

Ὁ στύλος τ οἰκουμένης Ἐκκλησιῶν. Chrys. *præf. comment ad* Joh.

Καὶ γὰρ ὁ οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος ἦν. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. 9. 2. Οὗτος ὁ ἐκ οἰκίας μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ὅλοκλήρυ τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων. Chrys. *in* 2 Cor. 11. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀνθιλαμβάνετο πάσης, καὶ διεκυβερνᾶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 115. Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν, αἱ φροντίδες τ πανταχῆ τ γῆς Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνυ ψυχῆς ἦν ἐξηρτημέναι —— Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐνεχειρίσθη· Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τ οἰκουμένην, καὶ τ ἀοίκητον. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 39.

And could Saint *Peter* have a larger Flock committed to him? could this charge, *feed my sheep*, more agree to him, than to those, who no less than he were obliged to feed all Christian people every where?

7. The words indeed are applicable to all Christian Bishops and Governors of the Church; according to that of St. *Cyprian*, to Pope *Stephen* himself, *We being many Shepherds do feed one Flock, and all the Sheep of Christ*; for they are stiled Pastors; they in terms as in-

Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem, & oves Christi universas pascimus. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. *ad P.* Steph.

definite

definite as those in this text are exhorted *to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood*; to them (as the *Fathers* commonly suppose) this Injunction doth reach, our Lord when he spake thus to Saint *Peter*, intending to lay a charge on them all to express their love and piety toward them in this way, by feeding his Sheep and People.

Quanto magis debent usq; ad mortem pro veritate certare, & usq; ad sanguinem adversus peccatum, quibus oves ipsas pascendas, hoc est docendas regendásq; committit. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 123.

How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and against sin even unto blood, to whom he committeth his Sheep to be fed, that is to be taught and governed.

Quas oves, & quem gregem non solum tunc B. *suscepit Petrus, sed & cum eo nos suscepimus omnes.* Ambr. *de Sacerd.* 2.

Which Sheep, saith St. *Ambrose, and which Flock, not only then Saint Peter did receive, but also with him all we Priests did receive it.*

Τὰ πρόβατα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. Chrys. *de Sacerd.* 1.

Our Lord (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *did commit his Sheep to Peter, and to those which came after him*, that is, to all Christian Pastors, as the scope of his discourse sheweth.

Cùm dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas. Aug. *de Agone Christ.* 30.

When it is said to Peter (saith St. *Austin*) *it is said to all, Feed my Sheep.*

Καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδευόμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρε, γὰρ φησὶ, φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τὴν ἴσην παρέχοντος ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ δεσμεῖν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως, καὶ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος. Bas. *Const. Mon. cap.* 22.

And *we* (saith St. *Basil*) *are taught this* (obedience to Superiors) *by Christ himself, constituting Saint Peter Pastor after himself of the Church* (*for Peter, saith he, dost thou love me more than these? feed my Sheep*) *and conferring to all Pastors and Teachers continually afterward an equal power* (of doing so;) *whereof it is a sign that all do in like manner, bind and do loose as he.*

Et quidem, fratres, quod Pastor est, dedit & membris suis; nam & Petrus Pastor, & Paulus Pastor, & cæteri Apostoli Pastores, & boni Episcopi Pastores. Aug. *in* Joh. *tr.* 47.

Saint *Austin* compriseth all these considerations in those words.

And indeed, brethren, that which a Pastor is, he gave also to his members, for both Peter was a Pastor, and Paul a Pastor, and the rest of his Apostles were Pastors, and good Bishops are Pastors.

How could these great Masters more clearly express their mind, that our Lord in those words to Saint *Peter* did inculcate a duty no-wise peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all Guides of the Church; but in such manner, as when a Master doth press a duty on one Servant, he doth thereby admonish all his Servants of the like duty; whence St. *Austin* saith, that St. *Peter* in that case *did sustain the person of the Church*, that which was spoken to him, belonging to all its members, especially to his Brethren the Clergy.

Ut ergo Petrus quando ei dictum est, Tibi dabo claves, in figura personam gestabat Ecclesiæ, sic & quando ei dictum est, Pasce oves meas, Ecclesiæ quoque personam in figura gestabat. Aug. *in* Psal. 108.

Οὐ πρὸς ἱερέας τὸ τοῦτο μόνον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποιμνίον. Chrys. *in* Matt. 24. *Or.* 77.

This was not spoken to those Priests only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little Flock committed to us.

Διδασκάλοις δὲ γνῶσις διὰ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων εἰσβέβηκε θεωρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως εὐαρεστήσειεν τῷ πάντων ἀρχιποιμένι, εἰ μὴ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων εὐρωστίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ ἔτι διαμονῆς ποιοῖντο φροντίδα. Cyril. *ibid.*

It was (saith *Cyril*) *a lesson to Teachers, that they cannot otherwise please the Arch-pastor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational Sheep.*

8. Hence it followeth, that the Sheep, which our Saviour biddeth Saint *Peter* to feed, were not the Apostles, who were his Fellow-shepherds,

herds, designed to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common Believers or People of God, which Saint *Peter* himself doth call *the Flock of God*; *Feed*, saith he to his Fellow-elders, *the flock of God, which is among you*; and Saint *Paul*, *Take heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers.* 1 Pet. 2. 5. Act. 20. 28.

9. Take feeding for what you please; for Teaching, for Guiding--- the Apostles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught, and guided by God himself.

Hence we may interpret that saying of St. *Chrysostom*, which is the most plausible argument they can alledge for them, that our Lord in saying this, did commit to Saint *Peter a charge* (or presidency) *over his brethren*; that is, he made him a Pastor of Christian people, as he did others; at least, if πρεσβεία τῶν ἀδελφῶν be referred to the Apostles, it must not signify authority over them, but at most a primacy of order among them; for that Saint *Peter* otherwise should feed them, St. *Chrysostom* could hardly think, who presently after saith, that *seeing the Apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, they ought not afterward to converse with one another; for that would surely have been a great damage to the world.*

Ἐγκειείζει τὴ πρεσβείαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Chrys. *in* Joh. 21. 15.
Τῶν πρεσβείων ἐνεπιστεύθη τὰ ἀδελφῶν. *in* ver. 21.

Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἔμελλον τὴ οἰκεμένης τῶν, ἐπέρπων ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκεμένῃ γένετο ζημία. *Ibid.* V. 23.

10. But they, forsooth, must have Saint *Peter* solely obliged to feed all *Christ*'s Sheep; so they did impose upon him a vast and crabbed Province; a task very incommodious, or rather impossible for him to undergo: how could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able to feed so many flocks of Christian people scattered about in distant Regions, through all Nations under Heaven: he, poor man, that had so few helps, that had no Officers or Dependents, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the Sheep in *Britain*, and in *Parthia*; unto infinite distraction of thoughts such a charge must needs have engaged him.

But for this their great Champion hath a fine expedient; Saint *Peter*, saith he, *did feed Christ's whole flock, partly by himself, partly by others*; so that, it seemeth, the other Apostles were Saint *Peter*'s Curates, or Vicars and Deputies: this indeed were an easy way of feeding; thus although he had slept all his time, he might have fed all the Sheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a later invention, not known so soon in the Church; and it might then seem near as absurd to be a Shepherd, as it is now (in his own account) to be a just man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* pastorage, as this *a putative righteousness*. However the Apostles, I dare say, did not take themselves to be Saint *Peter*'s Surrogates, but challenged to themselves to be accounted *the Ministers, the Stewards, the Ambassadors of Christ himself*; from whom immediately they received their Orders, in whose name they acted, to whom they constantly refer their Authority, without taking the least notice of Saint *Peter*, or intimating any dependence on him.

Respondeo, S. Petrum partim per se, partim per alios universum Dominicum gregem ut sibi imperatum erat pavisse — Bell. *de Pont. R.* 1. 16.

2 Cor. 4. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 20. 10. 8. Gal. 1. 1. Tit. 1. 3. } &c.

It was therefore enough for Saint *Peter*, that had he Authority restrained to no place, but might, as he found occasion, preach the

Gospel, convert, confirm, guide Christians every where to truth and duty; nor can our Saviour's words be forced to signify more.

In fine, this (together with the precedent Testimonies) must not be interpreted so as to thwart Practice and History; according to which it appeareth, that Saint *Peter* did not exercise such a Power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer such an one upon him.

P. Leo IX. *Ep.* 1. *Ad ejusdem primatûs confirmationem, &c.* Bell. 1.17.

IV. Farther in confirmation of their Doctrine they do draw forth a whole shole of Testimonies, containing divers Prerogatives, as they call them, of Saint *Peter*; which do, as they suppose, imply this Primacy; so very-sharp-sighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him or to him, or about him, they can descry some argument or shrewd insinuation of his preheminence; especially being aided by the glosses of some fanciful Expositor. From the change of his Name, from his walking on the Sea, from his miraculous draught of Fish, from our Lord's praying for him, that his Faith should not fail, and bidding him to confirm his Brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's first washing his feet, and his first appearing to him after the Resurrection; from the prediction of his Martyrdom; from sick Persons being cured by his shadow; from his sentencing *Ananias* and *Sapphira* to death, from his preaching to *Cornelius*, from its being said *that he passed through all*, from his being prayed for by the Church, from Saint *Paul*'s going to visit him; from these passages, I say, they deduce or confirm his Authority: Now in earnest is not this stout arguing? is it not egregious modesty for such a point to alledge such proofs? what cause may not be countenanced by such rare fetches? who would not suspect the weakness of that Opinion, which is fain to use such forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honest or conscionable dealing so to wrest or play with the Holy Scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs, where there is no shew of consequence?

Act. 9. 32.

To be even with them, I might assert the Primacy of Saint *John*, and to that purpose might alledge his Prerogatives (which indeed may seem greater than those of Saint *Peter*,) namely, that he was *the beloved Disciple*, that he leaned on our Lord's breast, that Saint *Peter*, not presuming to ask our Lord a question, desired *him* to do it, as having a more special confidence with our Lord; that Saint *John* did higher service to the Church, and all Posterity, by writing not only more Epistles, but also a most divine Gospel, and a sublime * Prophecy concerning the state of the Church; that Saint *John* did †*out-run Peter, and came first to the Sepulchre*, (in which passage such acute devisers would find out marvellous significancy) that Saint *John* was a Virgin; that he did out live all the Apostles (and thence was most fit to be Universal Pastor;) that St. *Hierom* comparing *Peter* and *John*, doth seem to prefer the latter; for *Peter* (saith he) *was an Apostle, and John was an Apostle; but Peter was only an Apostle, John both an Apostle and an Evangelist, and also a Prophet,--- and* (saith he) *that I may in brief speech comprehend many things, and shew what privilege belongeth to John,--- yea virginity in John; by our Lord a Virgin, his Mother the Virgin is commended to the Virgin Disciple:* thus I might by Prerogatives and Passages very notable infer the Superiority of Saint *John* to Saint *Peter*, in

Joh. 13. 24.

* *Infinita futurorum mysteria continentem.* Hier.
Containing infinite mysteries of future things.

† Joh. 20. 4.

Petrus Apostolus est, & Joannes Apostolus, maritus & Virgo; sed Petrus Apostolus tantùm, Joannes & Apostolus & Evangelista & Propheta, &c. Hier. *in* Jovin. 1. 14.

Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceámq; cujus privilegii sit Johannes. —— imò in Joanne Virginitas; à Domino Virgine mater Virgo Virgini Discipulo commendatur. Hier. *ibid.*

in imitation of their reasoning; but I am afraid they would scarce be at the trouble to answer me seriously, but would think it enough to say I trifled; wherefore let it suffice for me in the same manner to put off those levities of discourse.

V. They argue this Primacy from the constant placing Saint *Peter*'s name before the other Apostles, in the Catalogues and Narrations concerning him and them.

To this I answer,

1. That this Order is not so strictly observed, as not to admit some exceptions; for Saint *Paul* saith, that *James, Cephas, and John, knowing the grace given unto him* —— so it is commonly read in the ordinary Copies, in the Text of ancient Commentators, and in old Translations; and, *whether Paul, whether Apollo, whether Cephas*, saith Saint *Paul* again; and, *As the other Apostles, and the Brethren of our Lord, and Cephas*; and *Philip* (saith Saint *John*) *was of Bethsaida, the City of Andrew and Peter*; and *Clemens Alex.* in *Eusebius* saith, that *the Lord after his resurrection delivered the special knowledge to James the Just, and to John, and to Peter*, post-poning Saint *Peter*, as perhaps conceiving him to have less of sublime Revelations imparted to him; that Order therefore is not so punctually constant.

Gal. 2. 9. 1 Cor. 3. 22. 1 Cor. 9. 5. Joh. 1. 45.

Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τοῖς γνωσίν ὁ Κύριος. Euseb. *Hist.* 2. 1.

In the Apostolical Constitutions, Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter* being induced jointly prescribing Orders, they begin, *I Paul, and I Peter do appoint* —— so little ambitious or curious of precedence are they represented.

Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατασσόμεθα ——

Const. Apost. 8. 33.

2. But it being indeed so constant as not to seem casual, I farther say, that position of names doth not argue difference of degree, or superiority in power; any small advantage of age, standing, merit, or wealth, serving to ground such precedence, as common experience doth shew.

3. We formerly did assign other sufficient and probable causes, why Saint *Peter* had this place. So that this is no cogent Reason.

VI. Farther, (and this indeed is far their most plausible argumentation) they alledge the Titles and Elogies given to Saint *Peter* by the Fathers; who call him ἔξαρχον (the Prince) κορυφαῖον (the Ring-leader) κεφαλὴν (the Head) * πρόεδρον (the President) ἀρχηγὸν (the Captain) προήγορον (the Proloquter) πρωτοστάτην (the Foreman) πρωτάτην (the Warden) ἔκλεκτον τῶν Ἀποστόλων (the choice, or egregious Apostle) *Majorem* (the greater, or Grandee among them) *primum* (the first, or prime Apostle.)

* Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59. Chrys. *in* Joh. 21. Cyr. *c.* Jul. 9. (*p.* 325.) Aug. *Ep.* 11. 19.

To these and the like allegations I answer,

1. If we should say, that we are not accountable for every hyberbolical flash or flourish occurring in the Fathers, (it being well known, that they in their encomiastick speeches, as Orators are wont, following the heat and gaiety of fancy, do sometimes overlash) we should have the pattern of their greatest Controvertists to warrant us; for *Bellarmine* doth put off their Testimonies, by saying, that they do *sometimes speak in way of excess, less properly, less warily, so as to need benign Exposition*, &c. as Bishop * *Andrews* sheweth; and it is a common shift

The truth is, the best Arguments of the Papists in other questions are some flourishes of Orators, speaking hyperbolically and heedlessly.

Per excessum loqui. Bell. *de Miss.* 2. 10. *minùs proprié.* 3. 4. *benignâ expositione opus habere. de amiss. gr.* 4. 12. *minùs, cauté. de purg.* 1. 11.

* *Tort. Tort. p.* 338.

of Cardinal *Perron*, whereof you may see divers instances alledged by * *M. Dallée.*

* Dall. *de us. P. lib.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 158. (& *p.* 314.)

Which observation is especially applicable to this case; for that eloquent men do never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy, than in the demonstrative kind, in panegyricks, in their commendations of persons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for those expressions of Pope *Leo*, sounding so exorbitantly, that Saint *Peter* was by our Lord *assumed into consortship of his individual unity*; and that *nothing did pass upon any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter.*

Nunc enim in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum id quod ipse erat voluit nominari. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 89. *Nihil à bonorum fonte Deo in quenquam sine Petri participatione transire.* P. Leo *de assumpt. suâ. Serm.* 3.

2. We may observe, that such turgid Elogies of Saint *Peter* are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for *Clemens Romanus*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alex.* *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Firmilian* —— when they mention Saint *Peter*, do speak more temperately and simply, according to the current notions and traditions of the Church in their time; using indeed fair terms of respect, but not such high streins of courtship, about him. But they are found in the latter Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their discourses to vent those faculties, did speak more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence according to a prudent estimation of things in such a case, the silence or sparingness of the first sort is of more consideration on the one hand, than the speech, how free soever, of the latter is on the other hand: and we may rather suppose those titles do not belong to Saint *Peter*, because the first do not give them, than that they do, because the other are so liberal in doing it.

Indeed if we consult the Testimonies of this kind alledged by the *Romanists*, who with their utmost diligence have raked all ancient Writings for them, it is strange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find so few plausible ones; that they are fain (to make up the number) to produce so many, which evidently have no force or pertinency; being only commendations of his Apostolical Office, or of his Personal Merits, without relation to others.

3. We say, that all those terms of Titles, which they urge, are ambiguous, and applicable to any sort of Primacy or Preheminency; to that which we admit, no less than to that which we refuse; as by instances from good Authors, and from common use, might easily be demonstrated; so that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cause.

Cic. *de Nat. D. lib.* 2. Cic. *de clar. Orat.*

Cicero calleth *Socrates*, *Prince of the Philosophers*; and *Sulpitius*, *Prince of all Lawyers*; would it not be ridiculous thence to infer, that *Socrates* was a Sovereign Governor of the Philosophers, or *Sulpitius* of the Lawyers? The same great Speaker calleth *Pompey Prince of the City in all Men's judgment*; doth he mean, that he did exercise jurisdiction over the City?

Quem omnium judicio longè principem esse Civitatis videbat —— Principem orbis terræ virum —— Cic. *pro domo sua.*

Act. 24. 5. *Tertullus* calleth Saint *Paul*, πρωτοστάτην, *a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes*; and St. *Basil* calleth *Eustathius Sebastenus*, *foreman of the sect of the Pneumatomachi*; did *Tertullus* mean, that Saint *Paul* had universal Jurisdiction over Christians; or St. *Basil*, that *Eustathius* was Sovereign of those Hereticks?

Πρωτοστάτων δὲ τῶν πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως. Bas. *Ep.* 74.

So

So neither did Prince of the Apostles, or any equivalent term, in the sense of those who assigned it to Saint *Peter*, import Authority over the Apostles, but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in Apostolical performances, or at most in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the state of things, not the state of things to be inferred from them; and in understanding them we should observe the Rule of *Tertullian*. *Malo te ad sensum rei quàm ad sonum vocabuli exerceas.* Tert. *ad Prax. cap.* 3. I had rather you would apply your self to the sense of the thing, than to the sound of the word.

Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὴν φύσιν ἀφαιροῦσι· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἔλκουσα μεταβάλλει. Athan. *Orat.* 3. *adv.* Ar. (*p.* 373.)

For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to it self.

4. Accordingly the *Fathers* sometimes do explain those Elogies signifying them to import the special gifts and vertues of Saint *Peter*, wherein he did excel; so *Eusebius* calleth Saint *Peter*, *the most excellent and great Apostle, who for his vertue was proloquutor of the rest.* Euseb. *Hist.* 2. 14.

5. This answer is thoroughly confirmed from hence; that even those who gave those Titles to Saint *Peter*, do yet expresly affirm other Apostles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who doth give higher Elogies to him than St. *Chrysostom?* yet doth he assert all the Apostles to be Supreme, and *equal in dignity*; and particularly he doth often affirm Saint *Paul* to be ἰσότιμον, equal in honour to Saint *Peter*, as we before shewed.

The like we declared of St. *Hierom*, St. *Cyril*, &c. And as for St. *Cyprian*, who did allow a Primacy to Saint *Peter*, nothing can be more evident, than that he took the other Apostles to be *equal to him in power and honour.*

The like we may conceive of St. *Austin*, who having carefully perused those Writings of St. *Cyprian*, and frequently alledging them, doth never contradict that his Sentiment.

Even Pope *Gregory* himself acknowledgeth Saint *Peter* not to have been properly the Head, but only *the first member of the universal Church*; *all being members of the Church under one Head.* *Certè Petrus Apostolus primum membrum S. & universalis Ecclesiæ——sub uno capite omnes membra sunt Ecclesiæ.* Greg. I. *Epist.* 4. 38.

6. If Pope *Leo* I. or any other ancient Pope, do seem to mean farther, we may reasonably except against their Opinion, as being singular, and proceeding from partial affection to their See; such affection having influence on the mind of the wisest men; according to that certain maxim of *Aristotle*, *every man is a bad Judge in his own case.*

7. The Ancients, when their subject doth allure them, do adorn other Apostles with the like titles, equalling those of Saint *Peter*, and not well consistent with them, according to that rigour of sense, which our Adversaries affix to the commendations of Saint *Peter.*

The Epistle of *Clemens Rom.* to Saint *James* (an Apocryphal, but ancient Writing) calleth Saint *James* our Lord's Brother, *The Bishop of Bishops*; the *Clementine Recognitions* call him *The Prince of Bishops*; *Ruffinus*, in his translation of *Eusebius*, *The Bishop of the Apostles*; Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ —— ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ. *Jacobum Episcoporum Principem Sacerdotum Princeps orabat.* Clem. *Rec.* 1. 68. *Apostolorum Episcopus.* Ruf. Euseb. 2. 1.

* St. *Chry-*

* It is likely that *Ruffinus* did call him so by mistaking that in the Apostolical Constitutions.

Ὑπὲρ τὸ ὀπισθόπους ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου. *Apost. Const.* 8. 10.

Τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προεστήκει πάντων. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 59.

Τὸν τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀρχιερέα τέτηγεν, τῶν ἱερέων ἡγήμονα, τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸν ἔξαρχον, τὸν ἐν κεφαλαίοις κορυφαῖον, &c. Hesych. *Presb. apud* Phot. *Cod.* 275. (*p.* 1525.)

* St. *Chrysostom* saith of him, that he *did preside over all the Jewish believers*; *Hesychius* Presbyter of *Jerusalem*, calleth him *the chief Captain of the new Jerusalem, the Captain of Priests, the Prince of the Apostles, the top among the Heads*, &c.

Ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοπαγὴς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύλλογος, ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος, ὁ τοῦ Δαυὶδ Δαυίδ, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχή —— Hesych. *apud* Phot. *Cod.* 269.

The same *Hesychius* calleth Saint *Andrew, the first-born of the Apostolical Choire, the first settled pillar of the Church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the first-fruits of the beginning*, &c.

Ὁ σύλλογος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c. Chrys. *in* Joh. 1. 1.

St. *Chrysostom* saith of Saint *John*, that he was *a pillar of the Churches through the world, he that had the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, &c.

But as occasion of speaking about Saint *Paul* was more frequent, so the elogies of him are more copious, and indeed so high as not to yield to those of Saint *Peter*.

Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖος, καὶ προστάτης. Chrys. *in* Rom. 16. 24.

He was (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *the ring-leader and guardian of the Choire of all the Saints.*

Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἀπόστολος. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. 9. 2.

Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ διδάσκαλος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ σύλλογος, καὶ ἑδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας.

Τῷ οἰκουμένῳ ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. —— He had the whole habitable World committed to his charge.

He was the tongue, the teacher, the Apostle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon Earth.

Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ὢν τότε τῆς γῆς οἰκήτορας ἅπαντας ὅπου γε πείς.
He was the Teacher of the World, and had all the inhabitants of the Earth committed to his trust.

He was the light of the Churches, the foundation of Faith, the pillar and ground of Truth.

Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. *in* Jud. Or. 6. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ὑπεδέξατο. *in* 1 Cor. Or. 22.

He had the patronage of the World committed into his hands.

Οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ φέρων ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεός. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 2.
Did not God put into his hands the whole world?

Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κηδεμών. *in* 2 Tim. 2. 1. He had the charge of the whole world.

Παύλου ἀνθρώπων κρείττων. *de Sacerd.* 4. Τίς οὖν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμείνων; τίς ἢ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος —— εἰ τοίνυν μείζονα τοῦ Ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στέφανον, πῶς οὐ Ἀποστόλων ἴσος ἁπλῶς γέγονεν, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων μείζων, εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀναπαύσεως καὶ τιμῆς καὶ προεδρείας. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 33.

He was better than all men, greater than the Apostles, and surpassing them all.

Who then was better than all other men? who else but that Tent-maker, the Teacher of the world? —— If therefore he receive a greater Crown than the Apostles, and none perhaps was equal to the Apostles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifest that he shall enjoy the highest honour and preeminence.

Παύλου λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 47.

Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious than he.

Οὐδεὶς οὐ ἐκείνου μείζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ἔστι. *Tom.* 6. *Or.* 9. Οὐδεὶς Παύλου ἴσος ἦν. 2 Tim. 3. 15.

None was greater than he, yea none equal to him.

Ὁ πάνσοφος, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἄριστος ἀρχιτέκτων. Theod. *Ep.* 146.
The most wise, and best Architect, or chief Builder of the Churches.

Ὁ μακάριος Ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ. Just. M. *resp. ad Orthod.* Qu. 119.
The blessed Apostle, the Father of the Fathers.

Caput effectus est Nationum; quia obtinuit totius Ecclesiæ principatum. Greg. M. *in* 1 Reg. *lib.* 4. *Videsis Paulus Apostolorum Princeps. Ep.* Spalat. *in* Lat. *Syn. sub P.* Jul. *II. Sess.* 1. *p.* 25.

Pope *Gregory* I. saith of Saint *Paul*, that he *was made head of the Nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole Church.*

These

These Characters of Saint *Paul* I leave them to interpret, and reconcile with those of Saint *Peter*.

8. That the *Fathers* by calling Saint *Peter* Prince, Chieftain, *&c.* of the Apostles, do not mean Authority over them, may be argued from their joyning Saint *Paul* with him in the same appellations; who yet surely could have no Jurisdiction over them; and his having any would destroy the pretended Ecclesiastical Monarchy.

St. *Cyril* calleth them together *Patrons, or Presidents of the Church.* Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεδρεύσαντες. Cyril. *Cat.* 6.

St. *Austin* (or St. *Ambr.* or *Max.*) calleth them *Princes of the Churches.* *Ecclesiarum Principes.* Aug. *de Sanct.* 27.

The Popes *Agatho* and *Adrian* (in their General Synods) call them *the ring-leading Apostles.* Κορυφαῖοι Ἀποστόλων. P. Agatho *in* 6 *Syn. Act.* 4. *p.* 35. P. Adrian *in* 7 *Syn. Act.* 2. *p.* 554.

The Popes *Nicholas* I. and *Gregory* VII. *&c.* call them *Princes of the Apostles.* Nicol. I. *Ep.* 7. Plat. *in* Greg. *VII. &c.*

St. *Ambrose*, or St. *Austin*, or St. *Maximus Taur.* (chuse you which) doth thus speak of them; *Blessed Peter and Paul are most eminent among all the Apostles, excelling the rest by a kind of peculiar prerogative: but whether of the two be preferred before the other is uncertain; for I count them to be equal in merit, because they are equal in suffering*, &c. *Beati Petrus & Paulus eminent inter Universos Apostolos, & peculiari quâquam prærogativâ præcellunt; verùm inter ipsos quis cui præponatur incertum est, puto enim illos æquales esse meritis, quia æquales sunt passione, &c.* Ambr. *Serm.* 66. Aug. *de Sanct.* 27. Max. Taur. *Serm.* 54.

To all this discourse I shall only add, that if any of the Apostles, or Apostolical men, might claim a presidency or authoritative Headship over the rest, Saint *James* seemeth to have the best title thereto; for *Jerusalem was the Mother of all Churches*, the Fountain of the Christian Law and Doctrine, the *See* of our Lord himself, the chief Pastor. *Hæ voces Ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis Ecclesia initium.* Iren. 3. 12. These are the words of the Church, from whence every Church had its beginning. Isa. 2. 3. Luke 14. 47. *Ecclesia in Hieru-salem fundata totius orbis Ecclesias seminavit.* Hieron. *in* Isa. 2. The Church founded in Jerusalem was the Seminary of the Churches throughout the whole world. Theod. 5. 9. *Vide* Tert. *de Præscr. cap.* 20.

He therefore, who (as the *Fathers* tells us) was by our Lord himself constituted Bishop of that City, and the *first* of all Bishops, might best pretend to be in special manner our Lord's Viear or Successor. *He* (saith *Epiphanius*) *did first receive the Episcopal Chair, and to him our Lord first did entrust his own Throne upon Earth.* Ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον. Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. *Or.* 11. After that he was seen of James, I suppose to his Brother; for he is said to have ordained him, and made him the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Πρῶτος εἶδε φησὶ τὸν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ. Epiph *hær.* 78.

He accordingly did first exercise the Authority of presiding and moderating in the first Ecclesiastical Synod, as St. *Chrysostom* in his Notes thereon doth remark.

He therefore probably by Saint *Paul* is first named in his report concerning the passages at *Jerusalem*; and to his orders it seemeth that Saint *Peter* himself did conform; for 'tis said there, that *before certain came from Saint James he did eat with the Gentiles, but when they were come he withdrew.* Gal. 2. 9. Gal. 2. 12.

Hence in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the Prayer prescribed for the Church, and for all the Governors of it, the Bishops of the principal

cipal Churches being specified by name; Saint *James* is put in the first place; before the Bishops of *Rome*, and of *Antioch*; *Let us pray for the whole Episcopacy under Heaven of those who rightly dispense the word of thy Truth; and let us pray for our Bishop James with all his Parishes; let us pray for our Bishops Clemens and all his Parishes; let us pray for Evodius and all his Parishes.* ——

Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῆς παροικίας αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, &c. *Const. Ap.* 8. 10.

Hereto consenteth the Tradition of those ancient Writers aforecited, who call Saint *James*, *the Bishop of Bishops*, *the Bishop of the Apostles*, &c.

SUPPOSITION II.

I proceed to examine the next *Supposition* of the Church Monarchists, which is, *That Saint* Peter's *Primacy, with its Rights and Prerogatives, was not personal, but derivable to his Successors.*

AGainst which *Supposition* I do assert, that admitting a Primacy of of Saint *Peter*, of what kind or to what purpose soever, we yet have reason to deem it meerly personal, and (not according to its grounds and its design) communicable to any Successors, nor indeed in effect conveyed to any such.

It is a rule in the Canon Law; That *a personal Privilege doth follow the Person, and is extinguished with the Person*; and such we affirm that of Saint *Peter*; for,

Privilegium personale Personam sequitur, & cum Persona extinguitur. Reg. Juris, 7. in Sexto.

1. His Primacy was grounded upon personal acts (such as his chearful following of *Christ*, his faithful confessing of *Christ*, his resolute adherence to *Christ*, his embracing special Revelations from God) or upon personal graces (his great Faith, his special Love to our Lord, his singular Zeal for *Christ*'s Service) or upon personal gifts and endowments (his courage, resolution, activity, forwardness in apprehension, and in speech) the which advantages are not transient, and consequently a preeminency built on them is not in its nature such.

2. All the pretence of Primacy granted to Saint *Peter* is grounded upon words directed to Saint *Peter*'s Person, characterized by most personal adjuncts, as name, parentage, and which exactly were accomplished in Saint *Peter*'s personal actings, which therefore it is unreasonable to extend farther.

Matt. 16. 17. Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17.

Matt. 16. 17. Our Lord promised to *Simon Son of Jona*, to build his Church on him; accordingly in eminent manner the Church was founded upon his Ministry, or by his first preaching, testimony, performances.

Our Lord promised to give him the Keys of the Heavenly Kingdom; this Power Saint *Peter* signally did execute in converting Christians, and receiving them by Baptism into the Church, by conferring the Holy Ghost, and the like administrations.

Joh. 21. 15. Our Lord charged *Simon Son of Jonas* to feed his Sheep; this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding and governing Christians, as he found opportunity; wherefore if any thing was couched under those promises

promises or orders, singularly pertinent to Saint *Peter*; for the same reason that they were singular, they were personal; for,

These things being, in a conspicuous manner accomplished in St. *Peter*'s Person, the sense of those words is exhausted; there may not, with any probability, there cannot with any assurance be any more grounded on them; whatever more is inferred, must be by precarious assumption; and justly we may cast at those who shall infer it that expostulation of *Tertullian*, *What art thou, who dost overturn and change the manifest intention of our Lord, personally conferring this on Peter?*

Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem? Tertul. *de pud.* 21.

3. Particularly the grand promise to Saint *Peter* of founding the Church on him cannot reach beyond his person; because there can be no other foundations of a Society, than such as are first laid; the Successors of those, who first did erect a Society, and establish it, are themselves but superstructures.

4. The Apostolical Office as such was personal and temporary; and therefore according to its nature and design not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendence from them.

It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary, conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Christianity, and founding of Churches.

To that Office it was requisite, that the Person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such as Saint *Paul* so often doth insist upon for asserting his title to the Office; *Paul an Apostle, not from men, or by man— not by men*, saith St. *Chrysostom*, *this is a property of the Apostles.*

Gal. 1. 1. Τὸ οὔτε δι' ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ἴδιον τῶν Ἀποστόλων. Chrys. *Ibid.*

It was requisite that an Apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's Resurrection or Ascension, either immediately as the twelve, or by evident consequence as Saint *Paul*; thus Saint *Peter* implied, at the choice of *Matthias*, *Wherefore of those men, which have companied with us — must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the Resurrection*; and, *Am I not* (saith Saint *Paul*) *an Apostle, have I not seen the Lord?* according to that of *Ananias*, *The God of our Fathers hath chosen thee that thou shouldest know his will, and see that just one, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.*

Act. 1. 21 - 1 Cor 9. 1. 15. 8. Act. 22. 14--

It was needful also that an Apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his Authority, and to execute his Office; wherefore Saint *Paul* calleth these, *the marks of an Apostle*, the *which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience* (or persevering) *in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

2 Cor. 12. 12. Rom. 15. 18.

It was also in St. *Chrysostom*'s opinion, proper to an Apostle, that he should be able according to his discretion in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart Spiritual Gifts; as Saint *Peter* and Saint *John* did at *Samaria*; which to do, according to that *Father*, was *the peculiar gift and privilege of the Apostles.*

Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον. Chrys. *in* Act. 8. 18. *De solis Apostolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent Episcopi, quod per manûs impositionem Spiritum S. dabant.* P. Eugenius *IV. Instit. Armen.*

'Tis recorded of the Apostles alone, in whose room the Bishops succeed, that they gave the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

It was also a privilege of an Apostle, by virtue of his commission from *Christ to instruct all Nations* in the Doctrine and Law of *Christ*; He had right and warrant to exercise his function every where, *His charge was universal and indefinite*; *the whole world was his Province*; he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was (as St. *Cyril* calleth him) *an Oecumenical Judge*, and *an Instructor of all the Subcelestial World.*

Ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἐπιδέξασθαι. Chrys. *in* Joh. 21.

Κριταὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ, καὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καθηγηταί. Cyril. γλαφ. *in* Gen. 7.

Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion appeal, and affirm, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.* Whence their Writings have passed for inspired, and therefore Canonical, or certain Rules of Faith and Practice.

Act. 15. 28.

It did belong to them to found Churches, to constitute Pastors, to settle orders, to correct offences, to perform all such Acts of Sovereign, Spiritual Power, in virtue of the same Divine assistance, *according to the Authority, which the Lord had given them for edification*; as we see practised by Saint *Paul.*

In fine, the *Apostleship was* (as St. *Chrysostom* telleth us) *a business fraught with ten thousand good things*; *both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them.*

Τὴν Ἀποστολὴν, πρᾶγμα μυρίων ἀγαθῶν γέμον, τῶν χαρισμάτων ἁπάντων καὶ μεῖζον, καὶ περιεκτικόν. Chrys. *in* Rom. 1. *Or.* 1. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 114.

Now such an Office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the Church, and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages, which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself.

Neither did the Apostles pretend to communicate it; they did indeed appoint standing Pastors and Teachers in each Church; they did assume Fellow-labourers or Assistants in the work of Preaching and Governance; but they did not constitute Apostles, equal to themselves in Authority, Privileges or Gifts. For *who knoweth not* (saith St. *Austin*) *that principate of Apostleship to be preferred before any Episcopacy?* and *the Bishops* (saith *Bellarmine*) *have no part of the true Apostolical Authority.* *

Quis nescit illum Apostolatûs principatum cuilibet Episcopatui præferendum? Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 1. *Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ Apostolicæ auctoritatis.* Bell. 4. 25.

* The Apostles themselves do make the Apostulate a distinct Office from Pastors and Teachers, which are the standing Offices in the Church. *Ep.* 4. 11. 1 *Cor.* 12. 28.

Wherefore Saint *Peter*, who had no other Office mentioned in Scripture, or known to Antiquity, beside that of an Apostle, could not have properly and adequately any Successor to his Office; but it naturally did expire with his Person, as did that of the other Apostles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other Apostles, as such, had no Successors, the Apostolical Office not being propagated; the Primacy of Saint *Peter* (whatever it were, whether of Order or Jurisdiction, in regard to his Brethren) did cease with him; for when there were no *Apostles* extant, there could be *no Head*, or *Prince of the Apostles* in any sense.

6. If

6. If some privileges of Saint *Peter* were derived to Popes, why were not all? why was not Pope *Alexander* VI. as holy as Saint *Peter?* why was not Pope *Honorius* as sound in his private judgment? why is not every Pope inspired? why is not every Papal Epistle to be reputed Canonical? why are not all Popes endowed with power of doing Miracles? why doth not the Pope by a Sermon convert thousands? (why indeed do Popes never preach?) why doth not he cure men by his shadow? (he is, say they, himself his shadow:) what ground is there of distinguishing the privileges, so that he shall have some, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected, that the *Fathers* commonly do call Bishops Successors of the Apostles; to assoil that objection we may consider, that whereas the Apostolical Office virtually did contain the functions of Teaching, and ruling God's people, the which for preservation of Christian doctrine, and edification of the Church, were requisite to be continued perpetually in ordinary standing Offices, these indeed were derived from the Apostles, but not properly in way of succession, as by univocal propagation; but by Ordination, imparting all the power needful for such Offices; which therefore were exercised by persons during the Apostles lives concurrently, or in subordination to them; even as a Dictator at *Rome* might create inferior Magistrates, who derived from him, but not as his Successors; for (as *Bellarmine* himself telleth us) *there can be no proper succession but in respect of one preceding, but Apostles and Bishops were together in the Church.*

Non succeditur propriè nisi præcedenti, at simul fuerunt in Ecclesia Apostoli & Episcopi —— Bell. *de Pont.* R. 4. 25.

The *Fathers* therefore so in a large sense call all Bishops Successors of the Apostles, not meaning that any of them did succeed into the whole Apostolical Office; but that each did receive his power from some one (immediately or mediately) whom some Apostle did constitute Bishop, vesting him with Authority to feed the particular Flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge; according to the sayings of that Apostolical person, *Clemens Rom.* *The Apostles preaching in Regions and Cities, did constitute their first Converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for Bishops and Deacons of those who should afterward believe;* and *having constituted the foresaid* (Bishops and Deacons) *they withal gave them farther charge, that if they should die, other approved men successively should receive their Office:* thus did the Bishops supply the room of the Apostles, *each in guiding his particular charge,* all of them together by mutual aid conspiring to govern the whole Body of the Church.

Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ Διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν. Clem. *ad* Corinth. 1. *p.* 54.

Κατέστησε τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν ἐπιδεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν. *Ibid.* *p.* 57.

Singulis pastoribus portio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisq; & gubernet —— Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

8. In which regard it may be said that not one single Bishop, but all Bishops together through the whole Church do succeed Saint *Peter*, or any other Apostle; for that all of them in union together have an universal Sovereign Authority, commensurate to an Apostle.

9. This is the notion, which St. *Cyprian* doth so much insist upon, affirming that the Bishops do succeed Saint *Peter*, and the other Apostles, *by vicarious ordination*; that *the Bishops are Apostles*; that there is but *one chair by the Lord's word built upon one Peter*;

Præpositos, qui Apostolis vicariâ ordinatione succedunt —— *Ep.* 69. 42. 75.

Apostolos, id est, Episcopos & præpositos Dominus elegit. Ep. 65.

Cathedra una super Petrum Domini

voce fundata—— *Ep.*40. & *Ep.*73. & *de unit Eccl.*

*Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus. Ep.*52.

Episcopatus unus, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. De unit. Eccl.

Et Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab Apostolis omnibus unanimi consentione pascatur. De unit. Eccl.

One undivided Bishoprick, diffused in the peaceful numerosity of many Bishops, wherof each Bishop doth hold his share; One Flock whom the Apostles by unanimous agreement did feed, and *which afterward the Bishops do feed;* having *a portion thereof allotted to each, which he should govern.*

*Nam etsi Pastores multi sumus, unam tamen gregem pascimus, & oves universas, &c. Epist.*67.

For though we are many Pastors, yet we feed one flock, and all the sheep, &c.

Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus, eâdem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.

So the Synod of *Carthage* with St. *Cyprian.*

The mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest in sending his Apostles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whose Successors we are, governing the Church of God by the same power.

Τὰ πρόβατα—— ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε. Chrys. *de Sacerd.* 1.

So also St. *Chrysostom* saith, that *the Sheep of Christ were committed by him to Peter, and to those after him,* that is, in his meaning, to all Bishops.

10. Such, and no other power Saint *Peter* might devolve on any Bishop ordained by him in any Church; which he did constitute or inspect; as in that of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, of *Babylon*, of *Rome.*

Hier. *ad* Evagr.

The like did the other Apostles communicate, who had the same power with Saint *Peter* in founding and settling Churches; whose Successors of this kind were equal to those of the same kind, whom Saint *Peter* did constitute; enjoying in their several precincts an equal part of the Apostolical power as St. *Cyprian* often doth assert.

11. It is in consequence observable, that in those Churches, whereof the Apostles themselves were never accounted Bishops, yet the Bishops are called Successors of the Apostles; which cannot otherwise be understood, than according to the sense which we have proposed; that is, because they succeeded those, who were constituted by the Apostles; according to those sayings of *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*; *We can number those, who were instituted Bishops by the Apostles and their Successors*; and, *All the Churches do shew those, whom being by the Apostles constituted in the Episcopal Office they have as Continuers of the Apostolical seed.*

Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi, & Successores eorum usq; ad nos—— Iren.3.3.

Proinde utiq; & cæteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habent. Tert. *de Præscr.*32.

Τέταρτος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦνται Πεῖμος. Eus. *hist.* 4. 1. *Primus* is the fourth from the Apostles who was the Bishop of that place, or obtained the ministery there.

So although Saint *Peter* was never reckoned Bishop of *Alexandria*, yet because it is reported that he placed Saint *Mark* there, the Bishop of *Alexandria* is said to succeed the Apostles.

Ὅπου μὲν Ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας Ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, &c. Clem. Alex. *apud* Euseb.3.23. *Ordo Episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit autorem.* Tert. *in* Marc.4.5. Tert. *de Præscr.* 32.

And because Saint *John* did abide at *Ephesus*, inspecting that Church, and *appointing Bishops there*, the Bishops of that See did *refer their Origin to him.*

So many Bishops did claim from Saint *Paul.*

Unitatem à Domino & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam Cypr. *Ep.*42.

Adversarii nostri qui Apostolis successimus, Firmil. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

So St. *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* do assert themselves *Successors of the Apostles*, who yet perhaps never were at *Carthage*, or *Cæsarea.*

So

So the Church of *Constantinople* is often in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called *this great Apostolock Church*, being such Churches as those of whom *Tertullian* saith, that *although they do not produce any of the Apostles, or Apostolical men for their Author, yet conspiring in the same faith, and no less, for the consanguinity of doctrine, reputed Apostolical.*

——*ab illis Ecclesiis, quæ licèt nullum ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis, auctorem suum proferant, aut multo posteriores, quæ deniq; quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minùs Apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.* Tert. *de Præscr.* 32.

Yea hence St. *Hierom* doth assert a parity of merit and dignity Sacerdotal to all Bishops; because (saith he) *all of them are Successors to the Apostles*; having all a like power by their ordination conferred on them. Hier. *ad* Evagr.

12. Whereas our Adversaries do pretend, that indeed the other Apostles had an extraordinary charge as Legates of *Christ*, which had no succession, but was extinct in their persons; but that Saint *Peter* had a peculiar charge, as ordinary Pastor of the whole Church, which surviveth: Bell. 4. 25, &c.

To this it is enough to rejoin, that it is a mere figment, devised for a shift, and affirmed precariously; having no ground either in Holy Scripture, or in ancient Tradition; there being no such distinction in the Sacred or Ecclesiastical Writings; no mention occurring there of any Office which he did assume, or which was attributed to him, distinct from that extraordinary one of an Apostle; and all the pastoral charge imaginable being ascribed by the Ancients to all the Apostles in regard to the whole Church, as hath been sufficiently declared.

13. In fine, if any such conveyance of power, (of power so great, so momentous, so mightily concerning the perpetual state of the Church, and of each person therein) had been made; it had been (for general direction and satisfaction, for voiding all doubt and debate about it, for stifling these pretended Heresies and Schisms) very requisite, that it should have been expressed in some authentick Record, that a particular Law should have been extant concerning it, that all posterity should be warned to yield the submission grounded thereon.

Indeed a matter of so great consequence to the being and welfare of the Church, could scarce have scaped from being clearly mentioned somewhere or other in Scripture, wherein so much is spoken touching Ecclesiastical Discipline; it could scarce have avoided the Pen of the first Fathers, (*Clemens*, *Ignatius*, the *Apostolical Canons* and *Constitutions*, *Tertullian*, &c.) who also so much treat concerning the Function and Authority of Christian Governors.

Nothing can be more strange, than that in the *Statute-book* of the *new Jerusalem*, and in all the Original Monuments concerning it, there should be such a dead silence concerning the succession of its chief Magistrate.

Wherefore no such thing appearing, we may reasonably conclude no such thing to have been, and that our Adversaries assertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary and groundless.

14. I might add, as a very convincing Argument, that if such a succession had been designed, and known in old times, it is morally impossible, that none of the Fathers (*Origen*, *Chrysostom*, *Augustine*, *Cyril*, *Hierom*, *Theodoret*, &c.) in their exposition of the places alledged by the *Romanists* for the Primacy of Saint *Peter*, should declare that Primacy to have been derived and settled on Saint *Peter*'s Successor; a point of that moment, if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a most useful application, and direction for duty.

SUP-

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, *That Saint* Peter *was Bishop of* Rome.

CONcerning which Assertion we say, that it may with great reason be denied, and that it cannot any-wise be assured; as will appear by the following Considerations.

1. Saint *Peter*'s being Bishop of *Rome* would confound the Offices, which God made distinct; for *God did appoint first Apostles, then Prophets, then Pastors and Teachers*; wherefore Saint *Peter* after he was an Apostle, could not well become a Bishop; it would be such an irregularity, as if a Bishop should be made a Deacon.

1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11.

2. The Offices of an Apostle, and of a Bishop, are not in their nature well consistent; for the Apostleship is an extraordinary Office, charged with instruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an answerable care (*the Apostles being Rulers*, as Saint *Chrysostom* saith, *ordained by God*; *Rulers not taking several Nations and Cities, but all of them in common entrusted with the whole world*) but Episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there; Bishops being Pastors, who (as St. *Chrysostom* saith) *do sit, and are employed in one place*: Now he that hath such a general care, can hardly discharge such a particular Office; and he that is fixed to so particular attendance, can hardly look well after so general a charge: Either of those Offices alone would suffice to take up a whole man; as those tell us, who have considered the burthen incumbent on the meanest of them; the which we may see described in St. *Chrysostom*'s Discourses concerning the Priesthood.

Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι. ἄρχοντες, οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τῷ οἰκουμένῳ ἐμπιστευθέντες. Chrys. *Tom.* 8. *p.* 115.

Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠχολημένοι. Chrys. *in* Eph. 4. 11.

Baronius saith of Saint *Peter*, that *it was his Office, not to stay in one place, but as much as it was possible for one man to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to establish believers*; if so, how could he be Bishop of *Rome*, which was an Office inconsistent with such vagrancy?

Non erat ejus Officii in uno loco consistere, sed quantum homini licuisset universum peragrare orbem, & nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes verò in fide penitus stabilire. Baron. *Anno* 58. §. 51.

3. It would not have beseemed Saint *Peter* the prime Apostle, to assume the charge of a particular Bishop; it had been a degradation of himself, and a disparagement to the Apostolical Majesty, for him to take upon him the Bishoprick of *Rome*; as if the *King* should become *Mayor* of *London*; as if the *Bishop* of *London* should be *Vicar* of *Pancras*.

4. Wherefore it is not likely, that Saint *Peter*, being sensible of that superior charge belonging to him, which did exact a more extensive care, would vouchsafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive, that Saint *Peter* did affect the Name of a Bishop, as now men do, allured by the baits of wealth and power, which then were none: if he did affect the Title, why did he not in either of his Epistles (one of which, as they would perswade us, was written from *Rome*) inscribe himself Bishop of *Rome*?

Especially

Especially considering, that being an Apostle, he did not need any particular Authority, that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of Ecclesiastical Administrations: there was no reason that an Apostle (or Universal Bishop) should become a particular Bishop.

5. Also Saint *Peter*'s general charge of converting and inspecting the *Jews*, dispersed over the World *(his Apostleship*, as Saint *Paul* calleth it, *of the Circumcision)* which required much travel, and his presence in divers places, doth not well agree to his assuming the Episcopal Office at *Rome*. Gal.2.8. Ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς.

Especially at that time, when they first make him to assume it; which was in the time of *Claudius*, who (as Saint *Luke*, and other Histories do report) did banish all the *Jews* from *Rome*, as *Tiberius* also had done before him: He was too skilful a Fisherman to cast his Net there, where there was no Fish. Act.18.2. Sueton. *in* Claud. 25. *in* Tib.36.

6. If we consider Saint *Peter*'s life, we may well deem him uncapable of this Office; which he could not conveniently discharge; for it, as History doth represent it, and may be collected from divers circumstances of it, was very unsettled; he went much about the World, and therefore could seldom reside at *Rome*.

Many have argued him to have never been at *Rome*; which opinion I shall not avow, as bearing a more civil respect to ancient Testimonies and Traditions; although many false and fabulous relations of that kind having crept into History and common vogue; many doubtful reports having passed concerning him; many notorious forgeries having been vented about his travels and acts, (all that is reported of him out of Scripture having a smack of the Legend) would tempt a man to suspect any thing touching him, which is grounded only upon human Tradition; so that the forger of his Epistle to Saint *James* might well induce him saying, *If while I do yet survive, men dare to feign such things of me, how much more will they dare to do so after my decease?* Euseb.3.3. Εἰ ἔτι μοῦ ζῶντος τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν καταψεύδεσθαι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ ποιεῖν οἱ μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσι; Petr.ad Jacob.

But at least the discourses of those men have evinced that it is hard to assign the time, when he was at *Rome*; and that he could never long abide there. For,

The time which old Tradition assigneth of his going to *Rome*, is rejected by divers learned men, even of the *Roman* Party. Scal. *in* Euseb. *p.*189. Onuph. *apud* Bell.2.6. Vales. *in* Euseb.2.16.

He was often in other places; sometimes at *Jerusalem*, sometimes at *Antioch*, sometimes at *Babylon*, sometimes at *Corinth*, sometimes probably at each of those places unto which he directeth his Catholick Epistles; among which *Epiphanius* saith, that *Peter did often visit Pontus and Bithynia*. Act.11.2. 15.7. Gal.1.18. 2.9. Gal.2.11. 1 Pet.5.13. 1 Cor.1.12. 2 Pet.3.2. 1 Pet.1.1. Πέτρος πολλάκις Πόντον καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο. Epiph. *hær.* 27.

And that he seldom was at *Rome*, may well be collected from Saint *Paul's* Writings; for he writing at different times one Epistle to *Rome*, and divers Epistles from *Rome*, (that to the *Galatians*, that to the *Ephesians*, that to the *Philippians*, that to the *Colossians*, and the *Second* to *Timothy*) doth never mention him, sending any salutation to him, or from him.

Particularly Saint *Peter* was not there, when Saint *Paul* mentioning *Tychicus*, *Onesimus*, *Aristarchus*, *Marcus* and *Justus*, addeth *these alone* Col.4.11.

my

my fellow-workers unto the Kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.

2 Tim. 4. 16. He was not there when Saint *Paul* said, *at my first defence no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.*

He was not there immediately before Saint *Paul*'s death, (when *the*
2 Tim 4. 6. *the time of his departure was at hand*) when he telleth *Timothy*, that *all*
2 Tim. 4. 21. *the brethren did salute him*, and naming divers of them, he omitteth *Peter*.

Which things being considered, it is not probable that Saint *Peter* would assume the Episcopal Chair of *Rome*, he being little capable to recide there, and for that other needful affairs would have forced him to leave so great a Church destitute of their Pastor.

7. It was needless that he should be Bishop, for that by virtue of his Apostleship (involving all the power of inferior degrees) he might when ever he should be at *Rome* exercise Episcopal functions and Authority. What need a Sovereign Prince be made a Justice of Peace ——

Conc. Nic. *Can.* 16. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* 3. *Conc.* Sard. *Can.* 11, 12. *Conc.* Trul. *Can.* 80.

8. Had he done so, he must have given a bad example of Non-residence, a Practice that would have been very ill relished in the Primitive Church, as we may see by several Canons interdicting offences of kin to it (it being I think then not so known as nominally to be censured) and culpable upon the same ground; and by the sayings of Fathers condemning practices approaching to it.

Οἶδας ἀναγνοὺς τὰς γραφὰς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν Ἐπίσκοπον τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίων Athan. *Apol.* 1.

Having read the Scriptures, you know how great an offence it is for a Bishop to forsake his Church, and to neglect the Flocks of God.

Oportet enim Episcopos curis secularibus expeditos curam suorum agere populorum, nec Ecclesiis suis abesse diutiùs. P. Paschal. *II. Ep.* 22.

For Bishops ought to be disentangled from secular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long absent from their Churches.

Præcipimus nè conducti

Even later Synods in more corrupt times, and in the declension of good Order, yet did prohibit this practce.

tiis ministris Ecclesiæ committantur, & unaquæq; Ecclesia, cui facultas suppetit, proprium habeat Sacerdotem. *Conc.* Lat 2. (*sub* Innoc. *II*) *Can.* 10.

We injoyn that Churches be not committed to hired Ministers, but that every Church, that is of ability, have its proper Priest.

Cùm igitur Ecclesia vel Ecclesiasticum ministerium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quæratur, quæ residere in loco, & curam ejus per seipsum valet exercere; quòd si aliter fuerit actum, & qui receperit, quod contra Sanctos Canones accepit, amittat. *Conc.* Lat. 3. (*sub* Alexandro *III.*) *cap.* 13.

Therefore when a Church or the Ecclesiastical Ministry be to be committed to any man, let such a person be found out for this purpose, who can reside upon the place, and discharge the cure by himself: but if it prove otherwise, then let him who has received, lose that which he has taken contrary to the holy Canons.

Epiphanius therefore did well infer, that it was needful the Apostles should constitute Bishops resident at *Rome*; *It was* (saith he) *possible that the Apostles Peter and Paul yet surviving other Bishops should be constituted, because the Apostles often did take journeys into other Countries, for preaching Christ, but the City of Rome could not be without a Bishop.*

Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἠδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων τῶν Ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὴ τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, Ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν στέλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι δὴ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ Ἐπισκόπου εἶναι. Epiph. *hær.* 27.

9. If Saint *Peter* were Bishop of *Rome*, he thereby did offend against divers other good Ecclesiastical Rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at least the reason of them was always good, upon which the Church did afterward enact them; so that either he did ill in thwarting them, or the Church had done it in establishing them, so as to condemn his practice.

10. It

10. It was against Rule, that any Bishop should desert one Church, and transfer himself to another; and indeed against Reason, such a relation and endearment being contracted between a Bishop and his Church, which cannot well be dissolved. *Apost. Can.14.*

But Saint *Peter* is by Ecclesiastical Historians reported (and by *Romanists* admitted) to have been Bishop of *Antioch* for seven years together.

Τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλόπολις ἔχει. Theodor. *Ep.*86.
The great City of the Antiochians hath the throne of the great Saint Peter.

He therefore did ill to relinquish that Church, *that most ancient and truly Apostoliek Church of Antioch*, (as the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers call'd it) and to place his See at *Rome*.

Τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Theod. 5.6.

This practice was esteemed bad, and of very mischievous consequence; earnestly eproved as heinously criminal by great *Fathers*, severely condemned by divers *Synods*.

Particularly a transmigration from a lesser and poorer to a greater and more wealthy Bishoprick (which is the present case) was checked by them as rankly savouring of selfish ambition or avarice.

The *Synod* of *Alexandria* (in *Athanasius*) in its Epistle to all Catholick Bishops doth say, that *Eusebius* by passing from *Berytus* to *Nicomedia had annulled his Episcopacy*, making it *an adultery*, worse than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce, *Eusebius* (say they) *did not consider the Apostle's admonition, Art thou bound to a wife, do not seek to be loosed; for if it be said of a woman, how much more of a Church; of the same Bishoprick; to which one being tyed, ought not to seek another, that he may not be found also an adulterer, according to the Holy Scripture?* Surely when they said this, they did forget, what Saint *Peter* was said to have done in that kind; as did also the *Sardican* Fathers in their Synodical Letter extant in the same Apology of *Athanasius*, condemning *translations from lesser Cities and greater Dioceses*.

Ἀκυρώσας αὐτὴν. Athanas. *Apol.* 2. *p.*726.

Οὐ συνορῶν τὸ παράγγελμα, δέδεσαι γυναικὶ, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾗ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς παρὰ τῶν θείαις ἐυρίσκεται γραφαῖς. *Syn.* Alex. *apud* Athan. *p.*727.

Τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παροικίας. *Ibid.p.*765.

The same practice is forbidden by the Synods of *Nice* I. of *Chalcedon*, of *Antioch*, of *Sardica*, of *Arles* I. *&c.*

Syn. Nic. *Can.* 15. *Syn.* Chalc. *Can.* 5. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.*21. *Syn.* Sard. *Can.* 1. *Syn.* Arel. *Can.* 22. Grat. *Caus.* 8. *qu.* 1. *cap.*4.

In the Synod under *Mennas*, it was laid to the charge of *Anthimus*, that having been Bishop of *Trabisond*, he had *adulterously snatched the See of Constantinople, against all Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons.*

——— ἠδυνήθη μοιχικῶς τὴν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν ὑφαρπάσαι θρόνον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ κανόνας. *Conc.sub.* Menn.*p.*9.

Yea great Popes of *Rome*, (little considering how peccant therein their Predecessor Pope *Peter* was) Pope *Julius* and Pope *Damasus* did greatly tax this practice; whereof the latter in his Synod at *Rome* did excommunicate all those, who should commit it.

P. Jul. *I. apud* Athan. *in Apol.*2. *p.*744.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἑτέρας Ἐκκλησίας μετελθόντας ἄχρι τοσούτου ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν, ἄχρι οὗ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπανέλθωσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήθεσαν. Theod.5.11.
Those that pass from their own Churches to other Churches, we esteem so long excommunicate (or strangers from our communion) till such time as they return to the same Cities where they were first ordained.

In like manner Pope *Leo* I.

Si quis Episcopus, mediocritate Civitatis suæ despectâ, administrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, & ad majorem se plebem quacunq; occasione transtulerit, non solùm à Cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, sed carebit & propriâ, &c. P. Leo I. *Ep.*84. *c.*4.

If a Bishop, despising the meanness of his City, seeks for the administration of a more eminent place, and upon any occasion whatsoever transfers himself to a greater people, he shall not only be driven out of another's See, but also lose his own.

These Laws were so indispensible, that in respect to them *Constantine M.* who much loved and honoured *Eusebius* (acknowledging him in the common judgment of the world deserving to be Bishop of the whole Church) did not like, that he should accept the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, to which he was invited; and commended his waving it, as an act not only *consonant to the Ecclesiastical Canons*, but *acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolical Tradition*; so little aware was the good Emperor, of Saint *Peter* being translated from *Antioch* to *Rome*.

Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. 3. 61.

In regard to the same Law, *Gregory Nazianzene* (a person of so great worth, and who had deserved so highly of the Church at *Constantinople*) could not be permitted to retain his Bishoprick of that Church, to which he had been call'd from that small one of *Sasima*: *The Synod* (saith *Sozomen*) *observing the Ancient Laws, and the Ecclesiastical Rule, did receive his Bishoprick, from him being willingly offered, no-wise regarding the great merits of the person*; the which Synod surely would have excluded Saint *Peter* from the Bishoprick of *Rome*: and it is observable that Pope *Damasus* did approve and exhort those Fathers to that proceeding ——

Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ σύνοδος καὶ τοῦ πατρίδος νόμος, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάξασα, ὁ δέδωκε παρ' ἑκόντος ἀπείληφε, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεῖσα τὸ ἀνδρὸς πλεονεκτήματων. Sozom. 7. 7.

Illud praeterea commoneo dilectionem vestram,

nè patiamini aliquam contrà Statuta majorum nostrorum de Civitate alia ad aliam transduci, & deserere plebem sibi commissam, &c. P. Damasi *Epist. apud* Holsten. *p.* 41. & R. Marc. 5. 21.

Moreover this I advise you, that out of your charity you would not suffer any one, against the Decrees of our Ancestors, to be removed from one City to another, and to forsake the people committed to his charge, *&c.*

We may indeed observe, that Pope *Pelagius* II. did excuse the translation of Bishops by the example of Saint *Peter*; *for whoever dareth to say* (argueth he) *that Saint Peter the Prince of the Apostles did not act well, when he changed his See from Antioch to Rome?*

Quis enim unquam audet dicere S. Petrum Apostolorum Principem non benè egisse, quando mutavit sedem de Antiochia in Romam? Pelag. *II. Ep.* 1.

But I think it more advisable to excuse Saint *Peter* from being Author of a practice, judged so irregular, by denying the matter of Fact laid to his charge.

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, *contrary* (saith St. *Cyprian*) *to the Ecclesiastical disposition, contrary to the Evangelical Law, contrary to the unity of Catholick Institution*; a *Symbol* (saith another ancient Writer) *of dissension, and disagreeable to Ecclesiastical Law*; which therefore was condemned by the Synod of *Nice*, by Pope *Cornelius*, by Pope *Innocent* I. and others, that two Bishops should precide together in one City.

Contra Ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra Evangelicam legem, contra Institutionis Catholicæ unitatem — Cypr. *Ep.* 44. (*ut & Ep.* 46, 52, 55, 58.)

Ὁ διχονοίας συμβολὸν ὃν καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον. Soz. 4. 15.

Syn. Nic. Can. 8.

Cornelius *apud* Euseb. 6. 43.

Cypr. *Ep.* 46. *P.* Innocentius *apud* Sozom. 8. 26. Opt. *I. Cathedra una.*

This was condemned with good reason; for this on the Churches part would be a kind of spiritual Polygamy; this would render a Church a monster with two heads; this would destroy the end of Episcopacy, which is unity and *prevention of Schisms*.

In remedium Schismatis. Hier.

But if Saint *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, this irregularity was committed; for the same Authority upon which Saint *Peter*'s Episcopacy of *Rome* is built, doth also reckon Saint *Paul* Bishop of the same; the same Writers do make both Founders and Planters of the *Roman* Church, and the same call both Bishops of it; wherefore if Episcopacy be taken

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in a strict and proper sense, agreeable to this Controversy, that rule must needs be infringed thereby.

Irenæus saith, *that the Roman Church was founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul*; *Dionysius* of *Corinth* calleth it *the plantation of Peter and Paul*; *Epiphanius* saith, that *Peter and Paul were first at Rome both Apostles and Bishops*; so *Eusebius* implieth, saying, that P. *Alexander derived a succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul.*

—*à gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundata, & constituta Ecclesia.* Iren. 3. 3. 3. 1.

Τῶ ἀπὸ Πέτρε καὶ Παύλε φυτείαν —— Dionys. Corinth. *apud* Euseb. 2. 25.
Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενοι ἐφ' ὅτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἐπίσκοποι. Epiph. *Hær.* 27.
Πέμπτῳ ἀπὸ Πέτρε καὶ Παύλε κατάγων διαδοχήν. Euseb. 4. 1.

Wherefore both of them were *Roman* Bishops, or neither of them: In reason and rule neither of them may be called so in a strict and proper sense; but in a larger and improper sense both might be so styled.

Indeed that Saint *Paul* was in some acception Bishop of *Rome* (that is, had a Supreme superintendence or inspection of it) is reasonable to affirm; because he did for a good time reside there, and during that residence could not but have the chief place, could be subject to no other; *He* (saith Saint *Luke*) *did abide two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that entred in unto him, preaching the Kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* Act. 28. 30.

It may be enquired, if Saint *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, how he did become such? did our Lord appoint him such? did the Apostles all or any constitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himself into it? of none of these things there is any appearance, nor any probability. *Non constat.*

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, *That Saint* Peter *did continue Bishop of* Rome *after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

AGainst which Assertions we may consider:

1. Ecclesiastical Writers do affirm, that Saint *Peter* (either alone, or together with Saint *Paul*) did constitute other Bishops; wherefore Saint *Peter* was never Bishop, or did not continue Bishop there.

Irenæus saith, that *the Apostles founding and rearing that Church, delivered the Episcopal Office into the hands of Linus*; if so, how did they retain it in their own hands or persons? could they give, and have?

Θεμελιώσαντες ἐν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι Ἀπόστολοι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Iren. *apud* Euseb. 5. 6.

Tertullian saith, that Saint *Peter* did ordain *Clement.*

Romanorum Ecclesiæ Clementem à Petro ordinatum edit. Tert. *de Præscr.* 32.

In the Apostolical Constitutions (a very ancient Book, and setting forth the most ancient Traditions of the Church,) the Apostles ordering

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,
Hâc Cathedrâ, Petrus quâ sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considere jussit. Tert. *in* Marc 3.9.

Prayers to be made for all Bishops, and naming the principal, do reckon, not Saint *Peter*, but *Clement*, *Let us pray for our Bishop James, for our Bishop Clemens, for our Bishop Evodius*, &c.

Τῆς ὑ Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας Λῖνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας τῆς δευτέρου τόπου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐκ Παύλου κλῆσιν ἔμ μὲ τ Λίνε θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμῦ Πέτρε δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηϑ. *Const. Apost.* 7. 46.

These reports are consistent, and reconciled by that which the Apostolical Constitutions affirm; that *Linus was first ordained Bishop of the Roman Church by Paul; but Clemens after the death of Linus by Peter in the second place.*

Euseb. 3.4.13. Aug *Ep.* 165.
Epiph. *Hær.* 27. Opt 2.
Tertull. *poem. in* Marc. 3.9.
Phot. *Cod.* 112. (*p.* 290.)

Others between *Linus* and *Clemens* do interpose *Cletus* or *Anacletus* (some taking these for one, others for two persons) which doth not alter the case.

N. Eusebius (3.2.) saith, that *Linus* did sit Bishop *after the Martyrdom of Saint Peter*, but this is not so probable, as that which the Author of the Constitutions doth affirm, which reconcileth the dissonancies of Writers.

Now hence we may infer, both that Saint *Peter* never was Bishop; and upon supposition that he was, that he did not continue so. For,

2. If he had ever been Bishop, he could not well lay down his Office, or subrogate another, either to preside with him, or to succeed him; according to the ancient Rules of Discipline, and that which passed for right in the Primitive Church.

This practice Pope *Innocent* I. condemned, as irregular and never known before his time; *We* (saith he in his Epistle to the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*) *never have known these things to have been adventured by our Fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for that none hath power given him to ordain another in the place of one living:* He did not (it seems) consider, that Saint *Peter* had used such a power.

Οὐδὲ γὰ πώποτε ὧδε τ πατέρων ταῦτα τετολμῆϑαι ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κεκωλῦϑαι, τῷ μηδενὶ εἰς τόπον ζῶντ⊖ χειροτονεῖν ἄλλον δεδόϑαι ἐξουσίαν. P. Inn. I. *apud* Soz. 8. 26.

Accordingly the Synod of *Antioch* (to secure the tradition and practice of the Church, which began by some to be infringed) did make this Sanction, that *it should not be lawful for any Bishop to constitute another in his room to succeed him; although it were at the point of death.*

Ἐπισκόπω μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀνϑ' ἑαυτῦ καϑίσαϑαι ἕτερον, κἂν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτὴν τὸ βίε τύχῃ. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 23.

3. But supposing Saint *Peter* were Bishop once, yet by constituting *Linus*, or *Clemens* in his place, he ceased to be so, and devested himself of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue Bishop together with another.

That being, in St. *Cyprian*'s judgment, the Ordination of *Linus* had been void and null; for *seeing* (saith that *H. Martyr*) *there cannot after the first be any second, whoever is after one, who ought to be sole Bishop, he is not now second, but none.*

Cùm post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est. Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

Upon this ground, when the Emperor *Constantius* would have procured *Felix* to sit Bishop of *Rome* together with Pope *Liberius*, at his return from Banishment (after his compliance with the *Arians*) the people of *Rome* would not admit it, exclaiming *One God, one Christ, one Bishop*; and whereas *Felix* soon after that died, the Historian remarketh it as *a special providence of God that Peter's Throne might not suffer infamy*; being

Thod. *hist.* 2. 17.
Ταύτη τη τ θεῦ διοικήσαντ⊖, ὥστε τ Πέτρε θρόνον μὴ ἀδοξεῖν ὑπὸ δυο ἡγεμόσιν ἰδιωτίκοις.

being governed under two Prelates; he never considered, that Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, Saint *Peter* and *Linus* had thus governed that same Church.

Upon this account St. *Austin* being assumed by *Valerius* with him to be Bishop of *Hippo*, did afterward discern and acknowledge his errour.

Adhuc in corpore posito beatæ memoriæ patre & Episcopo meo sene Valerio Episcopus ordinatus sum, & sedi cum illo, quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat. Aug. *Ep.* 110.

While my Father and Bishop of blessed memory, old Valerius was yet living, I was ordained Bishop, and held the See with him: which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the Council of Nice.

In fine, to obviate this practice, so many Canons of Councils (both general and particular) were made, which we before did mention.

4. In sum, when Saint *Peter* did ordain others (as story doth accord in affirming) either he did retain the Episcopacy, and then (beside need, reason and rule) there were concurrently divers Bishops of *Rome* at one time; or he did quite relinquish and finally divorce himself from the Office, so that he did not die Bishop of *Rome*, the which overturneth the main ground of the Romish pretence. Or will they say, that Saint *Peter*, having laid aside the Office for a time, did afterward before his death resume it? then what became of *Linus*, of *Cletus*, of *Clemens*? were they dispossessed of their place, or deposed from their function; would Saint *Peter succeed them in it*? this in *Bellarmin*'s own judgment *had been plainly intolerable.*

Ipse sublimavit Sedem, in qua etiam quiescere, & præsentem vitam finire dignatus est. Greg. *I. Ep.* 6. 37. Innoc. *I. Ep.* 21. *P.* Nic. *I. Ep.* 9. *p.* 509. Grat. *caus.* 8 *q.* 1. *cap.* 1.

He advanced that See, wherein he vouchsafed both to set up his rest, and also to end this present life.

Bell. 2. 12. § *At verò* —— *Petrum Apostolum successisse in Episcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex discipulis, quod est planè intolerandum.* Bell. 2. 6.

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the case, and perplexities in story, it is reasonable to understand those of the Ancients, who call *Peter* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Rome* the place, the Chair, the See of *Peter*, as meaning that he was Bishop or Superintendent of that Church, in a large sense; because he did found the Church by converting men to the Christian Faith; because he did erect the Chair by ordaining the first Bishops; because he did in virtue both of his Apostolical Office, and his special Parental relation to that Church, maintain a particular inspection over it, when he was there: which notion is not new, for of old *Ruffinus* affirmeth that he had it, not from his own invention, but from Tradition of others; *Some* (saith he) *inquire how, seeing Linus and Cletus were Bishops in the City of Rome before Clement, Clement himself writing to James, could say that the See was delivered to him by Peter: whereof this reason has been given us, viz. that Linus and Cletus were indeed Bishops of Rome before Clement, but Peter being yet living, viz. that they might take the Episcopal charge, but he fulfill'd the Office of the Apostleship.*

Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus & Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint Episcopi, ipse Clemens ad Jacobum scribens, sibi dicat à Petro docendi Cathedram traditam, cujus rei hanc accepimus esse rationem, quòd Linus & Clerus fuerunt quidem ante Clementem Episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro, videlicet ut illi Episcopatûs curam gererent, ipse verò Apostolatûs impleret Officium. Ruffin. *in præf. ad* Clem. *Recogn.*

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers observations.

It is observable that the most ancient Writers, living nearest the fountains of Tradition, do not expressly style Saint *Peter* Bishop of *Rome*, but only say, that he did found that Church, instituting and ordaining Bishops there; as the other Apostles did in the Churches which they settled; so that the Bishops there in a large sense did succeed him, and deriving their power from his ordination, and supplying his room in the

Const. Apost. 7. 46. Iren. 3. 3. Tertull.

the instruction and governance of that great Church. Yea their words if we well mark them, do exclude the Apostles from the Episcopacy. Which words the later Writers (who did not foresee the consequence, nor what an exorbitant superstructure would be raised on that slender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the *Roman* Bishops, affecting by all means to reckon Saint *Peter* for their predecessor) did easily catch, and not well distinguishing did call him Bishop, and Saint *Paul* also, so making two Heads of one Church.

Fundantes igitur, & instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam Lino Episcopatum administrandæ Ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Iren. 3. 3.

The Blessed Apostles therefore founding and instructing the Church, delivered the Episcopal power of ordering and governing the Church to Linus.

7. It is also observable, that in the recensions of the *Roman* Bishops, sometimes the Apostles are reckoned in, sometimes excluded.

So *Eusebius* calleth *Clemens the third Bishop of Rome*, yet before him he reckoneth *Linus* and *Anacletus*.

Euseb. 3, 4, 13, 15. Iren. 3. 3.

And of *Alexander* he saith, that *he deduced his Succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul*, that is, excluding the Apostles.

Πέμπτῳ ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατέχων διαδοχήν. Euseb 4. 1.

And *Hyginus* is thus accounted sometime the eighth, sometime the ninth Bishop of *Rome*.

Iren. 1. 28. 3. 3, 4. Euseb. 4. 10.

The same difference in reckoning may be observed in other Churches; for instance, although Saint *Peter* is called no less Bishop of *Antioch* than of *Rome*, by the Ancients, yet *Eusebius* saith, that *Evodius was first Bishop of Antioch*; and another *bids the Antiocheans remember Evodius, who was first entrusted with the Presidency over them by the Apostles.*

Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Εὐόδιος ἐχρημάτισε. Euseb. *Chron. p.* 7. *Hist.* 3. 22.

Μνημονεύετε Εὐοδίου, ὃς πρῶτον ἐνεχειρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὑμετέρων προεστώσιαν. Pseud. Ignat. *ad Ant.*

Euseb. counteth *Annianus* the first Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Other instances may be seen in the Notes of *Cotelerius* upon the Apostolical Constitutions, where he maketh this general Observation.

Celebris mos est Apostolos pro potestate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, Episcopali vel Apostolica, Indiculis antistitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere. Cotel. *Not. p.* 299.

'Tis an usual custom with the Apostles according to their Power ordinary or extraordinary, Episcopal or Apostolical, to prefix, &c. but it was needless to suppose these two Powers, when one was sufficient, it virtually containing the other.

This is an Argument that the Ancients were not assured in opinion; that the Apostles were Bishops; or that they did not esteem them Bishops in the same notion with others.

8. It is observable, that divers Churches did take denomination from the Apostles, and were called *Apostolical Thrones, or Chairs*, not because the Apostles themselves did sit Bishops there, but because they did exercise their Apostleship, in teaching; and *in constituting Bishops there*, who (as *Tertullian* saith) *did propagate the Apostolical seed.*

Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ. Tert. *de Præscr.* 32. Ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι. Soz. 1. 17.

2 Tim. 1. 6.

In Canonicis autem Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sanè illæ sunt, quæ Apostolicas sedes habere, & Epistolas accipere meruerunt. Aug. *de doctr. Ch.* 2. 8.

Let him follow the Authority of those many Catholick Churches in the Canonical Scriptures, among which surely are those which had the honour to have Apostolical Sees, and to receive Epistles from the Apostles.

Proinde utique & cæteræ exhibent quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos Apostolici semine traduces habent. Tertull. *de Præscr.* 32.

So

So was *Ephesus* esteemed, because Saint *Paul* did found it, and ordained *Timothy* there; and because Saint *John* did govern and appoint Bishops there. *Sed & quæ est Ephesi Ecclesia à Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, &c.* Iren. 3. 3.

And also the Church of Ephesus which was founded by Saint Paul, Saint John continuing with them till the time of Trajan, &c.

Ordo Episcoporum ad originem recensus in Johannem stabit auctorem. Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

Τῆς δ' Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεος μ' ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου. *Apost. Const.* 7. 46.

So was *Smyrna* accounted, because *Polycarpus was settled there by the Apostles*, or *by Saint John.* *Ab Apostolis in ea quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus Episcopus.* Iren. 3. 3. *Smyrnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum.* Tertull. *de Præscr.* 32. Euseb. 3 36.

Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν, καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. Euseb. 3. 36.

So *Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, *had a controversy about metropolitical Rights with Acacius Bishop of Cæsarea, as presiding in an Apostolical See.* Περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς Ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγούμενος. Sozom. 4. 25.

So *Alexandria* was deemed, because Saint *Mark* was supposed by the appointment of Saint *Peter* to sit there.

So were *Corinth*, *Thessalonica*, *Philippi* called by *Tertullian*, because Saint *Paul* did found them, and furnish them with Pastors; in which respect peculiarly the Bishops of those places were called Successors of the Apostles. Tertull. *de Præscr.* 36.

So *Constantinople* did assume the title of an Apostolical Church, probably because, according to tradition, St. *Andrew* did found that Church, although Pope *Leo* I. would not allow it that appellation. Ἀποστολικοῦ τούτου θρόνου καταφρονεῖς.

Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 10. *p.* 379. *p.* 284. Thou despisest this Apostolical Throne.——Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν θεῖον Στάχυν καταστήσας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣν ἐκεῖσε πρῶτος ἔστε ἐπήξατο. Niceph. 2. 9.

Forasmuch as having appointed holy Stachys the first Bishop, in the Church which he first settled there.

Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam Apostolicam non potest facere sedem— P. Leo I. *Ep.* 54.

Let him not disdain the Royal City, which he cannot make an Apostolick See.

Upon the same account might *Rome* at first be called an Apostolical See; although afterward the *Roman* Bishops did rather pretend to that denomination, upon account of Saint *Peter* being Bishop there; and the like may be said of *Antioch.* *Memento quia Apostolicam sedem Regis* —— Greg. M. *Ep.* 4 37. Remember you rule an Apostolick See.

9. It is observable, that the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, reciting the first Bishops constituted in several Churches, doth not reckon any of the Apostles; particularly not *Peter*, or *Paul*, or *John.* *Const. Apost.* 7. 46.

10. Again, any Apostle whereever he did recide by virtue of his Apostolical Office, without any other designation or assumption of a more special Power, was qualified to preside there, exercising a Superintendency comprehensive of all Episcopal functions; so that it was needless, that he should take upon himself the character or style of a Bishop.

This (beside the tenour of ancient Doctrine) doth appear from the demeanour of Saint *John*, who never was reckoned *Bishop of Ephesus*; nor could be, without displacing *Timothy*, who by Saint *Paul* was constituted Bishop there, or succeeding in his room; yet he abiding at *Ephesus*,

Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν κζ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο· πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονήθησαν. *Syn.* Chal. *Act.* 11. 2 Tim. 1. 6.

From holy Timothy till now there have been seven and twenty Bishops, and all ordained at Ephesus.

Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c. Iren. 3. 3.

did

Τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν Ἐκκλησίας —— ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων· ὅπου δὲ ὅλας Ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων. ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γε τινὰ κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Euseb. *hist.* 3.23.

did their discharge the Office of a Metropolitan; *giverning the Churches, and in the adjacent Churches here constituting Bishops, there forming whole Churches, otherwhere allotting to the Clergy Persons designed by the Spirit.*

Such Functions might Saint *Peter* execute in the parts of *Rome*, or *Antioch*, without being a Bishop; and as the Bishops of *Asia* did (saith *Tertullian*) *refer their original to Saint John*, so might the Bishops of *Italy*, upon the like ground, *refer their original to Saint Peter.*

Ordo Episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem. Tertull. *in* Marc.4.5.

*An.Ch.*39. Baron,§.8. Act.9.32. Act.11. 20.

It is observable, that whereas Saint *Peter* is affirmed to have been Bishop of *Antioch* seven years before his access to *Rome*, that is within the compass of Saint *Luke*'s Story; yet he passeth over a matter of so great moment; as St. *Hierom* observeth.

Denique primum Episcopum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse accepimus, & Romam exinde translatum, quod Lucas penitus omisit Hier. *in* Gal.2.

Lastly, we have received by tradition that Peter was the first Bishop of Antioch, and from thence translated to Rome: which Luke has altogether omitted.

I cannot grant, that if Saint *Luke* had thought *Peter* Sovereign of the Church, and his Episcopacy of a place a matter of such consequence, he would have slipped it over, being so obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his Story.

'Tis the distinction of a Pope. *Rex Etruriæ, & Rex in Etruria.*

He therefore I conceive was no Bishop of *Antioch*, although a Bishop at *Antioch.*

11. If in objection to some of these discourses, it be alledged, that Saint *James* our Lord's near Kinsman, although he was an Apostle, was made Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and that for the like reason Saint *Peter* might assume the Bishoprick of *Rome*;

I answer.

1. It is not certain, that Saint *James* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* was an Apostle; (meaning an Apostle of the primary rank,) for *Eusebius* (the greatest Antiquary of old times) doth reckon him *one of the* 70 *Disciples.*

Εἷς δὲ καὶ τῶν τῶν φερομένων τῶν σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν. Euseb.1.12.

*Apost. Const.*6. 12.6.14.2. 55.7.46,&c.

So doth the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions in divers places suppose.

Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ —— 6. 12. we the twelve Apostles together with James.

Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος. Euseb. 2.23.

Hegesippus (that most ancient Historian) was of the same mind, who saith, that *there were many of this name*, and that this *James did undertake the Church with the Apostles.*

Epiph. *Hær.*78.

Of the same opinion was *Epiphanius*, who saith, that Saint *James* was the Son of *Joseph* by another Wife.

The whole *Greek* Church doth suppose the same, keeping three distinct solemnities for him, and the two Apostles of the same name.

Gregory Nyssene, St. *Hierom*, and divers other ancient Writers do concur herein, whom we may see alledged by *Grotius*, Dr. *Hammond*, (who themselves did embrace the same opinion) *Valesius*, *Blondel*, &c.

Grot. *in* Jac.1.1.
Hamm. *dissert.* Ignat.4.3.
Valef. *in* Euseb.1.12.
Blondel. *in Epist.* Clem. *ad* Jacob.
Certum est non fuisse unum ex duodecim. Wal. *Mess.p.*20.

Salmasius (after his confident manner) saith *it is certain, that he was not one of the twelve*; I may at least say, it is not certain that he was, and

and consequently the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

2. Granting that Saint *James* was one of the Apostles (as some of the Ancients seem to think, calling him an Apostle; and as divers modern Divines conceive, grounding chiefly upon these words of Saint *Paul*, *But other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's Brother*, and taking Apostles there in the strictest sense) I answer,

Hierosolymitanam, quam primus Apostolus Jacobus Episcopatu suo rexit. Aug. c. Cresc. 2. 37.

The Church of Jerusalem, which James the Apostle first governed by his Episcopal power.

Gal. 1. 19.

That the case was peculiar, and there doth appear a special reason, why one of the Apostles should be designed to make a constant residence at *Jerusalem*, and consequently to preside there like a Bishop. For *Jerusalem* was the *Metropolis*, the Fountain, the Centre of the Christian Religion, where it had birth, where was greatest matter and occasion of propagating the Gospel, most people disposed to embrace it resorting thither; where the Church was very numerous, consisting, as Saint *Luke* (or Saint *James* in him) doth intimate, *of divers myriads of believing Jews*; whence it might seem expedient, that a person of greatest Authority should be fixed there for the confirming and improving that Church, together with the propagation of Religion among the people, which resorted thither; the which might induce the Apostles to settle Saint *James* there, both for discharging the Office of an Apostle, and the supplying the room of a Bishop there.

Act. 21. 20.

According to him (saith *Eusebius*) *The Episcopal Throne was committed by the Apostles*; or *our Lord* (saith *Epiphanius*) *did entrust him with his own Throne.*

Ὧ πρῶτος τὸν Ἀποστόλων ὁ τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴς ἐγκεχείρισται θρόνον. Euseb. 2. 23.

Ὧ πιστεύσας Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ Epiph. *Hær.* 78.

But there was no need of fixing an Apostle at other places; nor doth it appear that any was so fixed; especially Saint *Peter* was uncapable of such an employment, requiring settlement and constant attendance, who beside his general Apostleship, had a peculiar Apostleship of the dispersed *Jews* committed to him; who therefore was much engaged in travel for propagation of the Faith, and edifying his Converts every where.

3. The greater consent of the most ancient Writers making Saint *James* not to have been one of the twelve Apostles, it is thence accountable, why (as we before noted) Saint *James* was called by some ancient Writers, *the Bishop of Bishops*, *the Prince of Bishops*, &c. because he was the first Bishop, of the *first See*, the Mother Church; the Apostles being excluded from the comparison.

Upon these considerations we have great reason to refuse the assertion or scandal cast on Saint *Peter*, that he took on him to be Bishop of *Rome*, in a strict sense, as it is understood in this controversy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A farther Assertion is this, superstructed by consequence on the former, *That the Bishops of* Rome, (*according to God's Institution, and by original Right derived thence*) *should have an Universal Supremacy and Jurisdiction*, (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly described) *over the Christian Church.*

THIS Assertion to be very uncertain, yea to be most false, I shall by divers considerations evince.

1. If any of the former *Suppositions* be uncertain, or false, this Assertion, standing on those legs, must partake of those defects, and answerably be dubious, or false. If either *Peter* was not Monarch of the Apostles, or if his privileges were not successive, or if he were not properly Bishop of *Rome* at his decease, then farewel the *Romish* claim; if any of those things be dubious, it doth totter; if any of them doth prove false, then down it falleth.

But that each of them is false, hath I conceive been sufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain, hath at least been made evident.

The Structure therefore cannot be firm, which relieth on such Props.

2. Even admitting all those *Suppositions*, the inference from them is not assuredly valid. For Saint *Peter* might have an Universal Jurisdiction, he might derive it by Succession, he might be Bishop of *Rome*; yet no such Authority might hence accrue to the *Roman* Bishop, his Successor in that See.

For that Universal Jurisdiction might be derived into another Chanel; and the Bishop of *Rome* might in other respects be Successor to him, without being so in this.

As for instance in the *Roman* Empire, before any Rule of Succession was established therein, the Emperor was Sovereign Governor, and he might die *Consul* of *Rome*, having assumed that place to himself; yet when he died, the Supreme Authority did not lapse into the hands of the Consul, who succeeded him, but into the hands of the Senate, and People: his Consular Authority only going to his Successor in that Office. So might Saint *Peter*'s Universal Power be transferred unto the Ecclesiastical College of Bishops, and of the Church; his Episcopal inferior Authority over the singular παροικία, or Province of *Rome*, being transmitted to his Followers in that Chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the Authority of Saint *Peter*, and of all other Apostles, was devolved to the Church, and to the representative Body thereof, the Fathers did suppose; affirming the Church to have received from our Lord a Sovereign Power.

This (saith St. *Cyprian*) *is that One Church, which holdeth and possesseth all the power of its Spouse and Lord, in this we preside; for the honour and unity of this we fight* —— saith he in his Epistle to *Jubianus*, wherein he doth impugn the proceedings

Hæc est una quæ tenet & possidet omnem sponsi sui & Domini potestatem, in hac præsidemus, pro honore ejus & unitate pugnamus —— Cypr. Ep. 73.

ceedings of Pope *Stephanus*; the which Sentence St. *Austin* appropiateth to himself, speaking it absolutely, without citing St. *Cyprian*. To this Authority of the Church, St. *Basil* would have all that confess the faith of *Christ* to submit; *To which end we exceedingly need your assistance, that they who confess the Apostolick faith, would renounce the Schisms which they have devised, and submit themselves henceforth to the Authority of the Church.*

Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 4. 1.

Ἐφ' ἅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χρήζομεν βοηθείας, ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, ἅπερ ἐπενόησαν, σχίσματα διαλύσαντας, ὑποταγῆναι τοῦ λοιποῦ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Bas. *Epist.* 69.

They (after the Holy Scripture, which saith, that *each Bishop hath a care of God's Church*, and is *obliged to feed the Church of God* —— and *is appointed to edify the body of Christ*) do suppose the administration of the Ecclesiastical Affairs concerning the publick state of the Church, the defence of the common Faith, the maintenance of Order, Peace and Unity jointly to belong unto the whole body of Pastors; according to that of St. *Cyprian* to Pope *Stephanus* himself, *Therefore, most dear brother, the body of Priests is copious, being joined together by the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity, that if any of our College should attempt to make heresy, and to tear or waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come to succour; and like useful and merciful shepherds may recollect the sheep into the flock.* And again, *Which thing it concerns us to look after and redress, most dear brother, who bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the scales of the Church government*, &c.

1 Tim. 3. 5, 15. Act. 20. 28. Eph. 4. 12.

Collegium Sacerdotum. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. 52.

Ὑπὲρ πάσης Ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. *Apost. Const.* 8. 10.

Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atq; unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex Collegio nostro hæresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, & quasi Pastores utiles & misericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant. Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Cui rei nostrum est consulere, & subvenire, frater charissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, & gubernandæ Ecclesiæ libram tenentes, &c. Ibid.

So even the *Roman* Clergy did acknowledge, *For we ought all of us to watch for the body of the whole Church, whose members are digested through several Provinces.*

Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasq; provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare. Cler. Rom. apud Cypr. *Ep.* 30.

Like the Trinity, whose power is one and undivided, there is one Priesthood among divers Bishops.

Ad Trinitatis instar, cujus una est atq; individua potestas, unum esse per diversos Antistites Sacerdotem. P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.

So in the Apostolical Constitutions, the Apostles tell the Bishops, that *an universal Episcopacy is entrusted to them.*

Εἰς ἐπιστηριγμὸν ὑμῶν, τῶν τῆς καθόλου Ἐπισκοπῆς πεπιστευμένων. *Const. Apost.* 6. 14.

So the Council of *Carthage* with St. *Cyprian* ---- *Clear and manifest is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending his Apostles, and affording to them alone the power given him of the Father; in whose room we succeeded, governing the Church of God with the same power.*

Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem à Petro sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eâdem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. Conc. Carth. *apud* Cypr. *p.* 405.

Christ our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his Spouse to us.

Christus Dominus & Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens, sponsam suam nobis commendavit —— *Ibid. p.* 404.

A very ancient Instance of which administration is the proceeding against *Paulus Samosatenus*; when *the Pastors of the Churches, some from one place, some from another, did assemble together against him as a pest of Christ's flock, all of them hastning to Antioch*; where they deposed, exterminated and deprived him of communion, warning the whole Church to reject and disavow him.

Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνίεσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύσαντες. Euseb. 7. 27.

Cùm communis sit omnibus

Seeing the Pastoral charge is common to us all, who bear the Episcopal Office, although thou sittest in a higher and more eminent place.

nobis, qui fungimur Episcopatûs officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis —— Aug. *ad* Bonif. *contra duas Epist.* Pelag. l. 1.

Hujus ergo rei gratiâ vobis & nobis sancta

Therefore for this cause the Holy Church is committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be slack in yielding help and assistance to all.

commissa est Ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, & cunctis opem ferre non negligamus —— P. Joh. 1. *Ep.* 1. (*ad* Zachar.) *apud* Bin. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 812.

Hence St. *Chrysostom* said of *Eustathius* his Bishop; *For he was well instructed and taught by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a President or Bishop of a Church ought not to take care of that Church alone, wherewith he is intrusted by the Holy Ghost, but also of the whole Church dispersed throughout the world.*

Καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ, τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης. Chrys. *Tom.* 5. *Or.* 93.

They consequently did repute Schism, or Ecclesiastical Rebellion, to consist in *a departure from the consent of the body of the Priesthood*, as St. *Cyprian* in divers places doth express it, in his Epistles to Pope *Stephen*, and others.

A corpore nostri, & Sacerdotii consensione discesserit —— Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Qui se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo, atque à Sacerdotum Collegio separat. Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

They deem all Bishops to partake of the Apostolical Authority, according to that of St. *Basil* to St. *Ambrose*; *the Lord himself hath translated thee from the Judges of the Earth unto the Prelacy of the Apostles.*

Αὐτός σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κειτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν Ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν Basil. *Ep.* 56.

They took themselves all to be Vicars of *Christ*, and Judges in his stead; according to that of St. *Cyprian*; *For Heresies are sprung up, and Schisms grown from no other ground nor root but this, because God's Priest was not obeyed, nor was there one Priest or Bishop for a time in the Church, nor a Judge thought on for a time to supply the room of Christ.* Where that by Church is meant any particular Church, and by Priest a Bishop of such Church, any one not bewitched with prejudice by the tenour of St. *Cyprian*'s discourse will easily discern.

Neque enim aliunde Hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt Schismata, quàm indè quòd Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

Episcopus personam habet

Christi & Vicarius Domini est. Ambr. *in* 1 Cor. 11. The Bishop sustains the Person of Christ, and is the Vicar of our Lord.

Cypr. *Ep.* 27. They conceive that our Saviour did promise to Saint *Peter* the Keys in behalf of the Church, and as representing it.

They suppose the combination of Bishops in peaceable consent and mutual aid, to be the *Rock* on which the Church is built.

They alledge the Authority granted to Saint *Peter* as a ground of claim to the same in all Bishops jointly, and in each Bishop singly, according to his *rata pars*, or allotted proportion.

Quod ex verbis Domini facilè intelligi potest, quibus P. Petro, cujus vicem Episcopi gerunt, ait Quodcunque, &c.

Capit. Caroli M. *lib.* 5 *cap.* 163.

Which may easily be understood by the words of our Lord, when he says to blessed Peter, whose place the Bishops supply, Whatsoever, &c.

Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus.

I have the sword of Constantine in my hands, you of Peter, said our great King *Edgar*.

They

They do therefore in this regard take themselves all to be Successors of Saint *Peter*, that his power is derived to them all, and that the whole Episcopal Order *is the Chair by the Lord's voice founded on Saint* Peter; thus St. *Cyprian* in divers places (before touched) discourseth; and thus *Firmilian* from the Keys granted to Saint *Peter* inferreth, disputing against the *Roman* Bishop; *Therefore* (saith he) *the power of remitting sins is given to the Apostles, and to the Churches, which they being sent from Christ did constitute, and to the Bishops, which do succeed them by vicarious ordination.*

Potestas ergò remittendorum peccatorum Apostolis data est, & Ecclesiis quas illi à Christo missi constituerunt, & Episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicariâ succedunt. Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.*75.

4. The Bishops of any other Churches founded by the Apostles, in the Fathers style are Successors of the Apostles, in the same sense, and to the same intent as the Bishop of *Rome* is by them accounted Successor of Saint *Peter*; the Apostolical power, which in extent was universal, being in some sense, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but transmitted by succession; yet the Bishops of Apostolical Churches did never claim, nor allowedly exercise Apostolical Jurisdiction, beyond their own precincts; according to those words of St. *Hierom*, *Tell me, what doth Palestine belong to the Bishop of Alexandria?*

Responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum Episcopum Palæstina quid pertinet? Hier. *ad* Pammach. *Ep.*61.15.

This sheweth the inconsequence of their discourse; for in like manner the Pope might be Successor to Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Peter*'s universal power might be successive, yet the Pope have no singular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular Church.

5. So again, for instance, Saint *James* (whom the *Roman* Church, in her Liturgies, doth avow for an Apostle,) was Bishop of *Jerusalem* more unquestionably, than Saint *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*; *Jerusalem* also was the root, and *the mother of all Churches*, (as the Fathers of the Second General Synod, in their Letter to Pope *Damasus* himself, and the Occidental Bishops did call it, forgetting the singular pretence of *Rome* to that Title.)

Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Theodor. 5.9.
Mater Christiani nominis Imper. Just. *ad* P. Hormisd. *apud* Bin. *Tom.*3. *p.*794.
The mother of the Christian name.

Yet the Bishops of *Jerusalem*, Successors of Saint *James*, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extensive Jurisdiction; yea notwithstanding their succession they did not so much as obtain a metropolitical Authority in *Palestine*, which did belong to *Cæsarea* (having been assigned thereto, in conformity to the Civil Government) and was by special provision *reserved thereto* in the Synod of *Nice*; whence St. *Jerom* did not stick to affirm, that the Bishop of *Jerusalem* was subject to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*; for speaking to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who for compurgation of himself from errors imputed to him had appealed to *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, he saith, *Thou hadst rather cause molestation to ears possessed, than render honour to thy Metropolian*, that is, to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

Τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.*7.
Ibi decernitur, ut Palæstinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit. Hier. *Ep.*61.15.
'Tis there decreed that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine.

Maluisti occupatis auribus molestias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere. Hier. *ad* Pammach. *Ep.* 61.15.

By which instance we may discern, what little consideration sometimes was had of personal or topical succession to the Apostles in

in determining the extent of Jurisdiction, and why should the *Roman* Bishop upon that score pretend more validity than others?

Hier. *ad* Galat. 2. P. Pelag. *II.* *Ep.* 1.

6. Saint *Peter* probably e'er that he came at *Rome* did found divers other Churches, whereof he was paramount Bishop, or did retain a special superintendency over them; particularly *Antioch was anciently called his See*, and he is acknowledged to have sat there seven years, before he was Bishop of *Rome*.

——θρόνον τ᾽ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπόλεως. τ᾽ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου. *Syn.* Chalced. *Act.* 7. *p.* 264.

Why therefore may not the Bishop of *Antioch* pretend to succeed Saint *Peter* in his universal Pastorship as well as his younger brother of *Rome*? why should *Evodius* ordained by Saint *Peter* at *Antioch*, yield to *Clemens* afterward by him ordained at *Rome*?

Act. 11. 26.

Antioch was the first-born of Gentile Churches, where the name of Christians was first heard; *Antioch* was (as the *Constantinopolitan* Fathers called it) *the most ancient and truly Apostolical Church.*

Πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὄντως Ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. Theod. 5. 9.

Ubi Imperator, ibi Roma.
Where the Emperor is, there is Rome.

Antioch by virtue of Saint *Peter*'s sitting there, or peculiar relation to it, was (according to their own conceits) the principal See.

Why therefore should Saint *Peter* be so unkind to it, as not only to relinquish it, but to debase it; not only transferring his See from it, but devesting it of the privilege, which it had got?

Apo. 17. 5.

Why should he prefer before it the City of *Rome*, the mystical *Babylon, the mother of abominations of the earth*, the Throne of Satan's Empire, the place which did then most persecute the Christian Faith; and

Apo. 17. 6.

was drunk with the blood of the Saints?

Sic & Babylon apud Joannem nostrum Romanæ Urbis figura est, proinde & magnæ & regno superbæ, & sanctorum debellatricis. Tertull. *adv. Jud. cap.* 9.
So also Babylon in our Saint John is a type of the City of Rome, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud City, and a subduer of the Saints.

Bell. 2. 12.

7. The ground of this preference was, say they, Saint *Peter*'s Will; and they have reason to say so, for otherwise if Saint *Peter* had died intestate, the Elder Son of *Antioch* would have had the best right to all his goods and dignities.

Potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primus quinq; annis—Ibid. Peter might have chosen to himself no particular City, as he did the first five years.

But how doth that Will appear? in what Tables was it written? in what Registers is it extant? in whose presence did he nuncupate it? it is no where to be seen or heard of.

Neither do they otherwise know of it, than by reasoning it out; and in effect they say only that it was fit he should will it, but they may be mistaken in their divinations; and perhaps notwithstanding them Saint *Peter* might Will as well to his former See of *Antioch*, as to his latter of *Rome*.

Jubente Domino, 2. 1.
Deus ipse jussit Romæ figi Apostolicam Petri sedem 4. 4.

8. Indeed *Bellarmine* sometimes positively and briskly enough doth affirm, that *God did command Saint Peter to fix his See at Rome*; but his proofs of it are so ridiculously fond and weak, that I grudge the trouble of reciting them; and he himself sufficiently confuteth them, by saying

ſaying otherwhere, *It is not unprobable, that our Lord gave an expreſs command, that Peter ſhould ſo fix his See at Rome, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould abſolutely ſucceed him.*

Non eſt improbabile Dominum etiam aperte juſſiſſe, ut ſedem ſuam Petrus ità figeret Romæ, ut Romanus Epiſcopus abſolutè ei ſuccederet. Bell. 2. 12. § *Et quoniam.*

He ſaith it is not improbable; if it be no more than ſo, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not-unprobable that if God had commanded it, there would have been ſome aſſurance of a command ſo very important.

9. *Antioch* hath at leaſt a fair plea for a ſhare in Saint *Peter*'s Prerogatives; for it did ever hold the repute of an Apoſtolical Church, and upon that ſcore ſome deference was paid to it; why ſo, if Saint *Peter* did carry his See with all its Prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his Prerogative, leaving ſome part behind at *Antioch*, how much then I pray did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave leſs than half? if perchance he did leave half, the Biſhop of *Antioch* is equal to him of *Rome*.

10. Other perſons alſo may be found, who according to equal judgment might have a better title to the ſucceſſion of *Peter* in his Univerſal Authority than the Pope; having a nearer relation to him than he, (although his Succeſſor in one charge) or upon other equitable grounds.

For inſtance, Saint *John*, or any other Apoſtle, who did ſurvive Saint *Peter*; for if Saint *Peter* was the Father of Chriſtians, (which Title yet our Saviour forbiddeth any one to aſſume) Saint *John* might well claim to be his eldeſt Son; and it had been a very hard caſe for him to have been poſtponed in the ſucceſſion; it had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his ſpecial affection, a diſparagement of the Apoſtolical Office for him to be ſubjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* might with much reaſon have put in his claim thereto, as being Succeſſor of our Lord himſelf, who unqueſtionably was the High-prieſt of our Profeſſion, and Archbiſhop of all our Souls; whoſe See was the Mother of all Churches; wherein Saint *Peter* himſelf did at firſt reſide, exerciſing his Vicarſhip: If our Lord, upon ſpecial accounts out of courſe had put the Sovereignty into Saint *Peter*'s hands, yet after his deceaſe it might be fit, that it ſhould return into its proper chanel.

This may ſeem to have been the judgment of the times, when the Author of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions* did write, who reporteth the Apoſtles to have ordered Prayers to be made firſt for *James*, then for *Clement*, then for *Evodius*.

12. Equity would rather have required, that one ſhould by common conſent and election of the whole Church be placed in Saint *Peter*'s room, than that the Biſhop of *Rome*, by election of a few Perſons there, ſhould ſucceed into it.

As the whole body of Paſtors was highly concerned in that Succeſſion, ſo it was reaſonable that all of them ſhould concur in deſignation of a Perſon thereto; it is not reaſonable, to ſuppoſe, that either God would inſtitute, or Saint *Peter* by will ſhould deviſe a courſe of proceeding in ſuch a caſe, ſo unequal and unſatisfactory.

If therefore the Church conſidering this equity of the caſe, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, ſhould undertake

to

to chuse for its self another Monarch, (the Bishop of another See, who should seem fitter for the place) to succeeed into the prerogatives of Saint *Peter*, that Person would have a fairer title to that Office than the Pope; for such a Person would have a real title, grounded on some reason of the case; whenas the Pope's pretence doth only stand upon a positive Institution, whereof he cannot exhibit any Certificate: This was the mind of a great man among themselves; who saith, that *if possibly, the Bishop of Triers should be chosen for Head of the Church: For the Church has free power to provide it self a Head.*

Quòd si per possibile, Trevirensis eligeretur pro Capite Ecclesiæ. Habet enim Ecclesia potestatem liberam sibi de Capite providendi ——— *Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath. 2. 13.* ——

Bellarmine himself confesseth, that *if Saint Peter* (as he might have done if he had pleased) *should have chosen no particular See, as he did not for the first five years, then after Peter's death, neither the Bishop of Rome, nor of Antioch had succeeded, but he whom the Church should have chosen for it self.* Now if the Church upon that supposition would have had such a right, it is not probable, that Saint *Peter by his fact* would have deprived it thereof or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it; there being apparently so much equity, that the Church should have a stroke in designation of its Pastor.

Nam potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis; & tunc morientè Petro, non Episcopus Romanus, neque Antiochenus succesisset, sed is quem Ecclesia sibi elegisset. Bell. 2. 12.

In ancient times there was not any small Church, which had not a suffrage in the choice of its Pastor; and was it fitting that all the Church should have one imposed on it without its consent?

Nulla ratio finit, ut inter Episcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis sunt electi, nec à plebibus expetiti, nec à comprovincialibus Episcopis cum Metropolitani judicio consecrati. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 92.

[No reason will admit, that they should be esteemed Bishops, who are neither chosen by the Clergy, nor desir'd by the People, nor consecrated by the Bishops of the same Province, with the consent of the Metropolitan.]

Nullus invitis detur Episcopus: Cleri, plebis, & ordinis consensus requiratur.—— P. Celest. I. *Ep.* 2. Grat. *dist.* 61. *cap.* 13.

Let there be no Bishop imposed on any against their wills: Let the consent of the Clergy and People, and his own Order be required.

If we consider the manner in ancient time of electing and constituting the *Roman* Bishop, we may thence discern not only the improbability, but iniquity of this pretence: how was he then chosen? was it by a General Synod of Bishops, or by Delegates from all parts of Christendom, whereby the common interest in him might appear; and whereby the World might be satisfied that one was elected fit for that high Office? No; he was chosen, as usually then other particular Bishops were, by the Clergy and People of *Rome*; none of the World being conscious of the proceeding, or bearing any share therein.

Now, was it equal that such a power of imposing a Sovereign on all the grave Bishops, and on all the good People of the Christian world, should be granted to one City?

Was it fitting, that such a charge, importing advancement above all Pastors, and being entrusted with the welfare of all Souls in *Christendom*, should be the result of an election liable to so many defects and corruptions? which assuredly often, if not almost constantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery or partiality, would be managed by popular faction and tumults.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ κακίας ἡ προεδρεία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι. Naz. Or. 20. p. 335.

It was observed generally of such Elections by *Nazienzen*; that *Prelacies were not rather by vertue than by naughtiness; and that Episcopal Thrones did not rather belong to the more worthy, than to the more powerful.*

And

And declaring his mind or wish that Elections of Bishops should *rest only or chiefly in the best men; not in the wealthiest and mightiest; or in the impetuousness and unreasonableness of the people, and among them in those who are most easily bought and bribed*; whereby he intimateth the common practice, and subjoineth; *but now I can hardly avoid thinking, that the popular (or civil) governances are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them.*

Ἐφ' οἷς ἔδει τὰς τοιαύτας προβολὰς κεῖσθαι μόνοις. ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον — ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς ἐυπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τύπτων αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τοῖς εὐνουστάτοις· νυνὶ δ' κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐτυκτοτέρας ὑπολαμβάνων τῶν ἡμετέρων, οἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφοιτᾷ. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 19. *p.* 211.

And that the *Roman* Elections in that time were come into that course, we may see by the relation and reflections of an honest *Pagan* Historian concerning the Election of Pope *Damasus* (contemporary of *Gregory Nazianzen*) *Damasus* (saith he) *and Ursinus, above humane measure burning with desire to snatch the Episcopal See, did with divided parties most fiercely conflict*; in which conflict upon one day in the very Church 130 Persons were slain; so did that great Pope get into the Chair; thus (as the Historian reflecteth) the *wealth and pomp of the place naturally did provoke ambition* by all means to seek it, and did cause fierce contentions to arise in the choice; whence commonly, wise and modest persons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man, who had the art or the luck to please the multitude would by violence obtain it; which was a goodly way of constituting a Sovereign to the Church.

Damasus & Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam Episcopalem sedem ardentes scissis studiis acerrimè conflictabantur — Am. Marcell. *lib.* 27.

Sozom. 6. 23.

Neque ego ab uno ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos, &c. Id. Ibid.

Thus it went within three ages after our Lord; and afterwards in the declensions of Christian simplicity and integrity matters were not like to be mended; but did indeed rather grow worse; as beside the reports and complaints of Historians, how that commonly by ambitious prensations, by Simoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of sinister ways, men crept into the place, doth appear by those many dismal Schisms, which gave the Church many pretended Heads, but not one certain one: as also by the result of them, being the choice of persons very unworthy and horribly flagitious.

Damasus II. — *Pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo Cleri populique consensu; Adeò enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambitioso liceret Petri sedem invadere.* Plat. (*p.* 314)

Damasus II. invades the Popedome by force, without any consent of the Clergy and People; For so was it now grown into custom, that any ambitious man might invade Peter's See.

Eò enim tum Pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione & ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ & doctrinâ valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppressis & a rejectis obtineret; quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuissent nostra tempora. Plat. *in* Silv.

For the business of the Papacy was come to that pass, that whoever by bribery and ambition, I say not, by holiness of life and learning, got the start of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the mean being depressed and rejected; which custom I would to God our times had not retained.

Cùm jam eò devenissent Ecclesiastici, ut non coacti ut antea, sed sponte & largitionibus Pontificium munus obirent. Plat. *in* Steph. 6. Baron. *Anno* 112. § 8.

Whenas now Ecclesiastical persons are come to that pass, that they execute the Papal Office, not being compelled unto it, as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it.

Videbat enim Imperator eò licentiæ factiosum quemque & potentem, quamvis ignobilem devenisse, ut corruptis suffragiis tantam dignitatem consequeretur, &c. Plat. *in* Clem. 2. (*p* 313.)

For the Emperour saw, that every factious and powerful person, though base and ignoble, was grown to that height of licentiousness, that he obtained so great Dignity by corruption and buying of Suffrages.

Omne Papale negotium munus agunt: quem dabis mihi de tota maxima Urbe, qui te in Papam receperit, pretio seu spe pretii non interveniente? Bern. *de Consid.* 4. 2.

The whole business of making a Pope is managed by gifts: whom can you shew me in all this great City, who took you into the Papacy, without being bribed and corrupted with reward, or at least with hope of it?

If it be said, that the Election of a Pope in old times was wont to be approved by the consent of all Bishops in the World, according to the testimony of St. *Cyprian*, who saith of *Cornelius*, that *he was known by the testimony of his fellow-Bishops whose whole number through all the World did with peaceful unanimity consent.*

——co-Episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consentit--Cypr. *Ep* 52.

Cùm Fabiani locus, id est cùm locus Petri, & gradus Cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium nostrum consentione.——Ibid.

When Fabianus's place, (*i. e.*) when the place of Peter, and the degree of the Sacerdotal Chair was vacant; which being obtained by the will of God, and all our consents.——

I answer, that this consent was not in the Election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by Letters or Messages declaring the Election, according to that of St. *Cyprian*; that it was not any wise peculiar to the *Roman* Bishop, but such as was yielded to all Catholick Bishops, each of whom *was to be approved*, as St. *Cyprian* saith, *by the testimony and judgment of his Collegues*; that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correspondence, signifying that such a Bishop was duly elected by his Clergy and People, was rightly ordained by his neighbour Bishops, did profess the Catholick Faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his Brethren, such a consent to the election of any Bishop of old was given, (especially upon occasion, and when any question concerning the right of a Bishop did intervene) whereof now in the Election of a Pope no footstep doth remain.

Satis erat ut tu te Episcopum factum Literis nunciares, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 42.
It was enough that you declared by Letters that you were made Bishop.

Episcopo semel facto, & Collegarum ac plebis testimonio & judicio comprobato---- Cypr. *Ep.* 41.

Euseb. We may also note, that the Election of *Cornelius* being contested, he did more solemnly acquaint all the Bishops of the World with his case, and so did obtain their approbation, in a way more than ordinary.

13. If God had designed this derivation of Universal Sovereignty, it is probable, that he would have prescribed some certain, standing, immutable way of Election; and imparted the right to certain Persons, and not left it at such uncertainty to the chances of time, so that the manner of Election hath often changed, and the power of it tossed into divers hands.

Et licèt diversis temporibus diversi modi super Electione Romanorum Pontificum observati sunt, prout necessitas, & utilitas Ecclesiæ exposcebat——Conc. Bas. *Sess.* 37. *p.* 98. *Vide* Grat. *dist.* 63 *per tot.*

And though in several times there have been observed several ways as to the Election of the Roman Pontifs, according as the necessity and expediency of the Church required.

Of old it was (as other Elections) managed by nomination of the Clergy, and suffrage of the People.

Afterward the Emperours did assume to themselves the nomination, or approbation of them.

Nil enim tum à clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus Electionem Imperator approbâsset. Plat. *in* Pelag. II. *For then nothing was done by the Clergy in the choice of the Pope, unless the Emperour had approv'd his Election.*

Is autem, cùm Principis consensus requireretur, nuncios cum Literis miserat, qui Mauritium obsecrarent, ne pateretur electionem Cleri & Populi Romani ea in re valere. Plat. *in* Greg. M. *Vid.* Grat. *dist.* 63.—— *But he, seeing the Princes consent was required, sent Messengers with Letters, to intreat Mauritius, that he would not suffer the Election made by the Clergy and People of Rome in that case to be valid.*

Leo

Leo VIII. *being tired out with the inconstancy of the Romans, transferred the whole power and authority of chusing the Pope from the Clergy and People of Rome, to the Emperour.* Conc. Tom. 7. p. 182. Leo VIII.- Romanorum in-

constantiam pertæsus, Autoritatem omnem eligendi Pontificis à Clero, Populoque Romano ad Imperatorem transtulit. Plat. *in* Leo *VIII. (p.* 291.)

At some times the Clergy had no hand in the Election; but Popes were intruded by powerful Men or Women at their pleasure. *Nusquam Cleri eligentis, vel*

postea consentientis aliqua mentio. Baron. *Anno* 112. § 8. *Anno* 131. §. 1. There was nowhere any mention of the Clergy electing, or afterward consenting.

Afterwards the Cardinals (that is, some of the chief *Roman* Clergy) did appropriate the Election to themselves; by the Decree of Pope *Nicolas* II. in his *Lateran* Synod. Grat. *dist.* 23. *cap.* 1. Plat. *in* Nic. II.

Sometimes, out of course, general Synods did assume the Choice to themselves: as at *Constance*, *Pisa* and *Basil*.

14. From the Premisses to conclude the Pope's Title to Saint *Peter*'s Authority, it is requisite to shew the Power demised by him to be according to God's institution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for Power built upon the like, but far more certain principles hath in course of times, and by worldly changes been quite lost, or conveyed into other Chanels, than those, wherein it was first put; and that irrecoverably, so that it cannot any-wise be retrived, or reduced into the first order.

For instance, *Adam* was by God constituted Universal Sovereign of Mankind; and into that Power his eldest Son of right did succeed; and so it of right should have been continually propagated.

Yet soon did that Power fail, or was diverted into other courses; the World being cantonized into several Dominions; so that the *Heir at Law* among all the descendents of *Adam* cannot so easily be found, as *a Needle in a bottle of Hay*, he probably is a Subject, and perhaps is a Peasant.

So might Saint *Peter* be Monarch of the Church, and the Pope might succeed him, yet by revolutions of things, by several defaults and incapacities in himself, by divers obstructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other mens rights, according to that *Maxime* of a great Pope, *He loseth his own, who coveteth more than his due*, his Power might be cliped, might be transplanted, might utterly decay and fail; to such fatalities other Powers are subject; nor can that of the Pope be exempt from them, as other where we shall more largely declare.

Propria perdit qui indebita concupiscit. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 54.

15. Indeed that God did intend his Church should perpetually subsist united in any one political frame of Government, is a principle, which they do assume, and build upon, but can no-wise prove. Nor indeed is it true. For,

If the Unity of the Church designed and instituted by God were only an Unity of Faith, of Charity, of Peace, of fraternal Communion and Correspondence between particular Societies and Pastours, then in vain it is to seek for the Subject and Seat of Universal Jurisdiction; now that God did not intend any other Unity, than such as those specified, we have good reason to judge, and shall we hope otherwhere sufficiently prove.

16. We may consider, that really the Sovereign Power (such as it is pretended) hath often failed, there having been for long spaces of time

no *Roman* Bishops at all, upon several accounts; which is a sign that the Church may subsist without it.

As, 1. When *Rome* was desolated by the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Lombards*.

Vide Bern. *Ep.* 242, 243. Bell. 4. 4. 2. In times, when the *Romans* would not suffer Popes to live with them.

3. In case of discontinuance from *Rome*, when the Popes (so calling themselves) did for above seventy years abide in *France*; when they indeed, not being chosen by the *Roman* People, nor exercising Pastoral care over them, were only titular, not real Bishops of *Rome*; (They were Popes of *Avignion*, not of *Rome*; and Successors of God knows who, not of Saint *Peter*) no more than one continually living in *England* can be Bishop of *Jerusalem*.

4. In times of many long Schisms (22 Schisms) when either there was no true Pope, or which in effect was the same, no certain one.

—*Inopem me copia fecit.* Baron. *ad Anno* 112. §. 8. 5. When Popes were intruded by violence, whom *Baronius* himself positively affirmeth to have been no Popes: how then could a Succession of true Popes be continued from them, by the Clergy, which they in virtue of their Papal Authority did pretend to create?

6. When Elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical and so null.

P. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 3. 7. 7. When Popes were Simoniacally chosen; who by their own Rules and Laws are no true Popes; being Hereticks, Heresiarchs.

P. Jul. *in* Conc. Lat. *Sess.* 5. *p.* 57. *Non solùm hujusmodi Electio vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat*——*&c.* *Vide sup.* §. 12.

Such an Election or Assumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null.

Vide quæso quantum isti degeneraverint à majoribus suis; The which was done for long courses of time very commonly, and in a manner constantly.

Illi enim utpote viri Sanctissimi Dignitatem ultrò oblatam contemnebant, orationi & Doctrinæ Christianæ vacantes; hi verò largitione & ambitione Pontificatum quærentes, & adepti, posthabito divino cultu, &c. Plat. *in* Serg. 3. (*p.* 279.) *Vid.*——*in* Bened. *IV. p.* 277.

See, I beseech you, how much they have degenerated from their Ancestours; For they as being very Holy men did contemn that Dignity when freely offered, giving themselves wholly to Prayer and the Doctrine of Christ; but these by bribery and ambition seek and obtain the Papacy.

8. When Popes have been deposed; (as some by the Emperours, others by General Councils) in which case, according to Papal Principles, the Successours were illegal; for the Pope being Soveraign, he could not be judged or deposed; and his Successour is an Usurper.

9. When Popes where Heretical, that is (say they) no Popes.

10. When Atheists, Sorcerers,——

Plat. *in* Joh. 10. (*p.* 275.) Elections in some of these cases being null, and therefore the Acts consequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to posterity.

Pontifices ipsi à Petri vestigiis discesserant. The Popes had swerv'd from the Examples of Peter. *Possessor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præscribit.* Reg. Jur. 2. *in Sexto.*

He that has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful.

And probably therefore there is now no true Pope.

For (upon violent intrusion, or Simoniacal choice, or any usurpation) the Cardinals, Bishops, *&c.* which the Pope createth are not truly such; and consequently their Votes not good in the choice of another Pope; and so successively.

These considerations may suffice to declare the inconsequence of their Discourses, even admitting their Assertions, which yet are so false; or so apparently uncertain.

I shall in the next place level some Arguments directly against their main Conclusion it self. I. My

I. My first Argument against this pretence shall be, that it is destitute of any good warrant, either from Divine or Humane testimony; and so is groundless. As will appear by the following Considerations.

1. If God had designed the Bishop of *Rome* to be for the perpetual course of times Sovereign Monarch of his Church, it may reasonably be supposed, that he would expresly have declared his mind in the case; it being a point of greatest importance of all that concern the administration of his Kingdom in the World. Princes do not use to send their Vice-Roys unfurnished with Patents clearly signifying their Commission, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excusably may refuse compliance; And in all equity promulgation is requisite to the establishment of any Law, or exacting obedience. But in all the Pandects of Divine Revelation the Bishop of *Rome* is not so much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by probable intimation; they cannot hook him in otherwise, than by streining hard, and framing a long Chain of Consequences; each of which is too subtile for to constrain any man's persuasion: They have indeed found the Pope in the first Chapter of *Genesis*; for (if we believe Pope *Innocent* III.) he is one of the *two great Luminaries* there; and he is as plainly there, as any where else in the Bible.

Nec verò simile sit, ut rem tam necessariam ad Ecclesiæ unitatem continendam Christus Dominus Apostolis suis non revelârit. Melch. Can. 6.8.

. Neither is it likely that our Lord Christ would not have revealed to his Apostles a thing so necessary for preserving the Unity of the Church.

Ad Firmamentum igitur Cœli, hoc est Universalis Ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna Luminaria, id est, duas instituit Dignitates, quæ sunt Pontificalis auctoritas, & Regalis potestas, sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est, Spiritualibus, major est; quæ verò Carnalibus, minor, &c. Innoc. *III. in* Decret. Greg. *I.* 33.6.

. For the Firmament therefore of Heaven, (*i. e.*) of the Universal Church, God made two great Lights, (*i.e*) he ordained two Dignities or Powers, which are the Pontifical Authority, and the Regal Power; but that which rules the days, (*i.e.*) Spiritual matters, is the greater, but that which governs Carnal things, is the lesser, &c.

Wherefore if upon this account we should reject this pretence, we might do it justly; and for so doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of Doctrine, or rule of Manners, which is not in expres words, or in terms equivalent contained in Holy Scripture; or which at least might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference; this their manner of disputing with Hereticks and heterodox People doth shew; this appeareth by their way of defining and settling Doctrines of Faith; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our case; for *If (faith St. Austin) about Christ, or about his Church, or about any other thing; which conserneth our Faith and Life, I will not say We, who are no wise comparable to him, who said Although we; but even as he going on did add, If an Angel from Heaven should tell you beside what you have received in the Legal and Evangelical Scriptures, let him be anathema*; in which words we have St. *Austin*'s warrant not only to refuse, but to detest this Doctrine, which being no-where extant in Law or Gospel, is yet obtruded on us as nearly relating both to *Christ* and his Church; as greatly concerning both our Faith and Practice.

Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesia, sive de quacunq; alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitámq; nostram, non dicam Nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, licet si nos, *sed omnino quod sequutus adjecit,* si Angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit, *præterquam quod in Scripturis Legalibus ac Evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.* Aug. *contr.* Petil. 3.6.

2. To enforce this Argument, we may consider, that the Evangelists do speak about the propagation, settlement, and continuance of our Lord's Kingdom; that the Apostles do often treat about the state of the

the Church and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the distinction of its Officers and Members, about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges of Spiritnal Governors and Guides; about prevention and remedy of Heresies, Schisms, Disorders; upon any of which occasions how is it possible that the mention of such a Spiritual Monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of those particulars) should wholly escape them, if they had known such an one instituted by God.

Exod.28. 1. Exod.28. 4. Levit.21. In the Levitical Law all things concerning the High-Priest; not only his Designation, Succession, Consecration, Duty, Power, Maintenance, Privileges; but even his Garments, Marriage; Mourning, *&c.* are punctually determined and described; and is it not wonderful that in the many descriptions of the New-Law, no mention should be made concerning any Duty, or Privilege of its High-Priest? whereby he might be directed in the administration of his Office, and know what observance to require?

3. Whereas also the Scripture doth inculcate duties of all sorts, and doth not forget frequently to press duties of respect and obedience toward particular Governors of the Church; is it not strange that it never should bestow one precept, whereby we might be instructed and admonished to pay our duty to the Universal Pastor? especially considering, that God who directed the Pens of the Apostles, and who intended that their Writings should continue for the perpetual instruction of Christians, did foresee, how requisite such a precept would be to secure that duty; for if but one such precept did appear, it would do the business, and void all contestation about it.

4. They who so carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal Sovereignty, how come they so wholly to wave urging the no less needful obligations to obey the Spiritual Monarch? while they are so mindful of the Emperor, why are they so neglectful of the Pope? insomuch, that divers Popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow those precepts, which command obedience to Princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themselves?

P. Nic. *I. Ep.*10. *P.* Leo. *IX. Ep.*1. *P.* [Greg. *VII. Ep.*1. 22.

5. Particularly Saint *Peter*, one would think, who doth so earnestly injoin to obey *the King as Supreme*, and *to honour him*, should not have been unmindful of his Successors; or quite have forborn to warn Christians of the respect due to them: surely the Popes afterward do not follow him in this reservedness; for in their *Decretal Epistles* they urge nothing so much as obedience to the Apostolical See.

1 Pet.2. 13—17.

6. One might have expected something of that nature from Saint *Paul* himself, who did write so largely to the *Romans*, and so often from *Rome*; that at least some word, or some intimation should have dropped from him concerning these huge Rights and Privileges of this *See*, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he professedly doth enumerate the Offices, instituted by God, for standing use and perpetual duration; *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ; till we all come in the Unity of Faith*, &c.

Eph. 4. 11,12,13. 1 Cor.12. 28.

Quarum laudum & gloriæ degenerem fuisse, maximum crimen est. Cl Rom. *ad* Cypr. *Ep.* 31. To degenerate from which praise and glory, is an exceeding great crime.

He

He commendeth them for their Faith, which *was spoken of through the whole world*; yet *giving them no advantage above others*; as St. *Chrysostom* observeth on those words; *for obedience to the Faith among all Nations, among whom also are ye; this* (saith St. *Chrysostom*) *he saith to depress their conceit, to void their haughtiness of mind, and to teach them* (*to deem others equal in Dignity with them.* Rom. 1. 8.

Οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῆς λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

Ταῦτα γὰρ πιεῖ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

When he writeth to that Church (*which was some time after Saint *Peter* had settled the Popedom) he doth only stile them κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, *(called Saints)* and ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ, *(beloved of God)* which are common adjuncts of all Christians; He saith their Faith was spoken of generally, but of the fame of their Authority being so spread he taketh no notice; that *their obedience had come abroad to all men*, but their commands had not (it seemeth) come any where. (**Vid.* Chrys. Theo. Hier.) Baron. *Anno* 58. §. 46. *&c.* Rom. 1. 7. 1 8. 16. 19.

He wrote divers *Epistles* from *Rome*, wherein he resolveth many cases debated, yet never doth urge the Authority of the *Roman* Church for any point, which now is so ponderous an Argument.

7. But however seeing the Scripture is so strangely reserved, how cometh it to pass that Tradition is also so defective, and staunch in so grand a case? We have in divers of the Fathers, (particularly in *Tertullian*, in St. *Basil*, in St. *Hierom*) Catalogues of Traditional Doctrines and Observances, which they recite to assert Tradition in some cases supplemental to Scripture; in which their purpose did require, that they should set down those of principal moment; and they are so punctual as to insert many of small consideration; how then came they to neglect this, concerning the Papal Authority over the whole Church, which had been most pertinent to their design, and in consequence did vastly surpass all the rest, which they do name?

Tertull. *de Cor. Mil.* 3.
Basil. *de Sp. S.* 27.
Hier. *adverss.* Lucif. 4.

8. The designation of the *Roman* Bishop by succession to obtain so high a degree in the Church, being, above all others, a most remarkable and noble piece of History, which it had been a horrible fault in an Ecclesiastical History to slip over, without careful reporting, and reflecting upon it; yet *Eusebius*, that most diligent Compiler of all passages relating to the original Constitution of the Church, and to all transactions therein, hath not one word about it; who yet studiously doth report the Successions of the *Roman* Bishops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this Doctrine is pretended to be a Point of Faith, of vast consequence to the subsistence of the Church, and to the Salvation of men, it is somewhat strange, that it should not be inserted into any one ancient Summary of things to be believed (of which Summaries divers remain, some composed by publick consent, others by persons of Eminency in the Church) nor by fair and forcible consequence should be deducible from any Article in them; especially considering that such Summaries were framed upon occasion of Heresies springing up, which disregarded the Pope's Authority, and which by asserting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to Pope *Innocent* III. and his *Lateran* Synod, for first Synodically defining this Point, together with other Points no less new and unheard of before. The *Creed* of Pope *Pius* IV. formed the other day, is the first, as I take it, which did contain this Article of Faith.

Const. Apost. 7. 41. (a full Creed, at Baptism.)

Conc. Lat. 4. *cap.* 5. *An.* 1215.

10. It

10. It is much that this point of Faith should not be delivered in any of those ancient Expositions of the *Creed* (made by St. *Austin*, *Ruffin*, &c.) which enlarge it to necessary points of Doctrine, connected with the Articles therein, especially with that of the Catholick Church, to which the Pope's Authority hath so close a connexion; that it should not be touched in the Catechetical Discourses of *Cyril*, *Ambrose*, &c. that in the Systems of Divinity composed by Saint *Austin*, *Lactantius*, &c. it should not be treated on: The world is now changed, for the Catechism of *Trent* doth not overlook so material a Point; and it would pass for a lame Body of Theology, which should omit to treat on this Subject.

11. It is more wonderful, that this Point should never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient Synod; it being so notoriously in those old times opposed by divers, who dissented in opinion, and discorded in practice from the Pope; it being also a Point of that consequence, that such a solemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular Errors and Schisms, which were maintained then in opposition to the Church.

12. Indeed had this Point been allowed by the main Body of Orthodox Bishops, the Pope could not have been so drowsy or stupid, as not to have solicited for such a definition thereof; nor would the Bishops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being, in our Adversaries conceits, so compendious and effectual a way of suppressing all Heresies, Schisms and Disorders; (although indeed later Experience hath shewed it no less available to stifle Truth, Justice and Piety:) The Popes after *Luther* were better advised, and so were the Bishops adhering to his Opinions.

13. Whereas also it is most apparent, that many persons disclaimed this Authority, not regarding either the Doctrines or Decrees of the Popes; it is wonderful, that such men should not be reckoned in the large Catalogues of Hereticks, wherein Errors of less obvious consideration, and of far less importance did place men; If *Epiphanius*, *Theodoret*, *Leontius*, &c. were so negligent or unconcerned, yet St. *Austin*, *Philastrius*, --- Western men, should not have overlooked this sort of desperate Hereticks; *Aerius* for questioning the Dignity of Bishops is set among the Hereticks, but who got that name for disavowing the Pope's Supremacy, among the many who did it? (It is but lately, that such as we have been thrust in among Hereticks.)

14. Whereas no Point avowed by Christians could be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in Pagans against our Religion as this, which setteth up a Power of so vast extent, and huge influence; whereas no novelty could be more surprizing or startling, than the Erection of an Universal Empire over the Consciences and Religious Practices of men; whereas also this Doctrine could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice; it is prodigious, that all Pagans should not loudly exclaim against it.

It is strange, that Pagan Historians (such as *Marcellinus*, who often speaketh of Popes, and blameth them for their luxurious way of living, and pompous garb: as *Zozimus*, who bore a great spight at Christianity; as all the Writers of the Imperial History before *Constantine*) should not report it, as a very strange pretence newly started up.

— procedant q; vehiculis insidentes, circumspectè vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeò ut eorum convivia Regales superent mensas. Marcell. *lib.* 27. *p.* 338. They travel sitting in Chariots, curiously apparelled, procuring profuse dainties, insomuch as their meals exceed the feasts of Kings.

In

It is wonderful, that the eager Adversaries of our Religion (such as *Celsus*, *Porphyrie*, *Hierocles*, *Julian* himself) should not particularly level their Discourse against it, as a most scandalous position and dangerous pretence, threatning the Government of the Empire.

It is admirable, that the Emperors themselves, enflamed with emulation and suspicion of such an Authority (the which hath been so terrible even to Christian Princes) should not in their Edicts expresly decry and impugn it; that indeed every one of them should not with extremest violence implacably strive to extirpate it.

In consequence of these things it may also seem strange, that none of the Advocates of our Faith (*Justin*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Arnobius*, *Cyril*, *Austin*) should be put to defend it, or so much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate Apologies for the Doctrines and Practices, which were reprehended by any sort of Adversaries thereto.

We may add that divers of them in their Apologies and representations concerning Christianity would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconsiderate; when they profess for their common belief assertions repugnant to that Doctrine; as when *Tertullian* saith, ‖ *We reverence the Emperor as a man second to God, and less only than God*; when * *Optatus* affirmeth, that *above the Emperor there is none beside God who made the Emperor*; and that † *Donatus by extolling himself* (as some now do) *above the Emperor, did in so doing as it were exceed the bounds of men, that he did esteem himself as God, not as a man.* When St. *Chrysostom* asserteth, *the Emperor to be the Crown and Head of all men upon earth*; and saith, that *even Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, any men whoever* are to be subject to the temporal Powers; when (*a*) St. *Cyril* calleth the Emperor *the Supreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable differences*, &c. When even Popes talk at this rate; as Pope (*b*) *Gregory* I. calling the Emperor his *Lord, and Lord of all*, telling the Emperor, that his Competitor, by assuming the the title of Universal Bishop, *did set himself above the honour of his Imperial Majesty*; which he supposeth a piece of great absurdity and arrogance; and even Pope (*c*) *Gregory* II. doth call that Emperor (against whom he afterward rebelled) *the Head of Christians.* Whereas indeed if the Pope be Monarch of the Church, endowed with the Regalities which they now ascribe to him, is it plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living, in real power and dignity: wherefore the modern Doctors of *Rome* are far more sincere or consi-

Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, antè omnes & super omnes Deos. Quidni? cùm super omnes homines, qui utiq; vivunt, & mortuis antistant. Tertull. *Apolog. c.*30.

For they think it is God alone in whose power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all Gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and surpass the dead.

‖ *Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo minorem.* Tertull. *ad* Scap. 2.

* *Cùm super Imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem.* Opt. *lib.*3.

†——*dum se Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum, non hominem æstimaret. Id. ibid.*

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Chrys. ἀνδρ. 2. *p.*463.

Κἂν Ἀποστολος ἦν, κἂν Εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν Προφήτης, κἂν ὁστισοῦν, &c. Chrys. *in* Rom. 13. 1.

Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ὁμότιμόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ—— Chrys *suprà.*

For he that is thus wrong'd has not his equal upon earth, for he is King, &c.

(*a*) Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνεστηχὸς καὶ ὑπερκείμενον, ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς, καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαίρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ θεοῦ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς Cyril. *ad* Theod. *in Conc.* Eph. *part.* 1. *cap.* 3. *p.* 20.

(*b*) P. Greg. M. *Ep.*2.62.

Quia Sereniss Domine ex illo jam tempore Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras—— Ego quidem jussioni subjectus—— Ibid.

Ad hoc enim potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines, &c. Ibid. Ego indignus famulus vester. Ib.

Qui honori quoq; Imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. P. Greg. I. *Ep.*4.32.

(*c*) Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν χριστιανῶν. P. Greg. II. *in Epist.* 1. *ad* Leon. Isaur. *apud* Bin. *Tom.*5. *p.* 502. As King and Head of Christians.

derate in their Heraldry, than were those old Fathers of Christendom; who now stick not downrightly to prefer the Pope before all Princes of the World; not only in Doctrine and Notion, but in the Sacred Offices of the Church; for in the very Canon of their Mass, the Pope (together with the Bishop of the Diocess, one of his Ministers) is set before all Christian Princes; every Christian Subject being thereby taught to deem the Pope superiour to his Prince: * Now we must believe (for one Pope hath written it, another hath put it in his Decretals, and it is current Law) that the Papal Authority doth no less surpass the Royal, than the Sun doth outshine the Moon.

——*una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro* N. *& Antistite nostro* N. *& Rege nostro* N. *& omnibus Orthodoxis*, &c.

Together with thy Servant our Pope *N.* and our Bishop *N.* and our King *N.* and all Orthodox, &c.

* *Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate Regia post orationem factam pro Papa, quia potestas suprema Sacerdotalis excedit Regiam antiquitate, dignitate & utilitate*, &c. Gab. Biel. *in Can. mis.*

Let prayer be made for the King after prayer made for the Pope, because the supreme Sacerdotal power exceeds the Kingly in antiquity, dignity and utility, &c.

Now it is abundantly *declared* by Papal *definition, as a point necessary to Salvation*, that *every humane Creature* (neither King, nor Cæsar excepted) *is subject to the Roman High-priest.*

Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus & pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. P. Bonif. *VIII. in Extrav. com. lib.* 1. *tit.* 38.

Now the mystery is discovered, why Popes, when summoned by Emperours, declined to go in Person to General Synods; because *it was not tolerable that the Emperour* (who sometime would be present in Synods) *should sit above the Pope*; as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit *Bellarmine* had of *Leo* I. and other Popes, that they did forbear coming at Synods out of their villainous pride and haughtiness.)

At quamvis utcunque tolerabile sit, ut Principes seculares in Concilio sedeant ante alios Episcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipsum summum Pontificem, &c. Bell. *de Conc.* 1. 19.

15. One would admire, that *Constantine*, if he had smelt this Doctrine, or any thing like it in Christianity, should be so ready to embrace it; or that so many Emperours should in those times do so; some Princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any Superiour to them.

It is at least much, that Emperours should with so much indulgence foster and cherish Popes, being their so dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it should be true, which Pope *Nicholas* doth affirm; that *the Emperours had extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits*; had done I know not how many things more for it: surely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent Competitour for Honour and Power; one who pretended to be a better man than themselves. *Bellarmine* (in his Apology against King *James*) saith, that *the Pope was* (*vellet, nollet*) *constrained to be subject to the Emperours, because his Power was not known to them*; it was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a Doctrine commonly avowed by Christians? it is hard keeping so practical a Doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this consideration.

Quapropter attendat clementia vestra; quantus fuerit erga sedis Apostolicæ reverentiam Antecessorum vestrorum, piorum duntaxat Imperatorum——amor, & studium; qualiter eam diversis privilegiis extulerint, dotis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis suis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c. P. Nich. *I. Epist.* 8. *ad* Mich. *Imp.*

Apol. Bell. *p.* 202.

Farthermore, We have divers ancient Writings, the special nature, matter, scope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving attestation to this Power, if such an one had been known and allowed in those times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The

16. The *Apostolical Canons*, and the *Constitutions* of *Clement*, which describe the state of the Church, with its Laws, Customs and Practices current in the times of those who compiled them (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the less ancient the more it is to our purpose) wherein especially the Ranks, Duties and Privileges of all Ecclesiastical Persons are declared, or prescribed, do not yet touch the Prerogatives of this Universal Head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any Laws or Constitutions framed by him: Which is no less strange, than that there should be a Body of Laws, or description of the state of any Kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the King, or the Royal Authority: It is not so in our modern *Canon-Law*, wherein the Pope doth make *utramque paginam*; we read little beside his Authority, and Decrees made by it. *Const. Apost.* 8. 4, &c.

The *Apostolical Canons*, particularly do prescribe, that *the Bishops of each Nation should know him that is first among them, and should esteem him the Head, and should do nothing considerable* (or extraordinary) *without his advice*; as also that *each one* (of those Head-Bishops) *should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct, and the places under it*: also, that *no such Primate should do any thing without the opinion of all*; *that so there may be concord*: Now what place could be more opportune to mention the Pope's Sovereign Power? how could the Canonist without strange neglect pass it over? doth he not indeed exclude it, assigning the Supreme disposal (without farther resort) of all things to the arbitration of the whole body of Pastours, and placing the maintenance of concord in that course?

Τὰς Ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι περᾶτειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα γὰρ μόνα πραγματεύειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ὑπάλληλα, καὶ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτὸν χώρας, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιεῖσθαι τι· ὅτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται. *Apost. Can.* 34.

17. So also the Old Writer, under the name of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, treating in several places about the degrees of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, was monstrously overseen in omitting the Sovereign thereof: In the fifth Chapter of his Ecclesiastical Hierarchy he professeth carefully to speak of those Orders, but hath not a word of this supereminent rank, but averreth *Episcopacy to be the first and highest of divine Orders, in which the Hierarchy is consummated*: and in his Epistle to *Demophilus* there is a remarkable place, wherein he could hardly have avoided touching the Pope, had there been then one in such vogue as now: for advising that Monk to gentleness and observance toward his Superiours, he thus speaketh: *Let passion and reason be governed by you*; *but you by the holy Deacons, and these by the Priests, and the Priests by the Bishops, and the Bishops by the Apostles, or by their Successors*; (that is, saith *Maximus*, those which we *now call Patriarchs*) *and if perhaps any one of them shall fail of his duty, let him be corrected by those holy persons, who are co-ordinate to him*; why not in this case, let him be corrected by the Pope, his Superiour? but he knew none of an Order superiour to the Apostles Successors.

Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις πρώτην μὲν ἔχει τὴν θεοειδῶν τάξεων· ἀκροτάτην δὲ καὶ ἐσχάτην ἡ αὐτὴ· καὶ δὴ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ ἀποπληροῦται πᾶσα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας διακόσμησις. Dionys. *de Hier. Eccl. cap.* 5.

Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱερατικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀποπληρώσεις, δυνάμεις τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνεργείας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν. *De Eccl. Hier. cap.* 5.

Αὐτὸς μὲν ἓν ὀπτυμίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφόριζε. σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτουργοὶ καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι· καὶ εἴπέ τις καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τὸ προσῆκον ἀσφαλεῖν, παρὰ τῶν ὁμοταγῶν ἀγίων ἐπανορθωθήσεται, &c. Dionys. Ar. *Ep.* 8.

Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς νῦν Πατριάρχας ἡγοῦμαι ἐγώ. Max. *Schol. Ib.*

18. Likewise, *Ignatius* in many *Epistles* frequently describeth the several Ranks of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, extolleth their Dignity and

Authority to the highest pitch, mightily urgeth the respect due to them, yet never doth he so much as mention or touch this Sovereign degree, wherein the Majesty of the Clergy did chiefly shine.

In his very *Epistle* to the *Romans* he doth not yield any deference to their Bishop, nor indeed doth so much as take notice of him; is it not strange he should so little mind the Sovereign of the Church? or was it, for a sly reason, because being Bishop of *Antioch* he had a pique to his brother *Jacob*, who had supplanted him and got away his birthright?

Οὔτε θεοῦ τις κρείττων, ἢ ἀπραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἐπισκόπου τι μεῖζον. *Pseud.* Ignat. *ad* Smyrn.

Τί γὰρ ἔστιν Ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα, &c. *id ad* Trall.

The counterfeiter therefore of *Ignatius* did well personate him, when he saith, that *in the Church there is nothing greater than a Bishop*; and that *a Bishop is beyond all rule and authority*; for in the time of *Ignatius* there was no domineering Pope over all Bishops.

19. We have some Letters of Popes, (though not many; for Popes were then not very scribatious, or not so pragmatical; whence to supply that defect, lest Popes should seem not able to write, or to have slept almost 400 years, they have forged divers for them, and those so wise ones, that we who love the memory of those good Popes, disdain to acknowledge them Authors of such idle stuff; we have yet some Letters of,) and to Popes, to and from divers eminent Persons in the Church, wherein the former do not assume, nor the latter ascribe any such power; the Popes do not express themselves like Sovereigns, nor the Bishops address themselves like Subjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way like brethren and equals: this is so true, that it is a good mark of a spurious Epistle (whereof we have good store, devised by colloguing Knaves, and fathered on the first Popes) when any of them talketh in an imperious strain, or arrogateth such a Power to himself.

20. *Clemens* Bishop of *Rome* in the Apostolical times unto the Church of *Corinth*, then engaged in discords and factions, wherein the Clergy was much affronted (divers Presbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themselves, were ejected from their Office, in a seditious manner) did write a very large *Epistle*; wherein like a good Bishop, and charitable Christian brother he doth earnestly by manifold inducements perswade them to charity and peace; but no-where doth he speak imperiously like their Prince: In such a case one would think if ever, for quashing such disorders and quelling so *perverse folks*, who spurned the Clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his Authority, and to speak like himself, challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril: How would a moderate Pope have ranted in such a case; how thundering a Bull would he have dispatched against such outragious contemners of the Ecclesiastick Order? how often would he have spoken of the Apostolick See and its Authority? we should infallibly have heard him swagger in his wonted style, *Whoever shall presume to cross our will, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul*: but our Popes, it seemeth have more wit, or better mettle than Pope *Clement*; that good Pope did not know his own strength, or had not the heart to use it.

Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας. Clem. *ad* Corinth. *Ep.*1. *p.*58. *Jun.*

For we see that you have removed some who behaved themselves well in their Office, out of their ministry blamelesly discharged by them.

Στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

Πρόσωπα προσπετῆ καὶ αὐθάδη. *p.* 2.

Si quis voluntati nostræ contraire præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostoli se noverit incursurum: in such terms usually the Pope's Bulls do end.

21. Among

21. Among the Epistles of St. *Cyprian*, there are divers Epistles of him to several Popes (to *Cornelius*, to *Lucius*, to *Stephanus*) in the which, although written with great kindness and respect, yet no impartial Eye can discern any special regard to them, as to his Superiours in Power, or Pastors in Doctrine, or Judges of Practice; he reporteth matters to them, he conferreth about Points with all freedom; he speaketh his sense and giveth his advice without any restraint or awe; he spareth not upon occasion to reprove their practices, and to reject their opinions; he in his Addresses to them, and Discourses of them, styleth them *Brethren* and *Collegues*; and he continually treateth them as such, upon even terms: *When* (saith he to the Clergy of *Rome*) *dearest Brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour concerning the decease of the good man my Collegue*, Fabianus; upon which words *Rigaltius* had cause to remark, *How like an equal and follow-citizen doth the Bishop of Carthage mention the Bishop of Rome, even to the Roman Clergy?* but would not any man now be deemed rude and sawcy, who should talk in that style of the Pope?

Cy. Ep. 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

Et quamquam sciam, frater charissime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, &c. Ep. 55.

And although I know, most dear brother, out of the mutual love and respect, which we owe and yield one to another, &c.

Cùm de excessu boni viri Collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus esset, Collegæ charissimi——Cypr. *Ep.* 4.

Quàm ex æquo, & civilis mentio Episcopi Romani ab Episcopo Carthaginis apud Clerum? Rigalt. *Ibid.*

Pope *Cornelius* also to St. *Cyprian* hath some *Epistles*, wherein no glimpse doth appear of any Superiority assumed by him. But of St. *Cyprian*'s judgment and demeanour toward Popes we shall have occasion to speak more largely, in a way more positively opposite to the *Roman* pretences.

Cypr. *Ep.* 46, 48.

Eusebius citeth divers long passages out of an Epistle of *Cornelius* to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch* against *Novatus*; wherein no mark of this Supremacy doth appear; although the magnitude and flourishing State of the *Roman* Church is described, for aggravation of *Novatus* his Schism, and Ambition.

Euseb. 6. 43.

Pope *Julius* hath a notable long *Epistle*, extant in one of *Athanasius*'s Apologies, unto the Bishops assembled at *Antioch*; wherein he had the fairest occasion that could be to assert and insist upon this Sovereign Authority, they flatly denying, and impugning it; questioning his proceedings as singular, supposing him subject to the Laws of the Church no less than any other Bishop; and downrightly affirming each of themselves to be his equal; about which Point he thought good not to contend with them; but waving pretences to Superiority, he justifieth his actions by reasons, grounded on the merit of the cause, such as any other Bishop might alledge: But this *Epistle* I shall have more particular occasion to discuss.

Pope *Liberius* hath an Epistle to St. *Athanasius*, wherein he not only (for his direction and satisfaction) doth inquire his opinion about the Point; but professeth, in complement perchance, that he shall obediently follow it; *Write*, saith he, *whether you do think as we do and just so about the true faith; that I may be undoubtedly assured about what you think good to command me*; was not that spoken indeed like a courteous Sovereign, and an accomplished Judge in matters of Faith? The same Pope in the head of the Western, doth write to a knot of Eastern Bishops, whom they call *their beloved Brethern and fellow Ministers*; and in a brotherly strain, not like an Emperour.

Γράψον, εἰ οὕτω φρονεῖς καθὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἀληθινῇ πίστει· ἵνα κἀγὼ πεποιθὼς ὦ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι. Liber. *ad* Ath. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 243.

Socr. 4. 12.

In

In the time of *Damasus*, Successor to *Liberius*, St. *Basil* hath divers Epistles to the Western Bishops, wherein having represented and bewailed the wretched state of the Eastern Churches, then over-born with Heresies, and unsettled by Factions, he craveth their Charity, their Prayers, *their sympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid*; by affording to the Orthodox and sound Party, the countenance of their Communion, by joining with them in contention for Truth and Peace; for that the Communion of so great Churches would be of mighty weight to support and strengthen their Cause; giving credit thereto among the People, and inducing the Emperour to deal fairly with them, in respect to such a multitude of adherents; especially of those which were at such a distance, and not so immediately subject to the Eastern Emperour; for, *If*, saith he, *very many of you do concur unanimously in the same opinion, it is manifest, that the multitude of consenters will make the Doctrine to be received without contradiction*; and, *I know*, saith he again, writing to *Athanasius* about these matters, *but one way of redress to our Churches, the conspiring with us of the Western Bishops*, the which being obtained, *would probably yield some advantage to the publick, the secular Power revering the credibility of the multitude, and the people all about following them without repugnance:* and, *You*, saith he to the Western Bishops, *the farther you dwell from them, the more credible you will be to the people.*

This indeed was according to the ancient Rule and Practice in such cases, that any Church being oppressed with Errour, or distracted with Contentions, should from the Bishops of other Churches, receive aid to the removal of those inconveniences. That it was the Rule doth appear from what we have before spoken, and of the Practice there be many instances; for so did St. *Cyprian* send two of his Clergy to *Rome* to compose the Schism there, moved by *Novatian* against *Cornelius*; * so was St. *Chrysostme* called to *Ephesus* (although out of his Jurisdiction) to settle things there; so (to omit divers instances occurring in History) St. *Basil* himself was called by the Church of *Iconium to visit it, and to give it a Bishop*; although it did not belong to his ordinary inspection; and he doth tell the Bishops of the † Coasts, that they should have done well *in sending* some to *visit* and assist his Churches *in their distresses*.

Ep. 61. 69, 70, 74, 182.

Ἡμᾶς ἐδεήθημεν συμπαθεῖσαι ἡμῶν τῇ διαφέσει. *Ep.* 61.

Εἴτι ἔν παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴτις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴπνα σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοί, κινήθητε πρὸς τὴν ἀνταλγιαν ἡμῶν. Ibid.

We beseech you to have a fellow-feeling of our distractions.

If there be any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, be ye moved with pity and commiseration to help us.

Δότε φῶς τοῖς εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσι, συγκινηθήτω ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὰ ἀδελφικὰ ὑμῶν σπλάγχνα, προχυθήτω δάκρυα συμπαθείας *Ep.* 69.

Ἐπιβοησάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν ἀνταλλαγὴν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν. *Ep.* 70.

Ἐλθεῖν τινὰς παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Ibid.

Vide *Ep.* 74. (εἰ μὴ διορθῶνται, τῆς κοινωνικῆς, &c.

Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὑμῖν τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀναντίρρητον πᾶσι τὴν προσδοκὴν καθασκευάσει τῷ δόγματι, *Ep.* 74. (*Ep.* 293.)

——μίαν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁδὸν βοηθείας ταῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν πρὸς τῶν δυτικῶν Ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοιαν. —— *Ep.* 48.

Τάχα ἂν τι γένοιτο τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος, εἰ τε κρατήσειεν τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῶν πλήθους δυσωπουμένων, καὶ τῶν ἐκάστοτε λαῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτοῖς ἀναντιῤῥήτως. Ibid.

Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένοι πυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτον πλέον πρὸς τοῖς λαοῖς ἀξιόπιστον ἔχετε. *Ep.* 74.

Quod servis Dei, & maximè Sacerdotibus justis & pacificis congruebat, frater charissime, misseramus nuper Collegas nostros Caldonium & Fortunatum, ut non tantùm persuasione literarum nostrarum, sed præsentia sua, & consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur, quantum possent, & elaborarent, ut ad Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componeret——Cypr. *Ep.* 42. *ad* Cornel. Pallad.

As it becomed the Servants of God, especially righteous and peaceable Priests, most dear Brother, we lately sent our Collegues Caldonius and Fortunatus, that they might, not only by the persuasion of our Letters, but also by their presence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmost and strive to reduce the members of that divided Body to the Unity of the Catholick Church.

Αὕτη καλεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὥστε αὐτῇ δεῖναι Ἐπίσκοπον. Bas. *Ep.* 8. † Θρᾴκης.

Ἀκόλουθον ἦν παρὰ τῆς μετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τῆς γνησίων ἀποστέλλεσθαι ζώντων, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τῶν καταπονουμένων. *Ep.* 77.

But

But now how, I pray, cometh it to pass, that in such a case he should not have a special recourse to the Pope? but in so many addresses should only wrap him up in a community? why should he not humbly petition him to exert his Sovereign Authority for the relief of the Eastern Churches, laying his charge, and inflicting censures on the dissenters? why should he lay all the stress of his hopes on the consent of the Western Bishops? why doth he not say a word of the dominion resident in them over all the Church? these things are unconceivable, if he did take the Pope to be the man our Adversaries say he is.

But St. *Basil* had other notions; for indeed, being so wise and good a man, if he had taken the Pope for his Sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he doth, and so complain of him; when speaking of the Western Bishops (whereof the Pope was *the ringleader*, and most concerned) he hath these words; (occasioned as I conceive by the Bishop of *Rome*'s rejecting that excellent person, *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*;) *What we should write, or how to join with those that write, I am in doubt—for I am apt to say that of Diomedes, You ought not to request, for he is a haughty man; for in truth observance doth render men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwise they are. For if the Lord be propitious to us, what other addition do we need? but if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the Western Superciliousness? who in truth neither know, nor endure to learn; but being prepossessed with false suspicions, do now do those things, which they did before in the cause of Marcellus; affecting to contend with those who report the Truth to them; and establishing Heresie by themselves:* would that excellent Person, (the greatest man of his time in reputation for Wisdom and Piety) have thus, unbowelling his mind in an Epistle to a very eminent Bishop, smartly reflected on the qualities and proceedings of the Western Clergy, charging them with pride and haughtiness? with a suspicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance, and indisposition to learn; if he had taken him, who was the leader in all these matters, to have been his Superiour and Sovereign? would he have added the following words, immediately touching him; *I would in the common name have written to their ringleader, nothing indeed about Ecclesiastical Affairs, except only to intimate, that they neither do know the truth of things with us, nor do admit the way by which they may understand it; but in general about their being bound not to set upon those, who were humbled with afflictions; nor should judge themselves dignifyed by pride, a sin which alone sufficeth to make one God's enemy:* surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners, than in such rude terms to accost his Sovereign: nor would he have given him that character, which he doth otherwhere: where speaking of his Brother St. *Gregory Nyssene*, he saith he was an unfit Agent to *Rome*; because *although his address with a sober man would find much reverence and esteem; yet to a haughty, and reserved man sitting I know not where above, and thence not able to hear those below speaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the publick from the converse of such a man, whose dis-*

Vid. Epist. 272, 273, 321, 325, 349.

Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεραπευόμενα τὰ ὑπερήφανα ἤδη ἑαυτῶν ὑπεροπτικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Bas. *Ep.* 10. *ad* Euseb. Samos. *Ep.*

—— Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι, ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες Ibid.

Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ, περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παρανίξασθαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασιν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μάθοιεν καταδέχονται. καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα, καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς θεόν. Ibid.

Καὶ εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν. ὑψηλῷ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἄνω που καθημένῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐφθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ὃς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θωπείας ἀνελευθέρου τὸ ἦθος. Bas. *Ep.* 250.

position

position is averse from illiberal flattery? But these speeches suite with that conceit, which St. *Basil* (as *Baronius* I know not whence reporteth) expressed by saying, *I hate the pride of that Church*; which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of fostering by too much obsequiousness.

Anast. *ad* Joh. Hier. *apud* Hier.

St. *Chrysstome*, having by the practices of envious men combined against him, in a packed assembly of Bishops, upon vain surmises, been sentenced and driven from his See, did thereupon write an Epistle to Pope *Innocent* I. Bishop of *Rome*, together with his Brethren the Bishops of *Italy*; therein representing his case, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocency, displaying the iniquity of the proceedings against him, together with the mischievous consequences of them toward the whole Church, then requiring his succour for redress: yet, (although the sense of his case, and care of his interest were likely to suggest the greatest difference that could be) neither the style, which is very respectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, do imply any acknowledgment of the Pope's Supremacy: He doth not address to him as to a Governour of all, who could by his Authority command justice to be done, but as to a brother, and a friend of innocence, from whose endeavour he might procure relief; He had *recourse* not to his Sovereign power, but *to his* brotherly *love*; He *informed his Charity*, not appealed to his bar; He in short did no more than implore his assistance in an Ecclesiastical way; that he would express his resentment of so irregular dealings, that he would avow communion with him, as with an Orthodox Bishop innocent and abused, that he would procure his cause to be brought to a fair trial in a Synod of Bishops, lawfully called and indifferently affected: Had the good man had any conceit of the Pope's Supremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his address in other terms, and sued for another course of proceeding in his behalf; but it is plain enough that he had no such notion of things, nor had any ground for such a one. For indeed Pope *Innocent* in his answer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another to his Clergy and People could only comfort them, declare his dislike of the Adversaries proceedings and grounds; signifie his intentions to procure a general Synod, with hopes of a redress thence; his Sovereign power, it seems, not availing to any such purposes, *But what* (saith he) *can we do in such cases? a Synodical cognizance is necessary, which we heretofore did say ought to be called; the which alone can allay the motions of such tempests.*

Tom. 7. Epist. 122.

Vid. Laun. Epist. 1, 3.

Πρὸς τὸν ὑμέτερον ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

Διδάξομεν ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀγάπην.

— Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ ἀλόντας, ἐκ ἐλεγχομένους, ἐκ ἀποδεχθέντας κακοδόξους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαύειν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὧνπερ καὶ ἐμπροσθεν.

But as for us, we who are not condemned nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your Letters, and Love, and all other things as before.

Ἀλλὰ τί χρὴ τοιούτων ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαία δεῖ διάγνωσις συνοδικὴ ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἔφημεν συναθροισθεῖσαν· μόνη γὰρ ἔσται, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τοιούτων καταστεῖλαι καταιγίδων. — Soz. 8. 26.

It is true that the later Popes (*Siricius*, *Anastasius*, *Innocent*, *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, *Celestinus*, &c.) after the *Sardican* Council in their Epistles to the Western Bishops, over whom they had encroached, and who were over-powered by them, *&c.* do speak in somewhat more lofty strain; but are more modest toward those of the East, who could not bear, *&c.*

22. Father

22. Father; It is most prodigious that in the disputes managed by the Fathers against Hereticks (the *Gnosticks*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, *Montanists*, *Manichees*, *Paulianists*, *Arians*, &c.) they should not, even in the first place alledge and urge the sentence of the Universal Pastour and Judge, as a most evidently concluſive argument, as the most efficacious and compendious method of convincing and silencing them: Had this point been well proved and pressed, then without any more concertations from Scripture, tradition, reason, all Hereticks had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more easily have been proved, if it had been true when the light of tradition did shine so brightly; nothing indeed had been to sense more conspicuous, than the continual exercise of such an Authority.

We see now among those, who admit such an Authority, how surely when it may be had it is alledged, and what sway it hath, to the determination of any controversie; and so it would have been then, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas divers of the Fathers purposely do treat on methods of confuting Hereticks, it is strange they should be so blind or dull, as not to hit on this most proper and obvious way of referring debates to the decision of him, to whose Office of Universal Pastor and Judge it did belong: Particularly one would wonder at *Vincentius Lirinensis*; that he on set purpose, with great care discoursing about the means of setling points of Faith, and of overthrowing Heresies, should not light upon this notable way, by having recourse to the Pope's Magisterial sentence; yea, that indeed he should exclude it; for he (*after most intent study, and diligent inquiry, consulting the best and wisest men*) could find but two ways of doing it: *I* (saith he) *did always and from almost every one receive this answer, That if either I or any other would find out the frauds, and avoid the snares of up-start Hereticks, and continue sound and upright in the true Faith, he should guard and strengthen his Faith, God helping him, by these two means*, viz. *First by the Authority of the Divine Law, and then by the Tradition of the Catholick Church.* And again, *We before have said, that this hath always been, and is at present the Custom of Catholicks, that they prove their Faith by these two ways, First by Authority of the Divine Canon, then by the Tradition of the Universal Church.*

Sæpe igitur magno studio, & summâ attentione perquirens à quamplurimis sanctitate & doctrina præstantibus viris, &c. p. 316. (in edit. Baluſ.)

Hujusmodi semper responsum ab omnibus ferè retuli, quod sive ego, sive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueósque vitare, & in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo mimire fidem suam Domino adjuvante deberet; Primo scilicet divinæ legis Authoritate, tum deinde Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Traditione. p. 317.

Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper & esse hodie Catholicorum consuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; Primùm divini Canonis Authoritate, deinde Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Traditione. p. 364.

Is it not strange that he (especially being a Western man, living in those parts, where the Pope had got much sway, and who doth express great reverence to the Apostolick See) should omit that way of determining points, which of all, (according to the modern conceits about the Pope) is most ready and most sure.

24. In like manner *Tertullian* professeth the Catholicks in his time to use such compendious methods of confuting Hereticks: *We* (saith he) *when we would dispatch against Hereticks for the Faith of the Gospel, do commonly use these short ways, which do maintain both the order of times prescribing against the lateness of impostours, and the Authority of the Churches patronizing Apostolical tradition;*

His ferè compendiis utimur, quum de Evangelii fide adversus Hæreticos expedimur, defendentibus & temporum ordinem posteritati falsariorum præscribentem, & Auctoritatem Ecclesiarum traditioni Apostolorum patrocinantem. Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

* *Solemus hæreticis compendii gratiâ de posteritate præscribere.* Tertull. *contra* Hermog. *cap.* 1.

* but why did he skip over a more compendious way, than any of those, namely, standing to the judgment of the *Roman* Bishop?

25. It is true that both he, and St. *Irenæus* before him, disputing against the Hereticks of their times, who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own devising, when they alledge the general consent of Churches (planted by the Apostles, and propagated by continual successions of Bishops from those whom the Apostles did ordain) in doctrines and practices opposite to those devices, as a good argument (and so indeed it then was, next to a demonstration) against them, do produce the *Roman* Church, as a principal one among them, upon several obvious accounts; And this indeed argueth the *Roman* Church to have been then one competent witness, or credible retainer of tradition; as also were the other Apostolical Churches, to whose Testimony they likewise appeal; but what is this to the *Roman* Bishop's judicial Power in such cases? why do they not urge that in plain terms? they would certainly have done so, if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

The like discourse against Hereticks doth *Clemens Alex.* use *Strom.* 7. *p.* 549.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation; *When* (saith *Irenæus*) *we do again* (after allegation of Scripture) *appeal to that tradition, which is from the Apostles, which by successions of Presbyters is preserved in the Church:* and, *That* (saith *Tertullian*) *will appear to have been delivered by the Apostles, which hath been kept as holy in the Apostolical Churches: let us see what milk the Corinthians did draw from Paul; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians do read: what also the Romans our nearer neighbours do say, to whom both Peter and Paul did leave the Gospel sealed with their Bloud; we have also the Churches nursed by John*, &c. Again, *It is therefore manifest* (saith he, in his *Prescriptions against Hereticks*) *that every doctrine, which doth conspire with those Apostolical Churches, in which the Faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true; as undoubtedly holding that, which the Churches did receive from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God; but all other doctrine is to be prejudged false, which doth think against the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God:* their argumentation then in short is plainly this, that the conspiring of the Churches in doctrines contrary to those, which the Hereticks vented, did irrefragably signfie those doctrines to be Apostolical; which discourse doth no-wise favour the *Roman* pretences, but indeed, if we do weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing, that Christian Doctrines then in the canvassing of points and assuring tradition had no peculiar regard to the *Roman* Churches testimonies, no deference at all to the *Roman* Bishop's Authority; (not otherwise at least than to the Authority of one single Bishop yielding attestation to tradition.)

Cùm autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per successores Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus—— Iren. 3. 2.

Constabit id esse ab Apostolis traditum quod apud Ecclesias Apostolicas fuerit sacrosanctum; videamus quod lac à Paulo Corinthii hauserint; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus Evangelium & Petrus & Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt; habemus & Johannis alumnas Ecclesias, &c. *Adv.* Marc. 4. 5.

Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis Ecclesiis Apostolicis matricibus & originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandum, id sine dubio tenentem quod Ecclesiæ ab Apostolis, Apostoli à Christo, Christus à Deo suscepit; reliquam verò doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandum, quæ sapiat contra veritatem Ecclesiarum, & Apostolorum, & Christi, & Dei. Tert. *de præscr.* 21.

Doctours!

26. It is odd, that even old Popes themselves in elaborate tracts disputing against Hereticks, (as Pope *Celestine* against *Nestorius* and *Pelagius*, Pope *Leo* against *Eutyches*——) do content themselves to urge testimonies

nies of Scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alledging their own definitive Authority, or using this perlous argumentation, *I, the Supreme Doctour of the Church, and Judge of Controversies, do assert thus; and therefore you are obliged to submit your assent.*

27. It is matter of amazement, if the Pope were such as they would have him to be, that in so many bulky Volumes of ancient Fathers, living through many ages after *Christ*, in those vast treasuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed; this momentous point of doctrine and practice should no-where be expressed in clear and peremptory terms; (I speak so, for that by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their Writings.)

It is strange that somewhere or other, at least incidentally, in their Commentaries upon the Scripture, wherein many places concerning the Church and its Hierarchy do invite to speak of the Pope; in their Treatises about the Priesthood, about the Unity and Peace of the Church, about Heresie and Schism; in their Epistles concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs; in their Historical Narrations about occurrences in the Church, in their concertations with heterodox Adversaries, they should not frequently touch it, they should not sometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that *Origen*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Chrysostome*, St. *Hierome*, St. *Austin*, in their Commentaries and Tractates upon those places of Scripture [*Tu es Petrus. Pasce oves.*] whereon they now build the Papal Authority, should be so dull and drowsie as not to say a word concerning the Pope?

That St. *Austin* in his so many elaborate Tractates against the *Donatists*, (wherein he discourseth so prolixly about the Church, its Unity, Communion, Discipline) should never insist upon the duty of Obedience to the Pope, or charge those Schismaticks with their rebellion against him, or alledge his Authority against them?

If we consider that the Pope was Bishop of the Imperial City, the *Metropolis* of the World; that he thence was most eminent in rank, did abound in wealth, did live in great splendour and reputation; had many dependences, and great opportunities to gratify, and relieve many of the Clergy; that of the Fathers, whose Volumes we have, all well affected towards him, divers were personally obliged to him, for his support in their distress (as *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*,) or as to their Patrons and Benefactours (as St. *Hierome*) divers could not but highly respect him as Patron of the cause wherein they were engaged (as *Basil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hilary*, *Gregory Nyssene*, *Ambrose*, *Austin:*) some were his partizans in a common quarrel (as *Cyril:*) divers of them lived in places and times wherein he had got much sway, (as all the Western Bishops:) that he had then improved his Authority much beyond the old limits: that all the Bishops of the Western or Latine Churches had a peculiar dependence on him (especially after that by advantage of his Station, by favour of the Court, by colour of the *Sardican* Canons, by voluntary deferences and submissions, by several tricks he had wound himself to meddle in most of their chief Affairs:) that hence divers Bishops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aspiring Popes were apt

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυνασείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.

Socr. 7. 11.

The Bishoprick of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of Power above and beyond the Priesthood.

to encourage the commenders of their Authority which they themselves were apt to magnifie and inculcate; considering, I say, such things, it is a wonder, that in so many voluminous discourses so little should be said favouring this pretence, so nothing that proveth it, [so much that crosseth it, so much indeed (as I hope to shew) that quite overthroweth it.]

If it be asked how we can prove this, I answer, that (beside who carefully peruseth those Old Books, will easily see it) we are beholden to our Adversaries for proving it to us, when they least intended us such a favour; for that no clear and cogent passages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is sufficiently evident from the very allegations, which after their most diligent raking in old Books they produce; the which are so few, and fall so very short of their purpose, that without much stretching they signifie nothing.

28. It is monstrous, that in the *Code* of the Catholick Church (consisting of the decrees of so many Synods, concerning Ecclesiastical order and discipline) there should not be one Canon directly declaring his Authority; nor any mention made of him, except thrice accidentally; once upon occasion of declaring the Authority of the *Alexandrine* Bishop, the other upon occasion of assigning to the Bishop of *Constantinople* the *second place of honour*, and *equal privileges* with him.

Conc. Nic. *Can.* 6. *Conc.* Const. *Can.* 2. *Conc.* Chalc. *Can.* 28.

If it be objected, that these Discourses are negative, and therefore of small force; I answer, that therefore they are most proper to assert such a negative proposition; for how can we otherwise better shew a thing not to be, than by shewing it to have no footstep there, where it is supposed to stand? how can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the Laws grounding such right; not taught by the Masters, who profess to instruct in such things; not testifyed in records concerning the exercise of it? such arguments indeed in such cases are not merely negative, but rather privative; proving things not to be, because not affirmed there, where in reason they ought to be affirmed; standing therefore upon positive Suppositions, that Holy Scripture, that general tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their design; that ancient Writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could not conspire in perpetual silence about things, of which they had often fair occasion, and great reason to speak: In fine, such considerations, however they may be deluded by Sophistical Wits, will yet bear great sway, and often will amount near to the force of demonstration, with men of honest prudence. However we shall proceed to other discourses more direct and positive against the Popish Doctrine.

II. Secondly, we shall shew that this pretence, upon several accounts, is contrary to the Doctrine of Holy Scripture.

1. This pretence doth thwart the Holy Scripture, by assigning to another the Prerogatives and peculiar Titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

1 Cor. 8.6. 12. 5. Eph. 4. 5. Ez. 37.22. Luk. 1.33. 1 Ti. 6. 15. Jam. 4.12. 1 Pet. 5.4. 2. 25. Heb. 13.20 Ez. 34 23.

The Scripture asserteth him to be our only Sovereign Lord and King: *To us* (saith it) *there is one Lord*; and, *One King shall be King over them*; who *shall reign over the house of David for ever*; *and of his Kingdom there shall be no end*; who is *the only Potentate*; *the King of Kings and Lord of Lords*; the *One Law-giver, who is able to save and to destroy.*

The Scripture speaketh of one *Arch Pastour* and *great Shepherd of the Sheep*; exclusively to any other; for *I will* (said God in the Prophet) *set up one Shepherd over them*; *and he shall feed the Sheep*:

and

and *There* (saith our Lord himself) *shall be one Fold, and one Shepherd*; who that shall be, he expresseth adding, *I am the good Shepherd; the good Shepherd giveth his life for the Sheep* (by Pope *Boniface* his good leave, who maketh Saint *Peter* or himself this Shepherd.) Joh. 10. 16. 11. 14. *Extrav. Com. lib. 1. tit. 8. c. 1.*

The Scripture telleth us, that we have *one High Priest of our Profession*, answerable to that *one* in the Jewish Church, his Type. Heb. 3. 1. Heb. 9. 7, 24.

The Scripture informeth us, that there is but one Supreme Doctor, Guide, Father of Christians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such; *Ye are all Brethren; and call ye not any one Father upon Earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in Heaven; Neither be ye called Masters, for one is your Master, even Christ.* Good Pope *Gregory* (not the Seventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for *What therefore, deareſt Brother,* (said he to *John* of *Constantinople*) *wilt thou say in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who dost affect to be called not only Father, but General Father in the World.* Matth. 23. 8, 9.

Quid ergò, frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis judicis dicturus es; qui non solum Pater, sed etiam generalis Pater in Mundo vocari appetis? Greg. M. *Epist.* 4. 38.

The Scripture representeth the Church as *a building whereof Christ himself is the chief Corner-stone*; as a Family, whereof he being the *Pater-familias*, as all others are fellow-servants; as *one Body*, having *one Head*; whom *God hath given to be head over all things to the Church, which is his Body.* Eph. 2. 20. 1 Pet. 2. 4.

Heb. 3. 6. Mat. 10. 25. Eph. 4. 4. 2. 16. Rom. 12. 5. 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 1. 22. 4. 15. 5. 23. Col. 1. 18. Hos. 1. 11. *One Head.*

He is the One Spouse of the Church, which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord; there being no Vice-husbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that; as may be seen in the *Constit.* of Pope *Greg.* X. in one of their General Synods.

Joh. 3. 29. Eph. 5. 23. 2 Cor. 11. 2. ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ.

Sext. Decret. lib. 1. tit. 6. cap. 3.

It seemeth therefore a Sacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's Honour) for any man to assume or admit those Titles of *Sovereign of the Church, Head of the Church, our Lord, Arch-Pastor, Highest-Priest, Chief Doctor, Master, Father, Judge of Christians*; upon what pretence, or under what distinction soever: these *pompatick, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words*; these *names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy*; (to borrow the Epithets with which Pope *Gregory* I. doth brand the Titles of *Universal Bishop*, and *Oecumenical Patriarch*, no less modest in sound, and far more innocent in meaning, than those now ascribed to the Pope) are therefore to be rejected; not only because they are injurious to all other Pastors, and to the People of God's heritage; but because they do encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they do only belong; much more to usurp the things, which they do naturally signify, is a horrible invasion upon our Lord's Prerogative. Baron. A. 34. §. 208.

Vid. Greg. I. *Epist. lib.* 4. *Ep.* 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. *lib.* 6. *Ep.* 24, 28, 30, 31. *lib.* 7 *Epist.* 70.

Thus hath that great Pope taught us to argue, in words expresly condemning some, and consequently all of them, together with the things which they signify: *What* (saith he, writing to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who had admitted the title of *Universal Bishop* or *Patriarch*) *wilt thou say to Christ the Head of the Universal Church, in the trial of the last Judgment, who by the appellation of* UNIVERSAL *dost endeavour to subject all his Members to thee? whom I pray dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who despising the Legions of Angels*

Tu quid Christo Universalis Ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus Membra tibimet coneris Universalis appellatione supponere? quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis Angelorum Legionibus secum so-

constituted

cialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut & nulli subesse, & solus omnibus præesse videretur: qui etiam dixit, In cœlum conscendam, super astra cœli exaltabo solium meum —— quid enim fratres tui omnes Universalis Ecclesiæ Episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt? quibus dum cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorúmq; nomen tui comparatione calcare— Greg. *Ep.*4.38.

constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the top of Singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all? who also said, I will ascend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the stars —— for what are thy brethren all the Bishops of the Universal Church, but the stars of heaven; to whom while by this haughty word thou desirest to prefer thy self, and to trample on their name in comparison to thee, what dost thou say, but I will climb into heaven? ——

Jactantiam sumpsit ità ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, & omnia quæ soli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare. Gr.M.*Ep.*4.36.

The same words we have in the Epistle of P. *Pelagius* (Predecessor of St.*Gregory*) to the Bishops of *Constantinople* (P. Pelagii *Ep.*8.)

And again, in another *Epistle* to the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, he taxeth the same Patriarch for *assuming to boast, so that he attempteth to ascribe all things to himself, and studieth by the elation of pompous speech to subject to himself all the members of Christ, which do cohere to One Sole Head, namely, to Christ.*

Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. (Greg.I. *lib.*6. *Ep.* 30.) *Nec dispari superbiâ ad errorem ducitur; quia sicut perversus ille Deus videri vult super omnes homines; ità quisquis est, qui solus Sacerdos appellari appetit, super cæteros Sacerdotes se extollit.* (*ad* Mauric. Aug.)

Again, *I confidently say, that whoever doth call himself* Universal Bishop, *or desireth to be so called, doth in his elation forerun Antichrist, because he pridingly doth set himself before all others.*

If these Argumentations be sound, or signify any thing, what is the pretence of *Universal Sovereignty and Pastorship*, but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance?* who can imagine, that even this Pope could approve, could assume, could exercise it? if he did, was he not monstrously senseless and above measure impudent to use such discourses, which so plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him; which are built upon suppositions that it is unlawful and wicked to assume Superiority over the Church, over all Bishops, over all Christians; the which indeed (seeing never Pope was of greater repute, or did write in any case more solemnly and seriously) have given to the pretences of his Successors so deadly a wound, that no balm of Sophistical interpretation can be able to heal it.

Vid. P.Pelag. *Ep.*3.

We see that according to St. *Gregory M.* our Lord *Christ* is *the one only Head of the Church*; to whom for company let us adjoin St. *Basil M.* (that we may have both *Greek* and *Latin* for it,) who saith, that (according to Saint *Paul*) *we are the body of Christ, and members one of another, because it is manifest, that the one and sole truly head, which is Christ, doth hold and connect each one to another unto concord.*

Κρατούσης δηλονότι καὶ συναπτούσης ἕκαστον τῷ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν τῆς μιᾶς καὶ μόνης ἀληθῶς κεφαλῆς, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Bas. *M. de Jud. div. Tom.*2. *p.*261.

Totus Christus Caput & Corpus est; Caput unigenitus Dei Filius, & corpus ejus Ecclesiæ, Sponsus & Sponsa, duo in carne una. Quicunque de ipso Capite ab Scripturis Sanctis dissentiunt, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus Ecclesia designata est, non sunt in Ecclesia, &c. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 4. *Vid. contra* Petil. 3. 42.

Whole Christ is the Head of the Body; the Head the only begotten Son of God, and his Body the Church, the Bridegroom and the Spouse, two in one flesh. Whoever disagree about the Head it self from the Holy Scriptures though they are found in all places, in which the Church is designed, they are not in the Church, &c.

It was unhappily expressed by *Bellarmine* —— *Ecclesia secluso etiam Christo unum Caput habere debet. De Pont.* R.1.9.§. *Ac nè forté.* The Church even Christ himself being set aside, ought to have one Head.

To decline these allegations of Scripture, they have forged distinctions, of several kinds of Churches, and several sorts of Heads; the which evasions I shall not particularly discourse, seeing it may suffice to observe

observe in general, that no such distinctions have any place or any ground in Scripture; nor can well consist with it; which simply doth represent the Church as one Kingdom, *a Kingdom of Heaven, a Kingdom not of this world*; all the Subjects whereof have *their* πολίτευμα *in heaven*, or are considered as members of a City there; so that it is vain to seek for a Sovereign thereof in this world; the which also doth to the Catholick Church sojourning on earth usually impart the name and attributes properly appertaining to the Church most universal (comprehensive of all Christians in heaven and upon earth) because that is a visible representative of this, and we by joining in offices of piety with that do communicate with this; whence that which is said of one (concerning the Unity of its King, its Head, its Pastor, its Priest) is to be understood of the other; especially considering that our Lord, according to his promise, is ever present with the Church here, governing it by the efficacy of his Spirit and Grace, so that no other corporeal or visible Head of this Spiritual Body is needful.

Joh. 18. 36. Phil. 3. 20. Heb. 12. 22. Act. 20. 28. Matt. 16. 18. 1 Cor. 12. 28. 15. 9. Gal. 1. 13. Matt. 28. 20. *Christus arbitrio & nutu ac præsentiâ suâ & præpositos ipsos, & Ecclesiam cum præpositis gubernat.* Cypr. Ep 69. Christ by his own arbitrement and power, and presence, governs both the Bishops themselves, and the Church with the Bishops.

It was to be sure a visible Headship, which St. *Gregory* did so eagerly impugn and exclaim against; for he could not apprehend the *Bishop* of *Constantinople* so wild, as to affect a Jurisdiction over the Church mystical or invisible.

2. Indeed upon this very account the *Romish* pretence doth not well accord with Holy Scripture, because it transformeth the Church into another kind of Body, than it was constituted by God, according to the representation of it in Scripture; for there it is represented as a spiritual and heavenly Society, compacted by the bands of *one faith, one hope, one Spirit* of Charity; but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the same bands of interest and design, managed in the same manner, by terrour and allurement, supported by the same props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and splendor, as all other secular Corporations are.

Joh. 18. 26. Eph. 4. 4, 5. 2 Cor. 10. 4. *Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis & fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret.* Greg. M. Ep. 7. 111. Our Head, which is Christ, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith he might make us to be one body.

You may call it what you please, but it is evident that in truth the Papal Monarchy is a temporal Dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; such as our Lord did never mean to institute; so that the Subjects thereof may with far more reason, than the People of *Constantinople* had, when their *Bishop Nestorius* did stop some of their Priests from contradicting him, say * *We have a King, a Bishop we have not*; so that upon every Pope we may charge that, whereof *Anthimus* was accused, in the Synod of *Constantinople*, under *Menas*; *that he did account the greatness and dignity of the Priesthood to be not a spiritual charge of souls, but as a kind of politick rule.*

* Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, Ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν. *Conc.* Eph. *part. cap.* 30.

Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα ἐκ πνευματικῶν ψυχῶν ὀικονομίαν εἰς λογισάμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. *Conc. sub* Men. *Act* 1. *pag.* 9.

This was that, which seeming to be affected by the *Bishop* of *Antioch*, in encroachment upon the Church of *Cyprus*, the Fathers of the *Ephesine* Synod did endeavour to nip; enacting a Canon against all such invasions, *lest under pretext of holy discipline the pride of worldly authority*

Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερωσύνης προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύνῃ. *Can.* Eph. 1. *Can.* 8.

rity *should creep in*; *and what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which now the Popes do claim and exercise? Now, do I say, after that the Papal Empire hath swollen to such a bulk; whereas so long ago, when it was but in its bud and stripling age, it was observed of it by a very honest Historian, *that the Roman Episcopacy had long since advanced into a high degree of power beyond the Priesthood.*

* This was that which, about the same time the Fathers of the *African* Synod do request P. *Celestine* to forbear; —*nec permittere, ut fumosum mundi fastum Christi Ecclesiæ inducere videamur. Conc. Afr. ad P.* Celest. 1.

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πόρρω τῆς ἱερωσύνης ὑπ' ὀλιγαρχίαν πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. 7. 11.

3. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture by destroying that brotherly co-ordination and equality, which our Lord did appoint among the Bishops, and chief Pastors of his Church: He did (as we before shewed) prohibit all his Apostles to assume any domination, or authoritative Superiority over one another; the which command, together with others concerning the Pastoral function, we may well suppose to reach their Successors; so did St. *Hierom* suppose, collecting thence that all Bishops by original Institution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's order may challenge Superiority over another; *Where-ever* (saith he) *a Bishop is, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same Priesthood; the Power of wealth, or lowness of poverty, do not make a Bishop higher or lower, but all are Successors of the Apostles*; where, doth not he plainly deny the Bishop of *Eugubium* to be inferior to him of *Rome*, as being no less a successor of the Apostles than he? doth he not say these words, in way of proof, that the authority of the *Roman* Bishop or Church was of no validity against the practice of other Bishops and Churches? (upon occasion of Deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as Cardinal Deacons do now) which excludeth such distinctions, as Scholastical fancies have devised to shift off his Testimony; the which he uttered simply, never dreaming of such distinctions.

Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem & Sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit; cæterùm omnes Apostolorum Successores sunt. Hier. Ep. 85. (*ad* Evagr.)

Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

This consequence St. *Gregory* did suppose, when he therefore did condemn the Title of *Universal Bishop*, because it did *imply an affectation of Superiority* and dignity in one Bishop above others; of *abasing the name of other Bishops in comparison of his own*, of extolling *himself above the rest of Priests*, &c.

Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur. Gr. Ep. 4. 34.
Quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. Ep. 6. 38.
Super cæteros Sacerdotes se extollit. Ib.
Cupis Episcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare. Ep. 4. 38.
Cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris supponere. Ib.

This the ancient Popes did remember, when usually in their compellation of any Bishop, they did style them *Brethren, Collegues, fellow-Ministers fellow-Bishops*, not intending thereby complement or mockery, but to declare their sense of the original equality among Bishops; notwithstanding some differences in order and Privileges, which their See had obtained. And that this was the general sense of the Fathers we shall afterward shew.

(*Invigiletur ergò ut omnibus co-Episcopis nostris & fratribus innotescat.* P. Corn. *apud* Cyp. Ep. 48.)

Hence, when it was objected to them, that they did affect Superiority, they did sometimes disclaim it; so did Pope *Gelasius* I. (a zealous man for the honour of his See.)

Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis, (sicut prædicas) quàm cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum & Deo placitum habere consortium. P. Gelas I. Ep. 9. (*ad* Euphem. Ep. CP.)

Here

Here we do not so much desire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a consort holy and well-pleasing to God.

4. This pretence doth thwart the Holy Scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of Bishops, (which according to St. *Gregory* doth imply great pride and presumption) but as really infringing the Rights granted by our Lord to his Church, and the Governors of it.

—*Vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur.* Greg. 7. 30. (*p* 451.) What is yielded to another more than reason requires, is taken from you. Πρᾶγμα —— ἐπ πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπλήμμον. *Syn.* Eph. *I. Can.* 8. A thing that entrencheth upon the freedom of all others.

For to each Church our Lord hath imposed a Duty, and imparted a Power of maintaining divine Truth, and so approving it self *a pillar and support of truth:* Of deciding Controversies possible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately without farther resort; for that he, who will not obey or acquiesce in its Decision, is to be *as a heathen or publican:* Of censuring and rejecting Offenders (in Doctrine, or Demeanor;) *Those within* (saith Saint *Paul* to the Church of *Corinth*) *do not ye judge? But them that are without God judgeth; wherefore put away from among your selves that wicked person:* Of preserving Order and Decency; according to that Rule, prescribed to the Church of *Corinth*, *let all things be done decently and in order*: Of promoting Edification: Of deciding Causes.

Apoc. 2. & 3. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Matt. 18. 17. ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ, &c. Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; 1 Cor. 5. 12. τὰς δικαιώσεις *Vid.* v. 4, 5. Apoc. 2. 20.

1 Cor. 14. 40. 1 Thess. 5. 14. Rom. 14. 19. 1 Cor. 6. 1.—

All which Rights and Privileges the *Roman* Bishop doth bereave the Churches of, snatching them to himself; pretending that he is the Sovereign Doctor, Judge, Regulator of all Churches; over-ruling and voiding all that is done by them, according to his pleasure.

The Scripture hath enjoined and empowered all Bishops to feed, guide, and rule their respective Churches, as the *Ministers, Stewards, Ambassadors, Angels of God; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministery, for the edification of the Body of Christ:* To whom God hath committed the care of their People, so that they are responsible for their Souls.

Act. 20. 28. Heb 13. 17. 1 Pet. 5. 2. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Tit. 1. 7. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11. Apoc. 2, &c. Eph. 4. 12. Heb. 13. 17.

All which Rights and Privileges of the Episcopal Office the Pope hath invaded, doth obstruct, cram, frustrate, destroy; pretending (without any warrant) that their Authority is derived from him; forcing them to exercise it no otherwise, than as his Subjects, and according to his pleasure. But of this Point more afterward.

Dei & Apostolicæ sedis gratiâ. Vid. post. Superbum nimis est & immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, & antiquitate calcatâ alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius crescat dignitas, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c. P. Leo *I. Ep.* 55.

'Tis too proud and unreasonable a thing for one to stretch himself beyond his bounds, and maugre all antiquity to snatch away other mens right, and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppose the primacies of so many Metropolitans.

5. This pretence doth thwart the Scripture, by robbing all Christian People of the Liberties, and Rights, with which by that Divine Charter they are endowed; and which they are obliged to preserve inviolate.

Sanctæ Ecclesiæ universali injuriam facit. Greg. *I. Ep.* 1. 24.
It does wrong to the Holy Catholick Church.

Plebis Majestas. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Corn. P.) *p.* 117.

Saint *Paul* enjoyneth the *Galatians* to *stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made us free; and not to be entangled again with the yoke* Gal 5. 1.

of bondage; there is therefore a liberty, which we must maintain, and a power to which we must not submit; and against whom can we have more ground to do this, than against him, who pretendeth to dogmatize, to define Points of Faith, to impose Doctrines (new and strange enough) on our Consciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding assent to them? to prescribe Laws, as divine and necessary to be observed, without warrant, as those Dogmatists did; against whom Saint *Paul* biddeth us to maintain our Liberty: (so that if he should declare *vertue to be vice, and white to be black, we must believe him*, some of his Adherents have said, consistently enough with his pretences;) for,

Gal. 5. 1. Col. 2. 16, 18.

Against such tyrannical Invaders we are bound to maintain our Liberty, according to that Precept of Saint *Paul*; the which if a Pope might well alledge against the proceedings of a General Synod; with much more reason may we thereby justify our non-submission to one man's exorbitant domination.

P. Leo I. Ep. 28.

This is a Power, which the Apostles themselves did not challenge to themselves, for *We* (saith Saint *Paul*) *have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.*

2 Cor. 1. 24.

They did not pretend, that any Christian should absolutely believe them, in cases, wherein they had not Revelation (general, or special) from God; in such cases referring their Opinion to the judgment and discretion of Christians.

1 Cor. 10. 15. 7. 12, 25, 40.

They say, *Though we or an Angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed*; *If any man*, &c. which Precept, with many others of the like purport, (injoyning us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received Doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties) doth signify nothing, if every Christian hath not allowed to him a judgment of discretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another.

Gal. 1. 8.

St. *Austin* (I am sure) did think this liberty such, that without betraying it no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon Canonical Authority: for to a *Donatist* his Adversary, citing the Authority of St. *Cyprian* against him, he thus replieth; *But now seeing it is not Canonical which thou recitest, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive the opinion, differing from Scripture, of that man whose praise I cannot reach, to whose great learning I do not compare my writings, whose wit I love, in whose speech I delight, whose charity I admire, whose martyrdom I reverence.*

Nunc vero quoniam Canonicum non est quod recitas, eâ libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus, *ejus viri, cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis Scripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit non accipio.* Aug. contr. Cresc. 2. 32.

This Liberty not only the Ancients, but even divers Popes have acknowledged to belong to every Christian; as we shall hereafter shew, when we shall prove, that we may lawfully reject the Pope, as a Patron of Errour and Iniquity.

6. It particularly doth thwart Scripture by wronging Princes in exempting a numerous sort of People from subjection to their Laws, and Judicature; whereas by God's Ordination and express Command *every soul is subject* to them; not excepting the Popes themselves; (in the opinion of St. *Chrysostom*, except they be greater than any Apostle.)

Rom. 13. 1.

By pretending to govern the Subjects of Princes without their leave; to make Laws, without his permission or confirmation; to cite his Subjects out of their Territories, *&c.* which are encroachments upon the Rights of God's unquestionable Ministers.

III. Far-

III. Farther, because our Adversaries do little regard any allegation of Scripture against them (pretending themselves to be the only Masters of its sense, or of common sense, Judges and Interpreters of them) we do alledge against them, that this pretence doth also cross Tradition, and the common Doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common usage and practice is a good interpreter of Right; and that sheweth no such Right was known in the Primitive Church ——

2. Indeed the state of the Primitive Church did not admit it.

3. The Fathers did suppose no Order in the Church, by original Right, or divine Institution, superior to that of a Bishop; whence they commonly did style a Bishop the Highest Priest, and Episcopacy the top of Ecclesiastical Orders.

Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διδακθέντες ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν Ἐπισκόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐνείμαμεν, &c. *Const. Apost.* 8. 46.

The chief Priest (saith *Tertullian*) *that is the Bishop, hath the right of giving Baptism.*

Dandi quidem jus habet summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus. Tert. *de Bapt. c.*17.

Although (saith St. *Ambrose*) *the Presbyters also do it, yet the beginning of the Ministry is from the highest Priest.*

Licèt enim & Presbyteri faciant, tamen exordium Ministerii est à summo Sacerdote. Ambr. *de Sacr.*3.1. *Suscepisti gubernacula summi Sacerdotii. Id. Ep.*5.

Optatus calleth Bishops, *the tops and Princes of all.*

Apices & Principes omnium Sacerdotes. Opt 1. *Ecclesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet.* Hier. *c.* Lucif.4. The safety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the High priest.

*Ego dignus summo Sacerdotio decernebar. Id. Ep.*99. (*ad* Asell.)

In Episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus Sacerdos est, hoc est Princeps Sacerdotum, & Propheta & Evangelista, & cætera adimplenda officia Ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium. Ambr. *in* Eph.4.11.

In the Bishop there are all Orders, because he is the first Priest, (*i.e.*) the Prince of Priests, and Prophet and Evangelist, and all other Offices of the Church, to be fulfilled in the ministery of the faithful.

The Divine Order of Bishops (saith *Dionysius*) *is the first of Divine Orders; the same being also the extreme and last of them; for into it all the frame of our Hierarchy is resolved and accomplished.*

Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις, &c. *supr. Pontifex princeps Sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium; Ipse & summus Sacerdos, ipse & Pontifex maximus nuncupatur.* Isid. Hisp. *apud* Grat. *dist.*21. *cap.*1.

This language is common even among Popes themselves, complying with the speech then current; for, *Presbyters* (saith Pope *Innocent* I.) *although they are Priests, yet have they not the top of High-priesthood.*

Nam Presbyteri, licèt sint Sacerdotes, pontificatûs tamen apicem non habent. P. Innoc. *I. Ep.*1. (*ad* Decent.) —— *dum facilè imponuntur manus, dum negligenter summus Sacerdos eligitur. Id. Ep.*12. (*ad* Aurel.)

No man (saith P. *Zosimus* I.) *against the precepts of the Fathers should presume to aspire to the highest Priesthood of the Church.*

Nè quis contra Patrum præcepta —— (*ad summum Ecclesiæ Sacerdotium aspirare præsumeret.* P. Zoz. *I. Ep.*1. *ad* Hesych.)

It is decreed (saith Pope *Leo* I.) *that the Chorepiscopi or Presbyters, who figure the sons of Aaron, shall not presume to snatch that, which the Princes of the Priests (whom Moses and Aaron did typify) are commanded to do.* (Note by the way, that seeing according to this Pope's mind (after St. *Hierom*) *Moses* and *Aaron* did in the *Jewish* Policy represent Bishops, there was none there to prefigure the Pope.)

Ideóque id quod tantùm facere Principibus Sacerdotum jussum est, quorum typum Moses & Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut Chorepiscopi vel Presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant. P. Leo. *Ep.* 88. *Pontificatûs apicem non habent. Ibid. Vid. Ep.* 84. *cap.* 5.

S. Hier. *ad* Evagr. *Ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de veteri Testamento, Quod Aaron & filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri & diaconi vindicant in Ecclesia.* Or. 19. *p.* 309.

In those days the Bishop of *Nazianzum* (a petty Town in *Cappadocia*) was an High-priest (so *Gregory* calleth his Father.) And the Bishop of a poor City in *Africk* is styled *Sovereign Pontif of Christ, most blessed Father, most blessed Pope:* and the very *Roman* Clergy doth call St. *Cyprian most blessed and most glorious Pope*; which Titles the Pope doth now so charily reserve and appropriate to himself.

A Bishop called ἀρχιερεύς. *Apost. Const.* 8. 10, 12.
Summus Christi Pontifex Augustinus. (Paulin. *apud* Aug. *Ep.* 36.) Aug. *Ep.* 35.
Beatissimo Papæ Augustino. Hieron. (Aug. *Ep.* 11, 13, 14, &c.)
Optamus te beatiss. & glorioss. Papa in Domino semper valere. Ep. 31.

But innumerable Instances of this kind might be produced; I shall only therefore add two other passages, which seem very observable, to the enforcement of this discourse.

St. *Hierome*, reprehending the discipline of the *Montanists* hath these words, *With us the Bishops do hold the places of the Apostles; with them, a Bishop is in the third place; for they have for the first rank the Patriarchs of Pepusa in Phrygia; for the second those whom they call Cenones; so are Bishops thrust down into the third, that is almost the last place; as if thence Religion became more stately, if that which is first with us, be the last with them:* Now doth not St. *Hierom* here affirm, that every Bishop hath the place of an Apostle, and the first rank in the Church? doth not he tax the advancement of any Order above this? may not the Popish Hierarchy most patly be compared to that of the *Montanists*, and is it not equally liable to the censure of St. *Hierom?* doth it not place the *Roman* Pope in the first place, and the *Cardinals* in the second, detruding the Bishops into a third place? Could the *Pepusian* Patriarch, or his *Cenones*, either more over-top in dignity, or sway by power over Bishops, than doth the *Roman Patriarch* and his *Cardinals*?

Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent, apud eos Episcopus tertius est; habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ Patriarchas, secundos quos appellant Cenones; atque ità in tertium, id est plenè ultimum locum Episcopi devolvuntur; quasi exindè ambitiosior religio fiat, si quod apud nos primum est, apud illos novissimum sit. Hier. (*ad* Marcellam) *Ep.* 54.

Again, St. *Cyprian* telleth Pope *Cornelius*, that in Episcopacy doth reside *the sublime and divine power of governing the Church*; it being *the sublime top of the Priesthood: He* (saith the Blessed man concerning Pope *Cornelius*) *did not suddenly arrive to Episcopacy, but being through all Ecclesiastical Offices promoted, and having in divine Administrations often merited of God, did by all the steps of Religion mount to the sublimest pitch of Priesthood*; where it is visible, that St. *Cyprian* doth not reckon the *Papacy*, but the *Episcopacy* of *Cornelius* to be that top of Priesthood, (above which there was nothing eminent in the Church) unto which he passing through the inferior degrees of the Clergy had attained.

—— *actum est de Episcopatûs vigore, & de Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi, ac divina potestate.* Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* P. Cornel.)
Non iste ad Episcopatum subitò pervenit, sed per omnia Ecclesiastica officia promotus, & in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit. Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived, that the Ancients constantly would have spoken in this manner, if they had allowed the Papal Office to be such, as now it doth bear it self; the which indeed is an Order no less distant from Episcopacy, than the rank of a King differeth from that of the meanest Baron in his Kingdom.

Neither is it prejudicial to this Discourse (or to any preceeding) that in the primitive Church there were some distinctions and subordinations of Bishops (as of *Patriarchs*, *Primates*, *Metropolitans*, common Bishops) for,

The *Africans* had a particular care, that this *Primacy* should not degenerate into tyranny.

These

These were according to prudence constituted by the Church it self for the more orderly and peaceable administration of things.

These did not import such a difference among the Bishops, that one should domineer over others to the infringing of primitive fraternity, or common liberty: but a precedence in the same rank, with some moderate advantages for the common good.

These did stand under Authority of the Church; and might be changed, or corrected as was found expedient by common agreement.

By virtue of these the Superiours of this kind could do nothing over their subordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of Canons, established by consent in Synods; by which their influence was amplified or curb'd.

Conc. Ant. *Can.* 9.
Vid. Apost. Can. 34.
Conc. Carth. *apud* Cypr.
Cod. Afr. *Can.* 39.
Nestorius, Dioscorus,
Οἷά τε τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐμδύμως διεκδικοῦντες. Euseb. 8. 1.
So *Eusebius* complaineth of the Bishops in his time——
So *Isidor. Pelusiot. Ep.* 20. 125. 4. 219.

When any of these did begin to domineer, or exceed his limits, he was liable to account, and correction; he was exclaimed against as *tyrannical*.

When *Primates* did begin to swell and encroach, good men declared their displeasure at it, and wished it removed; as is known particularly by *the famous Wish of* *Gregory Nazianzene.

* Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἦν πρεσδεία, μηδὲ τις τόπε πρεσλίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 28.
O that there were not at all any Presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative.

But we are discoursing against a Superiority of a different nature, which foundeth it self in the Institution of *Christ*, imposeth it self on the Church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or control, pretendeth to be endowed with an absolute power to act without, or against the consent of the Church, is limited by no certain bounds but its own pleasure, *&c.*

So *Socrates* of the Bishop (not only of *Rome*, but) *Alexandria. lib.* 7. *cap.* 11.
So St. *Chrysostom* in 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. in *Ep. Orat.* 11.
So *Greg. Naz.* complained of τυραννικὴ πρωτομία. Ibid.

IV. Farther this pretence may be impugned, by many Arguments springing from the nature and reason of things abstractedly considered; according to which the exercise of such an Authority may appear unpracticable without much iniquity, and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Christian States and People, to the interests of Religion and Piety, to the peace and welfare of Mankind; whence it is to be rejected as a pest of Christendom.

1. Whereas all the world in design and obligation is Christian; (the *utmost parts of the earth* being granted *in possession* to our Lord; and his Gospel extending *to every creature under heaven*) and may in effect become such, when God pleaseth, by acceptance of the Gospel: whereas it may easily happen, that the most distant places on the Earth may embrace Christianity: whereas really Christian Churches have been and are dispersed all about the World; it is thence hugely incommodious, that all the Church should depend upon an Authority resident in one Place, and to be managed by one Person: the Church being such, is too immense, boundless, uncircumscribed, unwieldy a bulk to be guided by the inspection, or managed by the influence of one such Authority or Person.

Psal. 2. 8. Col. 1. 23. Luke 24. 47. Matt. 28. 19.

If the whole World were reduced under the Government of one Civil Monarch, it would necessarily be ill governed, as to Policy, to Justice, to Peace: The skirts or remoter parts from the *Metropolis* or centre

centre of the Government would extremely suffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from Majesty shining at such a distance: They would live under small awe of that Power, which was so far out of sight: They must have very difficult recourse to it for redress of grievances, and relief of oppressions: for final decision of causes, and composure of differences; for correction of offences, and dispensation of justice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition: It would be hard to preserve peace or quell seditions, and suppress insurrections that might arise in distant quarters.

Cùm tot sustineas, & tanta negotia solus, &c. Hor. *Ep.* 1.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful skilfully and justly to give Laws, or administer Judgment to so many Nations different in Humour, in Language, in Customs? What mind of man, what industry, what leisure could serve to sustain the burthen of that care, which is needful to the wielding such an Office? How and when should one man be able to receive all the addresses, to weigh all the causes, to make all the resolutions and dispatches requisite for such a charge? If the burthen of one small Kingdom be so great, that wise and good Princes do groan under its weight, what must that be of all Mankind? To such an extent of Government there must be allowed a Majesty, and power correspondent, the which cannot be committed to one hand, without its degeneration into extreme Tyranny. The words of *Zozimus* to this purpose are observable; who saith, that the *Romans* by admitting *Augustus Cæsar* to the Government, did do very perillously;

Εἴτε γὰρ ὀρθῶς, &c. Zos. *Hist.* 1. (*p.* 4. Steph.)

for, *If he should chuse to manage the Government rightly and justly, he would not be capable of applying himself to all things as were fit; not being able to succour those, who do lie at greatest distance; nor could he find so many Magistrates, as would not be ashamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he fute them to the differences of so many manners: Or, if transgressing the bounds of Royalty, he should warp to Tyranny, disturbing the Magistracies, overlooking misdemeanors, bartering right for money, holding the Subjects for Slaves, (such as most Emperors, or rather near all have been, few excepted) then it is quite necessary, that the brutish Authority of the Prince should be a publick calamity, for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours do invade the greatest commands; and those who are modest and quiet, not affecting the same life with them, are consequently displeased, not enjoying the same advantages; so that from hence Cities are filled with seditions and troubles. And the Civil and Military employments being delivered up to avaritious Persons, do both render a peaceable life sad and grievous to men of better disposition, and do enfeeble the resolution of Soldiers in war.*

Felicioribus sic rebus humanis omnia Regna parva essent, concordi vicinitate lætantia. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 4. 15.

Hence St. *Austin* was of opinion, that *it were happy for mankind, if all Kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood.*

Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὀργάνων καὶ δὴ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν, οὔτε καθ' ὑπερβάλλον ἔξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν. Arist. *Pol.* 7. 4. There is a certain measure of greatness fit for Cities and Commonwealths, as well as for all other things, Living Creatures, Plants, Instruments, for every one of these hath its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little, nor yet exceeds in bigness. Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τίς κήρυξ μὴ στεντορεύσει; *Ibid.* For who would be a Captain of an excessive huge multitude, &c.

Suis & ipsa Roma viribus ruit. Hor. *Ep.* 16.

——quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit ut, jam magnitudine laboret sua. Liv. 1.

Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Sicilia & Africa contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominanti in Italia sua, quàm eò magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. Flor. 3. 12.

It is commonly observed by Historians, that *Rome growing in bigness, did labour therewith*, and was not able to support it self; many distempers and disorders springing up in so vast a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for *Then* (saith St. *Austin* concerning the times of *Pompey*)

pey) Rome had subdueed Africk, it had subdued Greece; and widely also ruling over other parts, as not able to bear it self, did in a manner by its own greatness break it self.

Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, latéq; etiam ab iis partibus imperans tanquam seipsam ferre non valens se sua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. Aug. *de Civ. D.* 18. 45. Tac. *Hist.* 2. p. 476.

Hence that wise Prince *Augustus Cæsar* did himself forbear to enlarge the *Roman* Dominion, and did in his Testament advise the Senate to do the like.

Γνώμλω τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παρεῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι, καὶ μισθαμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐβελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔντως ἀεί ποτε ὁ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν περισπήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠβέλησε. Dion. *lib.* 56. Tac. *Ann* 1.

He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their Empire, for, said he, it will be hardly kept; and this he himself observ'd not in word only, but in deed: for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous Nations, yet he would not.

Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret Ad veteres fines, & mœnia pauperis Anci, &c. Claud *de bello Gildon.*

To the like inconveniencies (and much greater in its kind; Temporal things being more easily ordered than Spiritual, and having secular Authority, great advantages of power and wealth to aid it self) must the Church be obnoxious, if it were subjected to the government of one Sovereign, unto whom the maintenance of Faith, the protection of Discipline, the determination of Controversies, the revision of Judgments, the discussion and final decision of Causes upon appeal, the suppression of Disorders and Factions, the inspection over all Governors, the correction of Misdemeanors, the constitution, relaxation and abolition of Laws, the resolution of all matters concerning Religion and the publick State in all Countries must be referred.

τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανὸς; what Shoulders can bear such a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the Pope hath any promise of miraculous assistance, nor in his demeanor doth appear any mark thereof:) what mind would not the care of so many affairs utterly distract, and overwhelm? who could find time to cast a glance on each of so numberless particulars? what sagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what strength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of industry, what abundance of experience would suffice for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controversies of Faith, and cases of Discipline perpetually starting up in so many Regions?

The Synod of *Basil* doth well describe the duty of a Pope, but it is infinitely hard to practise it in any measure. (*Conc. Bas. Sess.* 23. p. 64, *&c.* ——)

What reach of skill and ability would serve for accommodation of Laws to different humours and fashions of so many Nations? Shall a decrepit old man in the decay of his age, parts, vigour —— (such as Popes usually are) undertake this? May we not say to him, as *Jethro* did to *Moses*, *Ultra vires tuas est negotium*; *The thing thou doest is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this People that is with thee; for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy self alone.* Ex. 18. 18.

If the care of a small Diocese hath made the most able and industrious Bishops (who had a Conscience and sense of their duty) to groan under its weight, how insupportable must such a thing be?

The care of his own particular Church, if he would act the part of a Bishop indeed, would sufficiently take up the Pope; especially in some times; whenas Pope *Alex.* saith, —— *Ut intestina nostræ specialis Ecclesiæ negotia vix possemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare.* P. Alex II. (*Epist. ad* Ger. Rhem. Bin. *p.* 284.)

2 Cor. 11. 28. If it be said, that Saint *Paul* testifyeth of himself, that he had *a care of all the Churches* incumbent on him; I answer, that he (and other Apostles had the like) questionless had a pious solicitude for the welfare of all Christians, especially of the Churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occasions to edify them; but what is this to bearing the charge of a standing government over all the Churches diffused through the world? that care of a few Churches then was burthensom to him, what is the charge of so many now? to one seldom endowed with such Apostolical graces and gifts as Saint *Paul* was.

How weak must the influence of such an Authority be upon the circumferential Parts of its Oecumenical Sphere?

How must the outward branches of the Churches faint and fade for want of sap from the root of Discipline, which must be conveyed through so many obstructions to such a distance?

Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. Greg. *I. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 7, 25, 5.
Such a weight of employment presses me down, that my mind can by no means be rais'd to things above.

How discomposed must things be in each Country, for want of seasonable resolution, hanging in suspence, till information do travel to *Rome*, and determination come back thence?

Si administratio illius temporis Mare fuit, quid de præsenti Papatu dicendum erit? Calv. *Inst.* 4 *c.* 7. 22.
If the ordering of affairs in those times was a boundless Sea, what shall we say of the present Papacy?

How difficult, how impossible will it be for him there to receive faithful information, or competent testimony, whereupon to ground just decisions of Causes?

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning person to raise trouble against innocent persons? for any like person to decline the due Correction laid on him? by transferring the Cause from home to such a distance?

How much cost, how much trouble, how much hazard must parties concerned be at to fetch light and justice thence?

Put case a Heresy, a Schism, a Doubt or Debate of great moment should arise in *China*, how should the *Gentleman* in *Italy* proceed to confute that Heresy, to quash that Schism, to satisfy that Doubt, to determine that Cause? how long must it be e'er he can have notice thereof? to how many cross accidents of weather and way must the transmitting of information be subject? how difficult will it prove to get a clear and sure knowledge concerning the state of things?

How hard will it be to get the opposite parties to appear, so as to confront testimonies and probations requisite to a fair and just decision? how shall witnesses of infirm sex or age ramble so far? how easily will some of them prepossess and abuse him with false suggestions and misrepresentations of the case? how slippery therefore will the result be, and how prone he to award a wrongful sentence?

Nunquid mirandum est de tam longinquis terris Episcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt? Aug. *contra* Cresc. 3. 34. What marvel if the Bishops from so remote Countries tell you what they please without check or control?

Delungas vias luengas mentiras. Hisp. *Prov. Syn.* Basil. *Sess.* 31. *p.* 86. How tedious, how expensive, how troublesom, how vexatious, how hazardous must this course be to all parties? Certainly Causes must needs proceed slowly, and depend long; and in the end the resolution of them must be very uncertain.

What temptation will it be for any one (how justly soever corrected by his immediate Superiors) to complain; hoping thereby to escape, to disguise the truth, *&c.* who being condemned will not appeal to one at a distance, hoping by false suggestions to delude him?

This

This necessarily will destroy all Discipline, and induce impunity, or frustration of Justice. *Vid.* Bern. *Ep.* 178. *de Consi.*

Certainly much more convenient and equal it should be, that there should be near at hand a Sovereign Power, fully capable, expeditely and seasonably to compose differences; to decide causes, to resolve doubts, to settle things without more stir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that Laws should rather be framed, interpreted and executed in every Countrey, with accommodation to the tempers of the People, to the circumstances of things, to the Civil State there, by persons acquainted with those particulars, than by strangers ignorant of them, and apt to mistake about them.

How often will the Pope be imposed upon, as he was in the case of *Basilides*, of whom St. *Cyprian* saith, *going to Rome he deceived our Collegue Stephen, being placed at distance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aspiring to be unjustly restored to the Bishoprick, from which he was justly removed.*

Romam pergens Stephanum Collegam nostrum longè positum, & gestæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi se injustè in Episcopatum, de quo fuerat justè depositus. Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

As he was in the case of *Marcellus*, who gull'd Pope *Julius* by fair professions, as St. *Basil* doth often complain.

Ἐκείνα ποιῆσι νυῦ ἃ πρότερον· ὅτε Μαρκέλλῳ, πρὸς ᾧ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες, &c. Basil. *Ep.* 10.

As he was in aiding that versatile and troublesom Bishop, *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*, to the recovery of his Bishoprick. Bas. *Ep.* 73. 74.

As he was in rejecting *the man of God, and most admirable Bishop, Meletius*; and admitting scandalous reports about him, which the same Saint doth often resent; blaming sometimes the fallacious misinformation, sometimes the wilful presumption, negligence, pride of the *Roman* Church, in the case.

Τὸν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίου —— τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον —— Bas. *Ep.* 349.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐντυχόντα· οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. Ibid.

Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done, others that think they know them declare them unto us, more contentiously than truly.

Ἐλυπῆ ἡμᾶς λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τὸν θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον. *Epist.* 321. *ad* Pet. Alex.

He grieved us when he said, that our godly Brethren, Meletius and Eusebius, were reckoned among the Arians.

Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν ἐκ δυτικῆς ὀφρύος, οἱ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅτε ἴασιν. ὅτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; Bas. *Ep.* 10.

What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?

As he was in the case of *Pelagius* and *Celestius*, who did cajole Pope *Zosimus* to acquit them, to condemn *Eros* and *Lazarus* their accusers, to reprove the *African* Bishops for prosecuting them. *P.* Zoz. *I. Ep.* 3 & 4.

How many proceedings should we have like to that of Pope *Zozimus* I. concerning that scandalous Priest, *Apiarius*; whom being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his Bishop, that Pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronize; but was baffled in his enterprize. *Deinde quòd inter tantam hominum, multitudinem adeò pauci sunt Episcopi, & amplæ singulorum Parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus curam Episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut ritè administrare valeant.* P. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 2. 73.

And then because in so great a multitude of People there are so few Bishops, and every one's Diocese very large, that they are in no-wise able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the Episcopal office among the People over whom they are set.

This hath been the sense of the Fathers, in the case.

St. *Cyprian* therefore saith, that *seeing it was a general statute among the Bishops, and that it was both equal and just, that every one's cause should be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each Pastor had a* Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*p.* 116.)

portion of the Flock allotted to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν. Chrys. *Ep.* 102. (*ad P.* Innoc *I.*) Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἦθος, καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίαι ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται, &c.

St. *Chrysostom* thought it *improper that one out of Ægypt should administer justice to Persons in Thrace:* (and why not as well as one out of *Italy?*)

For if this custom prevail, and if they that will may go to other mens Dioceses at so great a distance, and eject whom any man pleases, know that all will go to wrack, &c.

Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos Episcopos suis Metropolitanis apertissimè commiserunt; Prudentissimè enim justissiméque viderunt (providerunt) *quæcunque negotia in suis locis, ubi orsa sunt, finienda. Ep. Conc.* Afric. *ad P.* Celest. *I.* (*in fine Cod.* Afric.) *vel apud* Dion. *Exig.*

The *African* Synod thought *the Nicene Fathers had provided most prudently and most justly, that all affairs should be finally determined there where they did arise.*

Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ vel propter sexûs, vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt. Ibid.

They thought *a transmarine judgment could not be firm,* because *the necessary persons for testimony, for the infirmity of sex or age, or for many other infirmities could not be brought thither.*

Nè ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere solet) in nimias dilationes tenderent veritatis examina—— *P.* Leo *I. Ep.* 34.

Pope *Leo* himself saw how dilatory this course would be; and that *longinquity of region doth cause the examination of truth to become over dilatory.*

Τότε ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πάντες ἀπαντήσαντες. ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιποιούμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπεπενεχθέντα. Theod. 2. 16.

Pope *Liberius* for such reason did request *Constantius*, that *Athanasius* his cause should be tryed at *Alexandria*; where ---- *he* (saith he) *that is accused, and the accusers are, and the defender of them, and so we may upon examination had agree in our sentence about them.*

Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter à remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, & interdum pro parvis & minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari consueverunt, &c. Vid. Conc. Bas. *Sess.* 31. (*p.* 86.)

Therefore divers ancient Canons of Synods did prohibit, that any Causes should be removed out of the bounds of Provinces, or Dioceses; as otherwhere we shew.

But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuses have prevailed, while too often men have been used to be cited and call'd out even from the remotest parts to the Court of Rome, and sometimes for slight and trivial businesses and occasions.

Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid. *p.* 61. *Privilegia istius sedis perpetua sunt, divinitùs radicata, atque plantata, impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt.* P. Nic. *I. ad* Mich. *Imp.*

2. Such an Authority, as this pretence claimeth, must necessarily (if not withheld by continual Miracle) throw the Church into sad bondage. All the World must become slaves to one City, its wealth must be derived thither, its quiet must depend on it. For it (not being restrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or co-ordinate power, standing upon Divine Institution, and therefore immutably setled) must of its own nature become absolute, and unlimited.

The privileges of this See are perpetual, rooted and founded upon Divine Authority, they may be dasht against, they cannot be removed, they may be drawn aside, they cannot be pluck'd up.

Let

Let it be however of right limited by Divine Laws, or Humane Canons, yet will it be continually encroaching, and stretching its power, until it grows enormous, and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any restraint. It will draw to it self the collation of all preferments, *&c.* *Vid. Conc. Bas. Sess. 31. p. 87.*

It will assume all things to it self; trampling down all opposite claims of right and liberty; so that neither Pastor nor People shall enjoy or do any thing otherwise than in dependence on it, and at its pleasure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting sanctions to establish them; which none must presume to contest. *Licèt Apostolica prærogativa possimus de*

qualibet Ecclesia clericum ordinare. P. Steph. *apud* Grat. *caus.* 9. *qu.* 3. *cap.* 20. Though by our Apostolical prerogative we may ordain a Clergy-man of any Church.

It will draw to it self the disposal of all places; the exaction of goods. All Princes must become his Ministers, and executors of his Decrees. *Hist. Conc.* Trid *p.* 60. so they pretend. *Conc.* Later. 4. (*sub* Innoc. 3:)

It will mount above all Law, and Rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable, and unaccountable, but not enduring any reproof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates: a blind Faith must be yielded to all its Assertions as infallibly true, and a blind obedience to all its Decrees, as unquestionably holy: whosoever shall any-wise cross it in word or deed, shall certainly be discountenanced, condemned, ejected from the Church; so that the most absolute tyranny, that can be imagined, will ensue: All the World hath groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor Nation; it would raise indignation in any man to read the complaints*. *Sitq; alienus à divinis & Pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit*

præceptis Apostolicis obtemperare. Greg. *IV.* (*dist.* 19. *c.* 5.) And let him have nothing at all to do with Divine and Pontifical Offices, who would not obey Apostolical Precepts * *Vid.* Mat. Paris.

Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, & Temporalem Authoritatem Spirituali subjici potestati. Bonif. *VIII. Extrav. Com.* 1. 8. 1.

But there must be a sword under a sword, and Temporal Authority subject to Spiritual.

This is consequent on such a pretence according to the very nature of things; and so in experience it hath happened. For, *— chesia piu officio di Ponte-*

fici aggiurgere con l'armi, & col sforgue de Christiani, &c. Guicc. *l.* 11. *p.* 858.

It is evident, that the Papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all Orders in the Church, either granted by God, or established in the ancient Canons. *Quid hodie erant Episcopi,*

nisi umbra quædam? quid plus eis restabat quàm baculus & mitra, &c. *An.* Sylv. *de gestis Syn.* Bas. *lib.* 1.

What were Bishops now, but a kind of shadows? what had they left more than a Staff and a Mitre? *&c.*

The *Royalties* of *Peter* are become immense; and consistently to his practice the Pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, *that all Power in Heaven and in Earth is given unto him.* *Conc.* Lat. 5. *Sess.* 11. *p.* 129.

It belongeth to him *to judge of the whole Church.* *De omni Ecclesia*

jus habet judicandi. P. Gelas Grat. *Caus.* 9. *q.* 3. *cap.* 18.

He hath *a plenitude* (as he calleth it) *of Power*, by which he can infringe any Law, or do any thing that he pleaseth. *Secundum plenitudinem po-*

testatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare. Greg *decret. lib.* 3. *tit.* 8. *cap.* 4.

It is the tenor of his Bulls; *that whoever rashly dareth to thwart his will, shall incur the indignation of Almighty God*; *and* (as if that were not enough) *of St.* Peter, *and St. Paul also.*

Hujus culpas is thic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus. Grat. *dist.*40. *cap.*6. (*Si Papa*—) *Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio. Caus.*9.*qu.*3. *cap.*10.

No man must presume to tax his faults; or to judge of his judgment.

Cùm enim obedire Apostolicæ sedi superbè contemnunt, scelus idololatriæ, teste Samuele, incurrunt. Greg. *VII. Ep.*4.2. *Nulli fas est vel velle, vel posse transgredi Apostolicæ sedis præcepta.* Greg. *IV. apud* Grat. *dist.*19. *cap.*5.

It is Idolatry to disobey his commands, against their own Sovereign Lord.

No man may nor can transgress the commands of the Apostolick See.

——— *Ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo & irrefragabiliter observandum est. Ibid. cap.*4. (P. Steph.)

—— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, must always and inviolably be observed by all.

Erronea, & hæresi proxima. Bell. *de P.*4.2.

There are who dare in plain terms call him Omnipotent, and who ascribe *infinite* power to him. And that he is infallible, is the most common and plausible opinion; so that at *Rome* the contrary *is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical.*

Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, & virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare. Bell. *de Pont.*4.5.

We are now told, that *If the Pope should err by enjoining vices, or forbidding vertues, the Church should be bound to believe vices to be good, and vertues evil, unless it would sin against Conscience.*

The greatest Princes must stoop to his will; otherwise he hath power to cashier, and depose them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity, can there be, than that all God's people (that *free people*, who are *called to freedom*) should be subject to so intolerable a yoke, and miserable a slavery?

Gal.5.1. 13. 1Pet.2.16.

Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum Ecclesiarum, ità quòd inferiores Prælati sunt pro nihilo. *Card.* Zab. *de Sch.* Innoc. *VII. p.* 560.

The Pope hath invaded all the rights of inferior Churches, so that all inferior Prelates are nothing set by.

That tyranny soon had crept into the *Roman* Church *Socrates* telleth us.

Ecclesia est mandra sive grex aut multitudo jumentorum sive asinorum. Eccl. *c.*47.

Illi nos frænant, nos loræ alligant, nos stimulant, nobis jugum & onus imponunt. Ib.

They have rendred true that definition of *Scioppius*. *The Church is a stall, or herd, or multitude of Beasts, or Asses.*

They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay Yokes and Laws upon us.

The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of Infallibility: for *Dionysius* and *Phalaris* did leave the mind free, (pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will:) but the Pope not content to make us do and say what he pleaseth, will have us also to think so; denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces if we do not.

3. Such an Authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Christian Doctrine, by distorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new Doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure of those who manage it, and of their dependents.

That

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ to make a trade of Religion, will be the great work of the Teachers of the Church. It will turn all Divines into mercenary, slavish, designing Flatterers. 2 Cor. 2. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 5. Νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Supposing that gain is godliness. Ἐν πορφύρᾳ πλουτοῦσα. Thess. 2. 5. A cloke of Covetousness Κυβεία. Eph. 4. 4.

This we see come to pass, Christianity by the Papal influence being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was; from a divine Philosophy designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and Angels; modelled to a systeme of politick devices (of notions, of precepts, of rights,) serving to exalt and enrich the Pope, with his Court and Adherents, Clients and Vassals. *Pasce, id est regio more impera. Ecce duos Gladios.* —— *Oravi nè deficeret.* —— Feed (*i.e.*) rule as a King. Behold two Swords.

What Doctrine of Christian Theology, as it is interpreted by their Schools, hath not a direct aspect, or doth not squint that way? especially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the Pope, (his Universal Pastorship, Judgship in controversies, Power to call Councils, Presidency in them, Superiority over them; Right to confirm, or annul them; his Infallibility; his double Sword, and Dominion (direct or indirect) over Princes; his dispensing in Laws, in Oaths, in Vows, in Matrimonial cases, with all other the monstrous prerogatives, which the sound Doctors of *Rome*, with encouragement of that Chair, do teach.)

What doth the Doctrine concerning the exempting of the Clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes signify, but their entire dependence on the Pope, and their being closely tyed to his interests?

What is the exemption of Monastical places from the jurisdiction of Bishops, but listing so many Soldiers and Advocates to defend and advance the Papal Empire?

What meaneth the Doctrine concerning that middle Region of Souls, or Cloister of Purgatory, whereof the Pope holdeth the Keys; opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences; but that he must be Master of the Peoples condition, and of their purse?

What meaneth the treasure of Merits, and superrogatory works, whereof he is the Steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple People, to his treasury?

Whither doth the entangling of Folks in perpetual Vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interests, eternally, without evasion or remedy; except by favourable dispensation from the Pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in Sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the Priest, and all he doth?

Whence did the monstrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation (urged with so furious zeal) issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those, who by saying of a few words can make Our God and Saviour? and withal to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their Reason, and Senses?

Whither

Whither doth tend the Doctrine concerning the Mass being a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Dead, but to engage men to leave in their Wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the Cup withholden from the Laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our Religion, from the Priesthood?

Why is saying private Mass (or celebrating the Communion in solitude) allowed, but because Priests are pay'd for it, and live by it?

At what doth the Doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular Confession aim, but that thereby the Priests may have a mighty awe on the Consciences of all People, may dive into their Secrets, may manage their Lives as they please?

And what doth a like necessary particular Absolution intend, but to set the Priest in a lofty state of Authority above the People, as a Judge of his Condition, and Dispenser of his Salvation?

Why do they equal Ecclesiastical Traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever Doctrines, advantageous to their designs?

What drift hath the Doctrine concerning the Infallibility of Churches or Councils, but that when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of Bishops together to establish what he liketh, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always sute to his interest.

What doth the prohibition of Holy Scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining of People in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for direction, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates; being disabled to detect their errours, or contest their opinions.

Why must the Sacraments be celebrated, and publick devotions exercised in an unknown Tongue, but that the Priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them, and ability for them?

Why must the Priesthood be so indispensably forbidden Marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the State, and rest addicted to him, and governable by him; that the Persons and Wealth of Priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging Religion by multiplication of Ceremonies and Formalities, but to amuse the People, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the *Interpreters of the dark mysteries couched in them; and by seeming to encourage an exterior shew of Piety (or form of godliness) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less designs.

Vid Sleid. *p.* 673.

Why is the veneration of Images and Reliques, the credence of Miracles and Legends, the undertaking of Pilgrimages, and voyages to *Rome*, and other places, more holy than ordinary; sprinklings of Holy-water, consecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets) so cherished; but to keep the People in a slavish credulity and dotage; apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence; and in the mean while to pick various gains from them by such trade?

What do all such things mean, but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it being represented intelligible to all men, would

would derogate from that high admiration, which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians, and get to Heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of Religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honour of Religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the Priesthood; who shine in those Pageantries.

Why is Monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cryed up as a superlative state of perfection; but that it filleth all places with swarms of lusty People, who are vowed Servants to him, and have little else to do but to advance that Authority, by which they subsist in that droniſh way of life?

In fine, perusing the Controversies of *Bellarmine*, or any other Champion of *Romanism*, do but consider the nature and scope of each Doctrine, maintained by them; and you may easily discern, that scarce any of them but doth tend to advance the interest of the Pope, or of his sworn Vassals.

Whereas indeed our Lord had never any such design, to set up a sort of men in such distance above their brethren; to perk over them, and suck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge People to allow their Pastors a competent maintenance for a sober life, with a moderate respect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's People; whom they were, with humility and meekness, to instruct and guide in the plain and simple way of Piety.

This is a grievous inconvenience; there being nothing wherein the Church is more concerned than in the preservation of its Doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in Doctrine, and miscarriages in practice, which this Authority in favour to it self would introduce, would be established immovably, to the irrecoverable oppression of Truth and Piety; any reformation becoming impossible, while it standeth, or so far as it shall be able to oppose and obstruct it.

While particular Churches do retain their liberty, and Pastors their original co-ordination in any measure, if any Church or Bishop shall offer to broach any novel Doctrine or Practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to stop the settlement or progress of them; each Church at least may keep it self sound from contagion.

But when all Churches and Bishops are reduced into subjection to one Head, supported by the guards of his Authority, who will dare to contest, or be able to withstand, what he shall say or do? It will then be deemed high presumption, contumacy, rebellion, to dissent from his determinations, how false soever, or tax the practices countenanced by him however irregular and culpable.

He will assume to himself the privilege not to be crossed in any thing; and soon will claim *infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility.*

No error can be so palpable, which that Authority will not protect and shroud from confutation; no practice so enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be Legions of mercenary Tongues to speak, and stipendiary Pens to write in defence of its Doctrines and Practices; so that whoever will undertake to oppose it shall be voted down and overwhelmed with noise; and shall incur all the discouragement and persecution

secution imaginable. So poor Truth will become utterly defenceless, wretched Vertue destitute of succour or patronage.

This is so in speculation, and we see it confirmed by experience; for when from the influence of this Power (as P. *Adrian* VI. did ingenuously confess) an apparent degeneracy in Doctrine, in Discipline, in Practice had seised on Christendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how stiff a repugnance did the adherents to this interest make thereto? with what industry and craft did Popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy?

Sleid. *lib.* 4. *p.* 82. *lib.* 12. *p.* 322. *Hist. Conc.* Trid. *p.* 24. *Vid.* Riv. *in Castig. Nol p.* 525.

What will not this Party do rather than acknowledge themselves mistaken or liable to error? what palliations, what shifts do not they use? what evidence of light do they not outface?

Centum gravamina.

5. The same will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief Clergy partaking of its growth, and protected by its interest, (reciprocally supporting it, and being sheltred by it from any curb or control) will swell into great pride and haughtiness; will be tempted to scrape and hoard up wealth, by rapine, extortion, simony; will come to enjoy ease and sloth; will be immersed in sensuality and luxury, and will consequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of dignity, and will use all means and arts to attain it.

Vid. ipsum Greg. *VII. Ep.* 1 42. 2. 45.

Thence emulation, discord, sycophantry will spring.

Thence all Ecclesiastical Offices will become venal; to be purchased by bribes, flattery, favour. ——

See the description of them in S. Bernard. *in Cant. Serm.* Guicciard. *in Suppl.*

The higher ranks will become fastuous, supercilious and domineering. The lower will basely crouch, cogg ——

What then must the People be, the Guides being such?

Adv. Pelag. *in* Riv. *Castig. N. cap.* 8. *Vid* Ber. *Converss. St.* Paul. *Serm.* 1. *p* 87.

Were such Guides like to edify the People by their Doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their Example?

That thus it hath happened Experience doth shew; and History doth abundantly testify. This was soon observed by a Pagan Historian, *Am. Marcellin.* By St. *Basil* ὄφεως δυτικῆ.

What mischief this, what scandal to Religion, what detriment to the Church, what ruins of Souls it produceth is visible.

The descriptions of *Rome*, and of that Church by *Mantuan*, do in a lively manner represent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This Authority as it would induce corruption of manners, so it would perpetuate it; and render the state of things incorrigible.

For this *Head* of the Church, and the Supporters of his Authority will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

— *Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam longo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Christo placentem, aut notissimorum abusuum correctionem in Ecclesia Sancta Dei efficere satageret.* *Conc.* Bas *Sess.* 23. (*p.* 76.) *Sess.* 31. *p.* 89.

He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, seriously to set upon any amendment of errors or correction of the most gross abuses in the Holy Church of God.

That will happen of any Pope, which the Fathers of *Basil* complained of in Pope *Eugenius*.

Vid. Conc. Trid *p.* 22.

If the Pope would (as Pope *Adrian* VI.) yet he will not be able to reform; the interests of his dependents crossing it.

If

If there hath happened a good Pope, who desired to reform; yet he hath been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and found it impossible to reform even a few particulars in his own house, the incorrigible *Roman* Court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this spiritual Authority doth encourage it with insuperable obstinacy to withstand all reformation: for whereas if any temporal Power doth grow intolerable, God's Providence by Wars and Revolutions of State, may dispense a redress, they have prevented this; by supposing that in this case God hath tied his own hands; this Authority being immovably fixed in the same hands, from which no revolution can take it; whence from its exorbitances there can be no rescue or relief.

7. This Authority will spoil him in whom it is seated; corrupting his mind and manners; rendring him a Scandal to Religion, and a pernicious Instrument of wickedness by the influence of his example.

It will certainly render him a Tyrant, according to the definition of *Aristotle*, *Pol.* 4. 10. *Cui plus licet quàm par est, plus vult quàm licet. Unde sicut langueſcente capite, reliquum postea corpus morbus invadat. Conc.* Bas. *Sess.* 23. (*p.* 64.) Whence it comes to pass that if the Head be sick, the rest of the Body afterwards grows diseased. *Vid. Conc.* Bas. *p.* 87. *Conc.* Const. *p.* 1110.

To this an uncontrollable power (bridled with no restraint) and impunity doth naturally tend, and accordingly hath it been ——

Vid. dist. 40. *cap.* 6. (*hujus culpas, etsi.*) *Vid.* Alv. Pelag. *apud.* Riv. *Cath. Orth. p.* 141. Baron.

How many notorious Reprobates, Monsters of wickedness, have been in that See?

Pope *Marcellus* II. doubted whether a Pope could be saved. *Thuan. lib.* 15. (*p.* 566) From *John* VIII to *Leo* XI. what a rabble of Rake-hells and Sots did sit in that Chair! Machiavel. *Hist. lib.* 16. *p.* 1271. Baron. *Ann.* 912. §. 8.

If we survey the Lives of Popes, written by Historians most indifferent, or (as most have been) partial in favour to them, we shall find, at first good ones, Martyrs, Confessors, Saints — but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones? how many extremely bad? The first Popes before *Constantine* were Holy men? the next were tolerable, while the Papacy kept within bounds of modesty; but when they having shaken off their Master, and renounced allegiance to the Emperor, (*i. e.* after *Gregory* II.) few tolerable; generally they were either Rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, insolent, turbulent and ravenous.

Baron. *An.* 897. § 5. It was said of *Vespasian*, *solus imperantium melior* —— so apt is power to corrupt men. *Solus omnium ante se Principum in melius mutatus est.* Tac. *Hist.* 1. (*p.* 451.)

Bellarmine and *Baronius* do bobb off this, by telling us that hence the providence of God is most apparent.

But do they call this preserving the Church; the permission of it to continue so long in such a condition, under the prevalence of such mischiefs? when hath God deserted any People if not then? when such Impiety more than Pagan doth reign in it.

How vain is that which P. Greg. VII. citeth out of P. *Symmachus*, *B. Petrus perennem meritorum dotem cum hæreditate innocentiæ misit ad posteros.* Greg. *VII. Ep.* 8. 21.

But what in the mean time became of those Souls, which by this means were ruined; what amends for the vast damage which Religion

Quòd Romanus Pontifex, sustained? for the introducing so pernicious Customs hardly to be extirpated? ——

si canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus; was one of P. Greg. VII. his dictates. That the Roman Pontif, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of Blessed Peter.

To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as *Alexander* VI. having visibly such an impure brood, should be placed in this Chair?

Even after the Reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to set *Paul* the Third there.

How unfit must such men be, to be the Guides of all Christendom; to breathe Oracles of Truth, to enact Laws of Sanctity?

How improper were those Vessels of *Satan* to be Organs of that *Holy Spirit of discipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide where unrighteousness cometh in.*

Sap. 1. 5.

It will engage the Popes to make the Ecclesiastical Authority an Engine of advancing the Temporal concerns of his own Relations, (his Sons, his Nephews.)

Vid. Guicciard. Machiav. *Hist. Fl. p.* 19. What indeed is the Popedom now, but a Ladder for a Family to mount unto a great Estate? *Conc.* Bas. (*p.* 65.)

—Cùm non ob religionem, & Dei cultum appetere Pontificatum nostri Sacerdotes videantur, sed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem & avaritiam expleant. Plat. *in* Joh. *VI.* (*p.*298.)

Whereas our Priests seem to desire the Popedom, not for Religion and the worship of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetousness of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.

What is it, but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof, a Family must make Hay while the Sun shines?

This Pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to the disturbance of Civil Societies, and destruction or debilitation of temporal Authority, which is certainly God's Ordinance, and necessary to the well-being of mankind; so that supposing it, we may in vain *pray for Kings, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.*

1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.

For suppose the two powers (Spiritual and Temporal) to be coordinate, and independent each of other; then must all Christians be put into that perplexed state of repugnant and incompatible obligations; concerning which our Lord saith; *No man can serve two Masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other.*

Matt. 6. 24.

They will often draw several ways, and clash in their designs, in their laws, in their decisions; one willing and commanding that, which the other disliketh and prohibiteth.

Bell. 5. 6. (*p.* 1415.) It will be impossible by any certain bounds to distinguish their Jurisdiction, so as to prevent contest between them; all temporal matters being in some respect spiritual (as being referrible to spiritual ends, and in some manner allied to Religion) and all spiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the secular peace and prosperity of States; there is nothing, which each of these Powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and jurisdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further

ther the good of the Church, the other to ſecure the intereſt of the State: and what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence ariſing; there being no third Power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

Each will proſecute its cauſe by its advantages; the one by inſtruments of temporal power, the other by ſpiritual arms of cenſures and curſes.

And in what a caſe muſt the poor People then be? how diſtracted in their conſciences, how divided in their affections, how diſcordant in their practices? according as each pretence hath influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages?

How can any man ſatisfy himſelf in performing or refuſing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other?

What ſhall a man do, while one in caſe of diſobedience to his Commands doth brandiſh a Sword, the other thundreth out a Curſe againſt him; one threatneth death, the other exciſion from the Church; both denounce damnation?

What animoſities and contentions, what diſcompoſures and confuſions muſt this Conſtitution of things breed in every place? and how can *a Kingdom ſo divided in it ſelf ſtand*, or not *come into deſolation.* Matt. 12. 25.

Such an advantage infallibly will make Popes affect to invade the temporal Power.

It was the reaſon, which Pope *Paſchal* alledged againſt *Henry* IV. becauſe he did *Eccleſiæ regnum auferre.* P. Paſch. II. *Ep.* 7.

It is indeed impoſſible, that a co-ordination of theſe Powers ſhould ſubſiſt; for each will be continually encroaching on the other; each for its own defence and ſupport will continually be ſtruggling and clambring to get above the other: there will never be any quiet till one come to ſubſide and truckle under the other; Whereby the Sovereignty of the one or the other will be deſtroyed. Each of them ſoon will come to claim a Supremacy in all cauſes, and the power of both Swords; and one ſide will carry it.

It is indeed neceſſary, that men for a time continuing poſſeſſed with a reverence to the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it ſhould at laſt overthrow the temporal: by reaſon of its great advantages above it; for,

The Spiritual Power doth pretend an Eſtabliſhment purely Divine; which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminutions or tranſlation, to which Temporal dominions are ſubject: Its power therefore, being perpetual, irreverſible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered. *Vid.* Mach. *Hiſt. Flor. p.* 18. — *Impeti poſſunt humanis præſumptionibus quæ divino ſunt judicio conſtituta, vinci autem quorumlibet poteſtate non poſſunt.* P. Gel. *Ep.* 8. Felix P. *Ep.* 1. (*p.* 597.)

It fighteth with Tongues and Pens, which are the moſt perillous Weapons.

It can never be diſarmed, fighting with Weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It worketh by moſt powerful conſiderations upon the Conſciences and Affections of men upon pain of damnation, promiſing heaven, and threatning hell; which upon ſome men have an infinite ſway, upon all

men a considerable influence; and thereby will be too hard for those who only can grant Temporal Rewards, or inflict Temporal Punishments. It is surely a notable advantage that the Pope hath above all Princes, that he commandeth not only as a Prince, but as a Guide; so that whereas we are not otherwise bound to obey the commands of Princes, than as they appear concordant with God's Law, we must observe his commands absolutely, as being therefore lawful, because he commandeth them, that involving his assertion of their lawfulness, to which (without farther inquiry or scruple) we must submit our understanding, his words sufficiently authorizing his commands for just. We are not only obliged to obey his commands but to embrace his doctrines.

It hath continual opportunities of conversing with men; and thereby can insinuate and suggest the obligation to obey it, with greatest advantage, in secrecy, in the tendereſt seasons.

It claimeth a power to have its instruction admitted with assent; and will it not instruct them for its own advantage? All its Assertions must be believed---- is not this an infinite advantage?

By such advantages the Spiritual Power (if admitted for such as it pretendeth) will swallow and devour the Temporal; which will be an extreme mischief to the world.

Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam Ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem, aut pro Ecclesiastica dignitate Principum potentiam mutilari. P. Pasch. II. Ep. 28, & 29.

The very pretence doth immediately crop and curtail the natural Right of Princes; by exempting great numbers of Persons (the participants and dependents of this Hierarchy) from subjection to them. By withdrawing Causes from their Jurisdiction. By commanding in their Territories, and drawing People out of them to their Judicatories. By having influence on their Opinions. By draining them of Wealth, &c.

For we will not that either the Ecclesiastical dignity should be diminished, by reason of the Prince's power, or that the Prince's power should be curtail'd for the Ecclesiastical dignity.

In vain did St. Bernard, (de Consid. 1) cry, *Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram in alienam messem extenditis?* Why do you invade other mens territories? why thrust you your sickle into other Mens harvest? * *Arietes furiosos.* Bell. 5. 7.

To this discourse Experience abundantly doth yield its Attestation; for, How often have the * Popes thwarted Princes in the exercise of their Power; challenging their Laws and Administrations as prejudicial to Religion? as contrary to Ecclesiastical Liberty?

Vid. Tort. T. p. 216. Greg. VII. Ep. 1. 7. 112. 13, 63.

Bodin (l. 9.) observeth, that if any Prince were a Heretick, (that is, if the Pope could pick occasion to call him so) or a Tyrant (that is, in his opinion) or any-wise scandalous, the Pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himself a feudatory to the Pope: So he drew in most Kingdoms to depend on him.

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their People from entertaining communion with them?

Vid. Plat. de Bonif. VIII. p. 467.

How many Commotions, Conspiracies, Rebellions and Insurrections against Princes have they raised in several Countries?

Jul. 2. *Non sine suspicione, quòd illorum temporum Pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potiùs atque nutrirent.* Episc. Modrus. *in Conc.* Lat. V. Sess. 6. (p. 72)

How have they inveigled People from their Allegiance? How many Massacres and Assassinations have they caused? How have they decried and vilified the Temporal Power.

Not

Not without suspicion, that the Popes of those times, who ought to have extinguished wars, and put an end to dissensions, did rather raise them up, and cherish them.
See *Greg.* VII. *Ep.* 4. 2 8. 21.

Have they not assumed to themselves Superiority over all Princes? The Emperor himself (the chief of Christian Princes) they did call their Vassal, exacting an Oath from them, whereof you have a Form in the Canon Law, and a declaration of Pope *Clement* V. that it is an Oath of Fealty. *Vid. Conc.* Lugd. *p.* 851.

Have they not challenged propriety in both Swords, *Ecce duo Gladii?*

How many Princes have they pretended to depose, and dispossess of their Authority? *Auctoritate Apostolica de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere & censeri debere.* Clement. *lib.* 2. *Tit.* 9. *cap. unicum.*
We declare out of our Apostolical authority, by the advice of our Brethren, that the foresaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be so esteemed.

Consider the Pragmatical Sanctions, Provisors, Compositions, Concordats, *&c.* which Princes have been forced to make against them, or with them to secure their Interest.

Many good Princes have been forced to oppose them, as *Henry* the Second of *England*, King *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, (that Just Prince, *Pater Patriæ*) *Perdam Babylonis nomen.* Thuan. *lib.* 1.

How often have they used this as a pretence of raising and fomenting Wars? confiding in their Spiritual Arms; interdicting Princes, that would not comply with their designs, for advancing the interests not only of their See, but of their private Families? *Abutente Christianorum Pastore Christianorum Principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, & suorum libidini inserviret.* Thuan. *lib.* 1. *p.* 42. The Pastor of Christians abusing the Power of Christian Princes that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and lust of his Friends.

Bodin observeth that Pope *Nicholas* I. was the first who excommunicated Princes. *Platina* doth mention some before him: But it is remarkable, that although Pope *Leo* I. (a high spirited Pope *(Fortissimus Leo)* as *Liberatus* calleth him) was highly provoked against *Theodosius* Junior; Pope *Gelasius*, and divers of his Predecessors and Followers —— Pope *Gregory* II. against *Leo*--- *Vigilius* against *Justinian*, *&c.* yet none of them did presume to excommunicate the Emperors. Observ.

All these dealings are the natural result of this Pretence; and, supposing it well-grounded, are capable of a plausible justification: for is it not fit, (seeing one must yield) that Temporal should yield to Spiritual?

Indeed, granting the Papal Supremacy in Spirituals, I conceive the high flying Zelots of the *Roman* Church, who subject all Temporal Powers to them, have great reason on their side, for co-ordinate Power cannot subsist, and it would be only an eternal Seminary of perpetual discords.

The quarrel cannot otherwise be well composed than by wholly disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the Pope: for,

Two such Powers (so inconsistent and cross to each other, so apt to interfere, and consequently to breed everlasting mischiefs to mankind between them) could not be instituted by God. ——

He would not appoint two different Vicegerents in his Kingdom at the same time. ——

But

Tort. T. p. 210. But it is plain, that he hath instituted the civil Power; and endowed it with a Sword. That Princes are his Lieutenants *.

* P. Anast. calleth the Emperor Anast. *Vicarium. Epist.* (*p.670.*)

That in the ancient times the Popes did not claim such Authority, but avowed themselves Subjects to Princes.

Eccl. Leod. p. 522. 9. Consequently this Pretence is apt to engage Christian Princes against Christianity; for they will not endure to be crossed, to be depressed, to be trampled on.

This Popes often have complained of; not considering it was their own insolence that caused it.

Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam Ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit & transferri. P. Pasch. *II. Ep.* 19.

18. Whereas now Christendom is split into many parcels, subject to divers civil Sovereignties, it is expedient that correspondently there should be distinct Ecclesiastical Governments, independant of each other, which may comply with the respective civil Authorities in promoting the good and peace both of Church and State.

It is fit, that every Prince, should in all things govern all his Subjects; and none should be exempted from subordination to his Authority: As Philosophers, and Physicians of the Body; so Priests, and Physicians of the Soul; not in exercising their Function, but in taking care that they do exercise it duly for the honour of God, and in consistence with publick good: otherwise many grievous inconveniences must ensue.

It is of perillous consequence, that foreigners should have authoritative influence upon the Subjects of any Prince; or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural Right to determine with whom their Subjects shall have intercourse; which is inconsistent with a right of Foreigners to govern or judge them in any case, without their leave.

Every Prince is obliged to imploy the Power entrusted to him, to the furtherance of God's Service, and encouragement of all good Works; as a Supreme power, without being liable to obstruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power, if another should be beyond his coercion.

Vid. Bod. *de Rep.* 1. 9. (*p.*195.) *Car les Princes Christien avoient presque tous opinion, que le Pape estoit absolvement seigneur sovereigne de tous les Royaumes de la Chrestiente.* Bod. *ib. p.*196. *Tort. Tort. p.*216, *&c.* — Greg. *VII. Ep.* 1.7.2.13. Alex. *II. Ep.*8.

It is observable, that the Pope by intermeddling in the affairs of Kingdoms did so wind himself into them, as to get a pretence to be Master of each; Princes being his Vassals and Feudatories.

Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἑκαστοῦ τῶν μὲν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν 1. χ. διδασκαλίας ἀφισταμένου, λογισμοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ὅρους ἰδίους ἐκδικοῦντος ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου βουλομένου. Bas. *de Jud. Dei, T.* 2. *p.*259.

So great a dissonancy and jarring there is among men in the Church, while every one swerves from the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and asserts certain conceits and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord, than be rul'd by the Lord.

11. Such an Authority is needless and useless; it not serving the ends which it pretendeth; and they being better compassed without it.

It pretendeth to maintain Truth; but indeed it is more apt to oppress it.

Truth is rather (as St. *Cyprian* wisely observeth) preserved by the multitude of Bishops, whereof some will be ready to relieve it, when assaulted by others.

Truth

Truth cannot be supported merely by humane Authority; especially that Authority is to be suspected, which pretendeth dominion over our minds. What Controversy, being doubtful in it self, will not after his Decision continue doubtful? his Sentence may be eluded by interpretation as well as other Testimonies or Authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wisdom or skill may be the ground of assent, in defect of other more cogent Arguments; but Authority of Name or Dignity is not proper to convince a man's understanding. Men obey, but not believe Princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretendeth to maintain Order: but how? by introducing Slavery; by destroying all Rights; by multiplying Disorders; by hindring Order to be quietly administred in each Country.

It pretendeth to be the only means of Unity and Concord in Opinion, by determining Controversies: which its Advocates affirm necessary. *Necesse est, ut omnes fideles idem sentiant.* Bell. 1. 9. It is necessary that all the Faithful should be of the same Opinion.

But how can that be necessary which never was *de facto?* not even in the *Roman* Church?

Hath the Pope effected this? do all his Followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his Authority? Do not they differ and dispute about infinity of Questions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their Divines and Schoolmen dispute? Why did not the Council of *Trent* it self, without more ado, and keeping such a disputing, refer all to his Oracular Decision?

Necessary points may and will, by all honest people, be known and determined without him, by the clear Testimony of Scripture, by consent of Fathers, by general Tradition. —— And other points need not to be determined. ἱκανωθήσεται ἡ θεία γραφή. Ath.

That he may be capable of that Office, he must be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a question it self to be decided without him, to satisfaction. His power is apt no otherwise to knock down Controversies, than by depressing Truth; not suffering any Truth to be asserted, which doth not favour its Interests.

Concord was maintained and Controversies decided without them in the ancient Church; in Synods, wherein he was not the sole Judge, nor had observable influence.

The Fathers did not think such Authority needful, otherwise they would have made more use of it. *Nemini præscribentes.*

A more ready way to define Controversies, is for every one not to prescribe to others, or to prosecute; for then men would more calmly see the Truth, and consent.

It pretendeth to maintain Peace and Unity. But nothing hath raised more fierce Dissensions, or so many bloody Wars in Christendom as it.

It is apt by tyrannical administration to become intolerable, and so to break the Ecclesiastical State; to raise Schisms and Troubles.

It is like to extinguish genuine Charity, which is free and uncompelled.

All the Peace and Charity which it endureth, is by force and compulsion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The Ancients did assert to each Bishop a free, absolute, independent Authority, subject to none, directed by none, accountable to none

on

on Earth, in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular Church.

This is most evident in St. *Cyprian*'s Writings; out of which it will not be amiss to set down some passages, manifesting the sense and practice in the Church in his time, to the satisfaction of any ingenuous mind.

Manente concordiæ vinculo, & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisq; Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Antonianum.)

The Bond of concord abiding, and the Sacrament (or Doctrine) *of the Catholick Church persisting undivided, every Bishop disposeth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord:* this he writeth, when he was pleading the cause of Pope *Cornelius* against *Novatian*; but then, it seemeth, not dreaming of his Supremacy over others.

Cæterùm scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facilè mutare, sed salvo inter Collegas, pacis & concordiæ vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cùm habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 72. (*ad* Stephanum.)

But we know that some will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will easily change their mind; but, the bond of peace and concord with their Collegues being preserved, will retain some peculiar things, which have once been used by them; in which matter neither do we force any, or give law; whenas every Prelate hath in the administration of his Church the free power of his will, being to render unto the Lord an account of his acting: this, saith he, writing to Pope *Stephanus*, and in a friendly manner, *out of common respect and single love*, (not out of servile obeisance) acquainting him what he and his brethren in a Synod, *by common consent and authority*, had established concerning the degradation of Clergy-men, who had been ordained by Hereticks, or had lapsed into Schism.

Hæc ad conscientiam tuam, frater charissime, & pro honore communi & pro simplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.
Consensu & auctoritate communi.

Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, & æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, & singulis Pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque & gubernet, rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus, oportet utiq; eos quibus præsumus, non circumcurs are, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Cornelium.)

For seeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise equal and just, that each man's cause should be there heard where the crime is committed; and to each Pastor a portion of the Flock is assigned, which each should rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord; those indeed over whom we preside ought not to ramble about: this, saith he, in his *Epistle* to Pope *Cornelius*, upon occasion of some factious Clergy-men addressing themselves to him with factious suggestions, to gain his Countenance.

Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater charissime; nemini præscribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minùs unusquisq; Episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem. Cypr. *Ep.* 73. (*ad* Jubabaianum.)

These things I have briefly written back according to our meanness, dear brother; prescribing to none, nor prejudging, that every Bishop should not do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will.

Quâ in parte nemini verecundia & modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minùs unusquisq; quod putat sentiat, & quod senserit faciat. Cypr. *Ep.* 76 (*ad* Magnum.)

In which matter our bashfulness and modesty doth not prejudice any one; so that every one may not judge he thinketh, and act as he judgeth: Prescribing to none, *so that every Bishop may not resolve what he thinks good, being to render an account to the Lord;* &c.

Nemini præscribentes, quo minùs statuat quod putat unusquisque Præpositus, actûs sui rationem Domino redditurus; secundum quod Apostolus, &c. Ibid.

Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sententiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut à jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes; neque enim quis-

It remaineth that each of us do utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man, if he dissenteth, from the right of communion;

nion; for neither doth any of us constitute himself Bishop of Bishops, or by tyrannical terrour driveth his Collegues to a necessity of obeying; whenas every Bishop hath upon account of his liberty and authority his own free choice, and is no less exempted from being judged by another, than he is uncapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, and who alone, hath power both to prefer us to the government of his Church, and to judge of our acting: these words did St. *Cyprian* speak as Proloquutor of the great Synod of Bishops at *Carthage*; and what words could be more expres, or more full, in assertion of the Episcopal Liberties and Rights, against almost every branch of Romish pretences?

quam nostrum Episcopum se esse Episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem Collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis Episcopus pro licentia libertatis & potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, támque judicari ab alio non possit, quàm nec ipse potest alterum judicare; sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus & solus habet potestatem & præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, & de actu nostro judicandi. Cypr. *in præf. Conc.* Carthag.

He disavoweth the practice of one Bishop excluding another from communion for dissent in opinion about disputable points: He rejecteth the pretence that any man can have to be a Bishop of Bishops, or superior to all his Brethren: He condemneth the imposing opinions upon Bishops, and constraining them to obedience; He disclaimeth any power in one Bishop to judge another; He asserteth to each Bishop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his discretion; He affirmeth every Bishop to receive his power only from *Christ*, and to be liable only to his judgment.

We may observe, that St. *Austin*, in his Reflections upon the Passages in that Synod, doth approve, yea admire that Preface, passing high commendations on the smartest passages of it which assert common liberty, professing his own conformity in practice to them; *In this consultation* (saith he) *is shewed a pacifick soul, overflowing with plenty of charity*; and, *We have therefore a free choice of inquiry granted to us by the most mild and most veracious speech of Cyprian himself*; and, *Now if the proud and tumid minds of Hereticks dare to extol themselves against the holy humility of this speech--- than which what can be more gentle, more humble?* Aug. *de Bapt. cont.* Donat. *lib.* 2. 3, *&c.*

Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipsius Cypriani nobis mitissimo & veracissimo sermone concessum. Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Nunc si se audent superbæ & tumidæ cervices hæreticorum adversus sanctam humilitatem hujus sententiæ extollant. Lib. 2. cap. 3.

Quid mansuetius, quid humilius? Lib. 3. cap 3.

Would St. *Austin* have swallowed those Sayings, could he have so much applauded them, if he had known a just power then extant and radiant in the World, which they do impeach and subvert? No, I trow; he did not know, nor so much as dream of any such; although the Pope was under his nose while he was discussing that point, and he could hardly talk so much of St. *Cyprian* without thinking of Pope *Stephen*.

However let any man of sense honestly read and weigh those passages, considering who did write them, to whom he writ them, upon what occasions he writ them, when he writ them; that he was a great Primate of the Church, a most holy, most prudent, most humble and meek Person; that he addressed divers of them to Bishops of *Rome*; that many of them were touching the concerns of Popes, that he writ them in times of persecution and distress, which produce the most sober and serious thoughts; then let him if he can, conceive, that all Christian Bishops were then held subject to the Pope, or owned such a power due to him as he now claimeth.

We may add a contemporary Testimony of the *Roman* Clergy, addressing to St. *Cyprian* in these words; *Although a mind well conscious to it self, and supported by the*

Quanquam benè sibi conscius animus, & Evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus,

vigor

& verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accusationes pertimescere; tamen geminatâ sunt laude condigni, qui cùm conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari: quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tua verecundia, & ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluisti, quàm participes inveniri—— *Cler. Rom. ad* Cypr. *Ep* 31.

vigor of Evangelical discipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true witness to it self, is wont to be content with God for its only judge; and not to desire the praises, nor to dread the accusations of another; yet they are worthy of double praise, who when they know they owe their consciences to God only as judge, yet desire also their actions to be approved by their brethren themselves; the which it is no wonder that you, brother Cyprian, *should do, who according to your modesty and natural industry would have us not so much judges as partakers of your Counsels*—— Then it seems the College of Cardinals, not so high in the instep as they are now, did take St. *Cyprian* to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other Judge but God.

That this notion of liberty did continue a good time after in the Church, we may see by that Canon of the *Antiochene* Synod; *ordaining that every Bishop have power of his own Bishoprick, govern it according to the best of his care and discretion, and provide for all the Country belonging to his City, so as to ordain Priests and Deacons, and dispose things aright.*

Ἕκαστον γὰρ Ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν; ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ χρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν.—*Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 9.

The Monks of *Constantinople* in the Synod of *Chalcedon*, said thus; *We are Sons of the Church, and have one Father, after God, our Archbishop:* they forgot their Sovereign Father the Pope.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τέκνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐσμεν, καὶ ἕνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἔχομεν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 114.

The like notion may seem to have been then in *England*, when the Church of *Canterbury* was called *the common Mother of all under the disposition of its Spouse Jesus Christ.*

Omnium nostrum mater communis sub Sponsi sui Jesu Christi dispositione. Gervas. Dorob. (*p.* 1663) *apud* Twisd. *p.* 72.

Vid. Ep. P. Celest *I. in Conc.* Eph. *Act.* 2. (*p.* 324.)

VI. The Ancients did hold all Bishops, as to their Office, originally according to Divine Institution, or abstracting from humane Sanctions framed to preserve Order and Peace, to be equal; for that all are Successors of the Apostles, all derive their Commission and Power in the same tenor from God, all of them are *Ambassadors, Stewards, Vicars of Christ*; entrusted with the same divine Ministeries of instructing, dispensing the Sacraments, ruling and exercising Discipline; to which Functions and Privileges the least Bishop hath right, and to greater the biggest cannot pretend.

One Bishop might exceed another in Splendor, in Wealth, in Reputation, in extent of Jurisdiction, as one King may surpass another in amplitude of Territory; but as all Kings, so all Bishops, are equal in Office and essentials of Power, derived from God.

Baron. *An.* 57. § 30. Ps. 45. 16.

Hence they applied to them that in the *Psalm, Instead of thy Fathers shall be thy Children, whom thou maist make Princes in all the earth.*

Ubicunq; fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c. Hieron. *ad* Evagr. *Ep.* 85.

This was St. *Hierom*'s Doctrine in those famous words; *Whereever a Bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth, and of the same Priesthood; the force of wealth, and lowness of poverty doth not render a Bishop more high, or more low; for that all of them are Successors of the Apostles:* to evade which plain assertion, they have forged distinctions, whereof St. *Hierom* surely did never think, he speaking simply concerning Bishops, as they stood by Divine Institution, not according to humane Models, which gave some advantages over other.

That

That this notion did continue long in the Church, we may see by the Elogies of Bishops in later Synods; for instance, that in the Synod of *Compeigne*; *It is convenient all Christians should know what kind of Office the Bishop is---- who 'tis plain are the Vicars of Christ, and keep the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Omnibus in Christiana religione constitutis scire convenit quale sit ministerium Episcoporum — quos constat esse Vicarios Christi, & Clavigeros Regni Cœlorum, &c. Syn. Compend. *An. Dom.* 833. (*apud* Bin. *Tom* 6. *p.*361.)

And that of the Synod of *Melun*; *And though all of us unworthy, yet are the Vicars of Christ, and Successors of his Apostles.*

Nos omnes licèt indigni, Christi tamen Vicarii, & Apostolorum ipsius Successores. Syn. Meldens. *An. Dom.* 845. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.*6. *p.*402)

In contemplation of which verity, St. *Gregory Nazianzene* observing the declension from it introduced in his times, by the ambition of some Prelates, did vent that famous exclamation: *O that there were not at all any presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical enjoyment of prerogatives* ---- which earnest wish he surely did not mean to level against the Ordinance of God, but against that which lately began to be intruded by men: And what would the good man have wished, if he had been aware of those pretences about which we discourse; which then did only begin to bud and peep up in the World?

Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἓν πρωτεῖον, μηδὲ τὴν τόπῳ πρωτίμησιν, καὶ τυραννικὴν πρόνομίαν —— Greg. Naz. *Orat.*28.

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common sentiments in any case; and it therefore sheweth, that in the primitive Church the Pope was not deemed to have a right of Universal Sovereignty; for if such a thing had been instituted by God, or established by the Apostles, the Pope certainly with evident clearness would have appeared to have possessed it; and would have sometimes (I might say frequently, yea continually) have exercised it in the first Ages; which that he did not at all, we shall make, I hope, very manifest by reflecting on the chief passages occurring then; whereof indeed there is scarce any one, which duly weighed, doth not serve to overthrow the *Roman* pretence; but that matter I reserve to another place; and shall propound other considerations, declaring the sense of the Fathers; only I shall add, that indeed,

2. The state of the most primitive Church did not well admit such an Universal Sovereignty. For that did consist of small bodies incoherently situated and scattered about in very distant places, and consequently unfit to be modelled into one political Society, or to be governed by one Head. Especially considering their condition under Persecution and Poverty. What convenient resort for Direction or Justice could a few distressed Christians in *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, *Parthia*, *India*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and other parts, have to *Rome?* what trouble, what burthen had it been to seek Instruction, Succour, Decision of Cases thence? Had they been obliged or required to do so, what offences, what clamours would it have raised? seeing that afterward, when Christendom was connected, and compacted together; when the state of Christians was flourishing and prosperous, when passages were open, and the best of opportunities of correspondence were afforded, yet the setting out of these pretences did cause great oppositions and stirs; seeing the exercise of this Authority, when it had obtained most vigor, did produce so many grievances, so many complaints, so many courses to check and curb it, in Countries feeling the inconveniences and mischiefs springing from it?

The want of the like in the first Ages is a good Argument, that the cause of them had not yet sprung up; Christendom could not have been so still, if there had been then so meddlesom a body in it, as the Pope now is.

The *Roman* Clergy in their Epistle to St. *Cyprian* told him, that *because of the difficulty of things and times, they could not constitute a Bishop who might moderate things* immediately belonging to them in their own precincts: how much more in that state of things would a Bishop there be fit to moderate things over all the World; when (as *Rigaltius* truly noteth) *the Church being then oppressed with various vexations, the communication of Provinces between themselves was difficult and unfrequent.*

Nobis, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est Episcopus propter rerum & temporum difficultatem constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur— *Cl. Rom. ad* Cypr. *Ep.*31.

Variis tunc Ecclesiâ vexationibus oppressâ, difficilis & infrequens erat Provinciarum inter se communicatio. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.*67.

Wherefore *Bellarmine* himself doth confess, that in those times, before the *Nicene* Synod *the authority of the Pope was not a little hindered, so that because of continual persecutions he could not freely exercise it.*

Verum enim est impeditam fuisse eo tempore non parùm Pontificis auctoritatem —— propter persecutiones continuas non potuisse Romanos Pontifices liberè exercere eam, quàm à Christo acceperant auctoritatem, &c. Bell. *de R. P.*2.17.

The Church therefore could so long subsist without the use of such Authority, by the vigilance of Governors over their Flocks, and the friendly correspondence of neighbour Churches: And if he would let it alone it might do so still.

That could be no Divine Institution, which had no vigor in the first and best times; but an Innovation raised by Ambition.

VII. The Ancients, when occasion did require, did maintain their equality of Office and Authority particularly in respect to the *Roman* Bishops; not only interpretatively by practice, but directly and formally in express terms asserting it.

Thus when *Felicissimus* and his Complices, being rejected by St. *Cyprian*, did apply themselves to Pope *Cornelius* for his communion and countenance, St. *Cyprian* affirmed that to be an irregular and unjust course; subjoining, *Except to a few desperate and wicked Persons, the authority of the Bishops constituted in Africk, who have already judged of them, do seem less*; that is, inferior to any other Authority, particularly to that of *Rome*, unto which they had recourse; what other meaning could he have? doth not his Argument require this meaning?

Nisi si paucis desperatis & perditis minor esse videtur auctoritas Episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt——

Another instance is that of the Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod, * (being 97 Bishops) the which St. *Hilary* calleth, *a Synod of Saints congregated*, (the Decrees whereof the Catholick Church did admit into its *Code*, and the Canons whereof Popes have called *Venerable*) these in their Epistle to Pope *Julius*, complaining of his demeanour in the case of *Athanasius*, did flatly assert to themselves an equality with him; *They did not* (as *Sozomen* reciteth out of their Epistle) *therefore think it equal, that they should be thought inferiors, because they had not so big and numerous a Church.*

* *Fides quam exposuerunt qui affuerunt Episcopi* 97 —— Hilar. *de Synodis.* (*p.*367.)

Congregatam Sanctorum Synodum. Hilar. *ibid.*

Venerabiles Antiocheni Canones. P. Nicol. *I. Ep.*9 (*p.*519)

Οὐ δι' ἄλλο τοῦτο τὰ δεύτερα φέρειν ἠξίωσαν, ὅτι μὴ μεγάθει, ἢ πολίτῃ Ἐκκλησίας πολυανθρώπου. Soz. 3. 8.

That Pope himself testifieth the same in his Epistle to them, extant in the second Apology of *Athanasius*; *If*, saith he, *ye do truly conceive*

conceive the honour of Bishops to be equal, and the same; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of Bishops according to the magnitude of Cities; which assertion of theirs so flatly thwarting Papal Supremacy he doth not at all confute, yea not so much as contradict; and therefore reasonably may be interpreted to yield consent thereto; the rule, *He that holdeth his peace seemeth to consent*, never holding better than in this case, when his Copyhold was so nearly touched; indeed he had been very blameable to wave such an occasion of defending so important a Truth; or in letting so pestilent an Errour to pass without correction or reproof.

Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθε τιμὴν τῶν Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφετε, κρίνετε τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους. P. Jul. I. *apud* Athan. *in Apol.* 2. (*p.* 744.)

Qui tacet consentiri videtur.

After the Pope had climbed higher than at that time (upon the ladders of dissension and disorders in the Church) yet he was reproved by *Euphemius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for preferring himself before his Brethren; as we may collect from those words of a zealous Pope, *We desire not to be placed above others (as you say) so much as to have fellowship holy and well-pleasing to God with all the faithful.*

Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas) quàm cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum & Deo placitum habere consortium. P. Gelas. I. *Ep.* 1 (*ad* Euphemium.)

That Pope *Gregory* I. did not hold himself superior to other Bishops, many Sayings of his do infer; for in this he placeth the fault of the Bishop of *Constantinople*, which he so often and so severely reprehendeth, that he did *prefer himself before, and extol himself above other Bishops.*

—In elatione suâ Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit. P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 6. 30. *Super cæteros Sacerdotes se extollit. ibid. Christi sibi student membra judicare.* P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 4. 36. *Solus omnibus præesse. Id. Ep.* 4. 38. *—quibus (Episcopis) cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere. ibid.*

And would he directly assume that to himself, which he chargeth on another, although only following his position by consequence?

And when *Eulogius* the Bishop of *Alexandria* had complementally said, *Sicut jussistis, As ye commanded*; He doth thus express his resentment; *That word of command I desire you let me not hear; because I know who I am, and who ye are; by place ye are my brethren, in goodness fathers; I did not therefore command, but what seem'd profitable, I hinted to you.*

Quod verbum jussionis peto à meo auditu removeri; quia scio quis sum, qui estis; loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres, non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi, &c. Greg. I. *Ep.* 7. 30. (*ad* Eulog. Alex.

That many such Instances may not be alledged out of Antiquity, the reason is, because the Ancient Popes did not understand this Power to belong to them, and therefore gave no occasion for Bishops to maintain their honour; or were more just, prudent and modest, than to take so much upon them as their Successors did, upon frivolous pretences.

VIII. The style used by the primitive Bishops in their applications to the *Roman* Bishop doth signify, that they did not apprehend him their Sovereign, but their equal.

Brother, Collegue, Fellow-bishop, are the terms which St. *Cyprian* doth use in speaking about the *Roman* Bishops, his contemporaries, *Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus*; and in his *Epistles* to the three last of them; nor doth he ever use any other, importing higher respect due to them; as indeed his practice demonstrateth he did not apprehend any other due; or that he did take them for his Superiors in Office. *Know now brother*, was the compellation of *Dionysius* (Bishop of *Alexandria*) to Pope *Stephanus*. The Synod of *Antioch*, which rejected *Paulus*

Cypr *Ep.* 4. 41. 58. 67. 68 45. 49. &c.

Ἴσθι νῦν ἀδελφὲ. Euseb. 7. 5.

Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν. Euseb. 7. 30.

lus Samosatenus, inscribeth its Epistle to *Dionysius* (then Bishop of *Rome*) *and Maximus, and all our Fellow-ministers through the world.*

The old Synod of *Arles* directeth their Epistle *to Signiour Sylvester, their brother.* *Athanasius* saith, *These things may suffice, which have been written by our beloved and Fellow-minister Damasus Bishop of great Rome.* *Marcellus* inscribed to Pope *Julius*, to his *Most blessed Fellow-minister.* So *Cyril* spake of Pope *Celestine* I. *Our brother and Fellow-minister the Bishop of Rome.* So St. *Basil*, and his Fellow-bishops of the East, did inscribe their Epistle, *To the beloved of God, and our most holy brethren and Fellow-ministers, the unanimous Bishops through Italy and France.* In this style do the Fathers of *Sardica* salute Pope *Julius*; those of *Constantinople* Pope *Damasus*; those of *Ephesus* Pope *Celestine* I. *our brother and Fellow-minister Celestine*; those of *Carthage* Pope *Celestine* I. in the very same terms wherein St. *Austin* doth salute *Maximinus*, a Donatist Bishop, *Signiour my beloved and most honoured brother.* The Oriental Bishops, *Eustathius, Theophilus* and *Sylvanus*, did inscribe their Remonstrance to Pope *Liberius*, *To Signiour our brother and Fellow-minister Liberius.* So *John* of *Antioch* to *Nestorius* writeth, *to my Master.* The Synod of *Illyricum* call *Elpidius*, *Our Seniour and Fellow-minister.*

Ἰκανὰ μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα παρά τε τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου. Athan. *Ep. ad* Afr. (*p.*931.)

Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἰουλίῳ. Marcell. *ad* P. Jul. Epiph. *haer.*72.

Ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας Ἐπισκόπῳ ——— Cyril *ad* Nest. *in Syn.* Eph. *p.* 207.

Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν ὁμοψύχοις Ἐπισκόποις. Bas. *Ep.*69. Athanas. *Apol.* 2. (*p.*761. 756.)

Theod. 5. 9.

Τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Κελεστίνῳ. *Syn.* Eph. *p.*217.

Domino dilectissimo & honoratissimo fratri. —— *Conc.* Afr.

Domino dilectissimo & honorabili fratri Maximino. Aug. *Ep.*203.

Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ Εὐστάθιος, Θεόφιλος, Σιλβανὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν —— Socr.4.12.

In which Instances, and some others of later date, we may observe that the word κύριος, or *Dominus*, was then (as it is now) barely a term of civility, being then usually given to any person of Quality, or to whom they would express common respect; so that St. *Chrysostom* in his Epistles commonly doth give it not only to meaner Bishops, but even to Priests; and St. *Austin* doth thus salute even *Donatist* Bishops; reflecting thereon thus, *Since therefore by charity I serve you in this Office of writing Letters to you, I do not improperly call you Master, for the sake of our one true Master who has commanded us so to do.* ---- *my most honour'd Master.* ---- *now therefore having with me my most honour'd Signiour and most reverend Presbyter,* &c. ----- *my most honour'd Master* Asyncritus *the elder.*

Τῷ δεσπότῃ μου. *Conc.* Eph. *p.*202.

Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν. Theod. 4. 9.

Cùm ergò vel hoc ipso officio literarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurdè te Dominum voco, propter unum & verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista præcepit. Aug. *Ep.*103.

Δέσποτά μου τιμιώτατε. Chrys. *Ep* 26.

Νῦν γοῦν ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Κυρίου μου τιμιωτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου Πρεσβυτέρου. Chrys. *Ep.*26.

Δεσπότῃ μου τιμιώτατον Ἀσύγκριτον τὸν Πρεσβύτερον. *Ep.*68.(71,75,77,84,91,&c.)

Pope *Celestine* himself did salute the *Ephesine* Fathers, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ, *masters, brethren.* Even in the VI. Council, *Thomas* Bishop of *Constantinople* did inscribe according to the old style, to Pope *Vitalianus*, his *brother and Fellow-minister.*

Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. P. Celest. *I. Ep. ad Syn.* Eph. *Act.*2. (*p.*324)

Conc. 6. *Act.*13. *p.* 224.

The *French* Bishops had good reason to expostulate with Pope *Nicholas* I. *You may know, that we are not, as you boast and brag, your Clerks; whom, if pride would suffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and Fellow-bishops.*

Scias nos non tuos esse, ut te jactas & extollis, Clericos, quos ut fratres & Coepiscopos recognoscere si elatio permitteret, debueras. *An.* Franc. *Pith.* (*An.* 858.)

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity when they meant to speak most kindly and respectfully did allow the Pope, being the

the same which all Bishops did give to one another; (as may be seen in all solemn addresses, and reports concerning them:) which is an Argument sufficiently plain, that Bishops in those times did not take themselves to be the Pope's Subjects, or his inferiors in Office; but his Fellows and Mates, co-ordinate in rank.

Were not these improper terms for an ordinary Gentleman, or Nobleman to accost his Prince in? yet hardly is there such a distance between any Prince and his Peers, as there is between a modern Pope and other Bishops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and sawciness, for an underling Bishop to address to the Pope in such language, or to speak of him in that manner; which is a sign that the World is altered in its notion of him, and that he beareth a higher conceit of himself than his primitive Ancestors did. Now nothing but *Beatissimus Pater*, *most blessed Father*, and *Dominus noster Papa*, *our Lord the Pope*, in the highest sense will satisfy him.

Now a Pope in a General Synod, in a solemn Oration, could be told to his Face, that *the most Holy Senate* of Cardinals had chosen *a Brother into a Father*, *a Collegue into a Lord*. Verily so it is now, but not so anciently. *Verè divinâ providentiâ factum censendum est, quòd te sacerrimus iste Senatus—— Fratrem, & ità dixerim Filium in Patrem, Collegam in Dominum— elegerint, assumpserint, adoraverint.* Balt. Delrio. *in Conc.* Later. *ad* Leonem *X. Sess.* 8. (*p.* 85.)

In the same ancient times, the style of the *Roman* Bishops writing to other Bishops was the same; he calling them Brethren and Fellow-ministers.

So did *Cornelius* write to *Fabius* of *Antioch*, *beloved brother*; so did he call all other Bishops, *---- be it known to all our Fellow-bishops and brethren.* So *Julius* to the *Oriental* Bishops, *To our beloved brethren.* So *Liberius* to the *Macedonian* Bishops, *To our beloved brethren and Fellow-ministers:* and to the *Oriental* Bishops, *To our brethren and Fellow-bishops.* So *Damasus* to the Bishops of *Illyricum.* So *Leo* himself frequently in his Epistles. So Pope *Celestine* calleth *John* of *Antioch*, *Most honoured brother*; to *Cyril* and to *Nestorius* himself, *Beloved brother*; to the Fathers of *Ephesus*, *Signiours brethren.* Pope *Gelasius* to the Bishops of *Dardania*, *Your brotherhood.* St. *Gregory* to *Cyriacus*, *Our brother and Fellow-priest*; *Cyriacus.*

Ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ. Euseb 6.43.
Omnibus Co-episcopis nostris & fratribus innotescat. P. Corn. *apud* Cypr. *Epist.* 48.
Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Athan. *p.*739.
Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς. Socr. 4. 12.
Fratribus & Co-episcopis. Hil. *frag. p.* 450.
Soz. 6. 23.

Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ. *Conc.* Eph. *p.*196.
Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ. *p.*179, 183.
Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. *Act.* 2. *p.*324.
Fraternitas Vestra. P. Gelas. *Ep.* 12. Greg. — *Epist.* 6. 24: *Fratris & Consacerdotis nostri Cyriaci.*——

If it be said the Popes did write so then out of condescension, or humility and modesty; it may be replied, that if really there was such a difference as is now pretended, it may seem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery: for it would have more become the Pope to maintain the majesty and authority of his place, by appellations apt to cherish their reverence, than to collogue with them in terms void of reality; or signifying that equality which he did not mean.

But *Bellarmine* hath found out one instance (which he maketh much of) of Pope *Damasus*, who writing (not as he alledgeth, to the Fathers of *Constantinople*, * but) to certain *Eastern* Bishops, calleth them *most honoured Sons.* That whole Epistle I do fear to be foisted into *Theodoret*; for it cometh in abruptly; and doth not much become such a man: Bell. 2. 14. Theod. 5. 10. * Vales. *in* Theod. *ib.* Οἱ τιμιώτατοι.

and

and if it be supposed genuine, I should suspect some corruption in the place; for why, if he writ to Bishops, should he use a style so unsutable to those times, and so different from that of his Predecessors, and Successors? why should there be such a disparity between his own style now and at other times? for writing to the Bishops of *Illyricum* he calleth them, *beloved brethren*; why then is he so inconstant and partial, as to yield these *Oriental* Bishops less respect? wherefore perhaps υἱοὶ was thrust in for ἀδελφοί· or perhaps the word Ἐπισκόποις was intruded, and he did write to Lay-men; * *those who governed the East*, who well might be called *most honoured Sons*; otherwise the *Epithet* doth not seem well to sute; but however, a single example of arrogance or stateliness, (or of what shall I call it?) is not to be set against so many modest and mannerly ones.

Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Soz. 6. 23.

* Τοῖς τὴν ἑώαν ἰθύνουσι.

In fine, that this Salutation doth not always imply Superiority, we may be assured by that inscription of *Alexander*, Bishop of *Thessalonica*, to *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, *To my beloved Son and unanimous Collegue Athanasius.*

Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ. *Apud* Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 783.

IX. The ground of that eminence, which the *Roman* Bishop did obtain in the Church, so as in order to precede other Bishops, doth shake this pretence.

Ecclesia principalis. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

The Church of *Rome* was indeed allowed to be *the principal Church*, as St. *Cyprian* calleth it; but why? was it preferred by Divine Institution? no surely, Christianity did not make Laws of that nature, or constitute differences of places. Was it in regard to the succession of St. *Peter*? no; that was a slim upstart device; that did not hold in *Antioch*, nor in other Apostolical Churches.

But it was for a more substantial reason; the very same, on which the dignity and preeminency of other Churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that City in which the Bishop of *Rome* did preside; together with the consequent numerousness, quality and wealth of his flock; which gave him many great advantages above other his Fellow-bishops: It was (saith *Rigaltius*) called by St. *Cyprian* the principal Church, *because constituted in the principal City.*

Ecclesia principalis, id est in urbe principali constituta. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

That Church in the very times of severest Persecutions, *by the providence of God* (as Pope *Cornelius* said in his Epistle to *Fabius*) *had a rich and plentiful number, with a most great and innumerable people*; so that he reckoneth forty four *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, (in imitation of the number in the *Acts*,) seven *Sub-deacons*, forty two *Acoluthi*, fifty two others of the inferior Clergy, and above fifteen hundred Alms-people.

Διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πληθύων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ. Euseb. 6. 43.

Et quanquam sciam, frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus & exhibemus invicem nobis florentissimo illic Clero tecum præsidenti, & sanctissimæ atque amplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras —— Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Corn.)

To that Church there must needs have been a great resort of Christians, going to the seat of the Empire in pursuit of business; as in proportion there was to each other *Metropolis*; according to that Canon of the *Antiochene* Synod, which ordered, that *the Bishop of each Metropolis should take care of the whole Province, because all that had business did resort to the Metropolis.*

Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας.

Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 9.

That

That Church was most able to yield help and succour to them who needed it; and accordingly did use to do it; according to that of *Dionysius* (Bishop of *Corinth*) in his Epistle to Bishop *Soter* of *Rome*; *This* (saith he) *is your custom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to send supplies to many Churches in every City, so refreshing the poverty of those who want* ——

Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, Ἐκκλησίας τε πολλὰς τῶν κατὰ πάσαν πόλιν ἐφοδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχουσας, &c. Dionys. Corinth. *apud* Euseb. 4. 23.

Whence it is no wonder, that the Head of that Church did get most reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

To this Church (said *Irenæus*) *it is necessary that every Church (that is, the faithful who are all about) should resort, because of its more powerful principality*; what is meant by that *resort*, will be easy to him, who considereth how men here are wont to go up to *London*, drawn thither by interests of *Trade*, *Law*, &c. What he did understand *by more powerful principality*, the words themselves do signify, which exactly do agree to the Power and Grandure of the Imperial City; but do not well sute to the Authority of a Church; especially then when no Church did appear to have either Principality or Puissance. And that sence may clearly be evinced by the context, wherein it doth appear, that St. *Irenæus* doth not alledge the judicial Authority of the *Roman* Church, but its credible Testimony, which thereby became more considerable, because Christians commonly had occasions of recourse to it.

Ad hanc Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt ubiq; fideles. Iren. 3. 3.

(Δωματωτέραν ἀρχὴν, I conjecture he said:).

Such a reason of precedence St. *Cyprian* giveth in another case, *Because* (saith he) *Rome for its magnitude out to precede Carthage.*

Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere. Cypr. *Ep.* 49

For this reason a *Pagan* Historian did observe the *Roman* Bishop *had a greater authority* (that is, a greater interest and reputation) *than other Bishops.*

Authoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis Episcopi. Amm. Marcell. *lib.* 15. (*p.* 47.)

This reason *Theodoret* doth assign in his Epistle to Pope *Leo*, wherein he doth highly complement and cajole him; *for this City* (saith he) *is the greatest, and most splendid, and presiding over the world; and flowing with multitude of people; and which moreover hath produced the Empire now governing.* ----

Ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ λαμπροτάτη, καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένης προκαθημένη, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων κυμαίνουσα· ἥτις καὶ τούτοις καὶ νῦν κρατοῦσαν ἠγεμονίαν ἐβλάστησε —— Theod. *Ep.* 113.

This is the sole ground upon which the greatest of all ancient Synods, that of *Chalcedon*, did affirm the Papal eminency to be founded; for *to the throne* (say they) *of ancient Rome, because that was the royal City, the Fathers reasonably conferred the privileges*: the fountain of Papal eminence was in their judgment not any divine Institution, not the Authority of Saint *Peter* deriving it self to his Successors; but the concession of the Fathers, who were moved to grant it upon account that *Rome* was the *Imperial City.*

Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ Πατέρες οἰκότως ἀπεδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 16. *Can.* 28.

To the same purpose the Empress *Placidia*, in her Epistle to *Theodosius* in behalf of Pope *Leo*, saith, *It becometh us to preserve to this City (the which is mistress of all lands) a reverence in all things.*

Πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτην τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας φυλάξαι. Placid. *in Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 27.

This reason had indeed in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency; it was equal that he should have the preference, and more than

common respect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do most service to Religion. It was decent, that out of conformity to the State, and in respect to the Imperial Court and Senate, the Pastor of that place should be graced with repute; it was convenient, that he who resided in the centre of all business, and had the greatest influence upon affairs, who was the Emperor's chief Councellor for direction, and Instrument for execution of Ecclesiastical affairs, should not be put behind others.

Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ῥώμης Ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην —— *Syn.* Const. *Can.* 3.

Hence did the Fathers of the Second General Synod advance the Bishop of *Constantinople to the next privileges of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because it was new Rome*, and a Seat of the Empire.

Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἐπένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλεῖα καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. *Syn.* Chal. *Can.* 28.

And the Fathers of *Chalcedon* assigned *equal privileges to the most Holy See of Rome, with good reason* (say they) *judging, that the City, which was honoured with the Royalty and Senate, and which* (otherwise) *did enjoy equal privileges with the ancient Royal Rome, should likewise in Ecclesiastical affairs be magnified as it, being second after it.*

Sacrosanctam quoque hujus religiosissimæ civitatis Ecclesiam, & matrem nostræ pietatis, & Christianorum Orthodoxæ religionis omnium, & ejusdem Regiæ urbis sanctissimam sedem, &c. Imp. Leo. *Cod. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 2. § 16.

Indeed upon this score the Church of *Constantinople* is said to have aspired to the supreme Principality, when it had the advantage over old *Rome*, the Empire being extinguished there; and sometime was styled, *the Head of all Churches.*

The Holy Cqurch of this most religious City, the Mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Christians, and the most holy See of that imperial City.

Bonifacius III. *à Phoca Imperatore obtinuit, magnâ tamen contentione, ut sedes B. Petri Apostoli, quæ caput est omnium Ecclesiarum, ità & diceretur, & haberetur ab omnibus; quem quidem locum Ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum Principibus, affirmantibúsq; eo loci primam sedem esse debere, ubi Imperii caput esset.* Plat. *in* Bonif. *III.* (*p.* 161.)

Boniface *III.* (though with a great deal of stir) obtained of the Emperor Phocas, that the See of Saint Peter the Apostle, which is the head of all Churches, should be so called and accounted by all; which dignity the Church of Constantinople did indeed endeavour to assert to it self, Princes sometimes favouring them, and affirming that there the chief See ought to be where the head of the Empire was.

Phocas rogante Papâ Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ Ecclesiæ caput esse omnium Ecclesiarum, quia Ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium Ecclesiarnm scribebat. Anastas. *in* Bonif. *III. Idem* Sabellicus, Blondus, Lætus, *&c. tradunt.*

Phocas at the entreaty of Pope Boniface appointed that the Roman See should be the head of all Churches, because the Church of Constantinople wrote her self the chief of all Churches.

It is also natural and can hardly be otherwise, but that the Bishop of a chief City, finding himself to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of friendships, dependencies, *&c.* should not affect to raise himself above the level: it is an ambition, that easily will seize on the most moderate, and otherwise religious minds. Pope *Leo* objected it to *Anatolius*, and Pope *Gregory* to *John* (from his austere life called *the Faster.*)

Upon the like account it was, that the Bishops of other Cities did mount to a preeminency, *Metropolitane, Primatical, Patriarchal.*

Thence it was that the Bishop of *Alexandria* before *Constantine*'s time, did acquire the honour of second place to *Rome*; because that City, being head of a most rich and populous Nation, did in magnitude and opulency (as *Gregory Nazianzene* saith) *approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yield the next place to it.*

Ὑμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραχωροῦντες. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 27. Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλόπολις. Evagr. 2. 4. *& passim.*

Upon

Upon that account also did *Antioch* get the next place; as being the most large, flourishing, commanding City of the East; *the which* (as *Josephus* saith) *for bigness and for other advantages had without controversy the third place in all the world subject to the Romans*; and the which *St. *Chrysostom* calleth *the head of all Cities seated in the East.*

Ἡ μητρόπολις ὅδε τῆς Συρίας μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας

τρίτον ἀδιαφόρως ὅπη τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον. Joseph *de Bello* Jud. 3. 3.
* Πόλις ἔστω μεγάλη, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον κεισμένων ἡ κεφαλή. Chrys. *ad* S. p. β'.

St. *Basil* seemeth to call the Church thereof the principal in the world; for *what* (saith he) *can be more opportune to the Churches over the world than the Church of Antioch? the which if it should happen to be reduced to concord, nothing would hinder, but that as a sound head it would supply health to the whole body.*

Τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης Ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καιριώτερον; ὧν εἰ συμβαίη πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ κεφαλῇ ἐρρωμένῃ, παντὶ τῷ σώματι ὀπιχορηγεῖν τὴν ὑγίειαν. Bas. Ep. 48. (*ad* Athanas.)

Upon the same account the Bishop of *Carthage* did obtain the privilege to be standing Primate of his Province (although other Primacies there were not fixed to places, but followed Seniority) and a kind of Patriarch over all the *African* Provinces.

Hence did *Cæsarea*, as exceeding in temporal advantages, and being the Political *Metropolis* of *Palestine*, o'ertop *Jerusalem*, that most ancient, noble, and venerable City, the source of our Religion.

It was indeed the general Rule and Practice to conform the privileges of Ecclesiastical dignity in a proportion convenient to those of the secular Government; as the Synod of *Antioch* in express terms did ordain; the ninth Canon whereof runneth thus; *The Bishops in every Province ought to know, that the Bishop presiding in the Metropolis doth undertake the care of all the Province; because all that have business do meet together in the Metropolis; whence it hath been ordained, that he should precede in honour, and that the Bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient Canon holding from our Fathers*; (that is, according to the 34th. Canon of the Apostles.)

Τὸς ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει προεστῶτα Ἐπισκόπον, (καὶ) τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδὲν τε περιττὸν πρᾶττειν τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον κρατήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Κανόνα. *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 9. *Syn.* Chalc. 17.

It is true, that the Fathers do sometimes mention the Church of *Rome* being founded by the two great Apostles, or the succession of the *Roman* Bishop to them in Pastoral charge, as a special ornament of that Church, and a congruous ground of respect to that Bishop, whereby they *did honour the memory of Saint Peter:* but even some of those, who did acknowledge this, did not avow it as a sufficient ground of preeminence, none did admit it for an argument of authoritative Superiority.

Sedis Apostolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum, (qui Princeps est Episcopalis coronæ) Romanæ dignitas Civitatis, sacræ etiam Synodi firmavit authoritas. Valent. *Nov.* 24. *in fin. Cod.* Theod.

St. *Cyprian* did call the *Roman* See *the chair of Saint Peter*, and *the principal Church*; yet he disclaimed any authority of the *Roman* Bishops above his Brethren. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. 52.

Firmilian did take notice, that Pope *Stephanus did glory in the place of his Bishoprick, and contend that he held the succession of Peter*; yet did not he think himself thereby obliged to submit to his authority, or follow his judgment; but sharply did reprehend him as a favourer of Hereticks, an author of Schisms, and one who had cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

Atque ego in hac parte justè indignor ad hanc tam apertam & manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quòd qui sic de Episcopatûs sui loco gloriatur, & se successionem Petri tenere contendit ——

Stephanus qui per successionem Cathedram Petri habere se prædicat —— Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

Φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡμολόγουν, ὡς Ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον καὶ εὐσεβείας Μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἕω ἐνεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος ἐξηγηταί· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει Ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν. Soz. 3. 8.

The Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod *did confess, that in writings all did willingly honour the Roman Church, as having been from the beginning the School of the Apostles, and the Metropolis of Religion; although yet from the East the instructors of the Christian Doctrine did go and reside there; but from hence they desired not to be deemed inferiors; because they did not exceed in the greatness and numerousness of their Church.* They allowed some regard (though faintly and with reservation) to the *Roman* Church upon account of their Apostolical foundation; they implied a stronger ground of pretence from the grandeur of that City; yet did not they therefore grant themselves to be inferiors; at least as to any substantial Privilege, importing Authority.

If by Divine right, upon account of his succession to Saint *Peter*, he had such preeminence, why are the other causes reckoned, as if they could add any thing to God's Institution, or as if that did need humane confirmation? The pretence to that surely was weak, which did need corroboration, and to be propp'd by worldly considerations.

Indeed, whereas the Apostles did found many Churches, exercising *Apostolical* authority over them (eminently containing the *Episcopal*) why in conscience should one claim privileges on that score rather than, or above the rest?

Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως Ἀποστολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας— *Ep. Synod.* Const. Theodoret. *hist. l.* 5. *c.* 9. *p.* 211. *Quæ quantumlibet à Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat instituta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Augustalis dicta —— longè præstabat Syriæ præfecturæ, &c.* Baron. *Ann.* 39. §. 10.

Why should the See of *Antioch*, that most ancient and truly Apostolical Church, where the Christian name began, where Saint *Peter* at first (as they say) did sit Bishop for seven years, be postponed to *Alexandria?*

Epiph. *Synod.* Constant. *ibid.* Τῆς δέ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

Especially why should the Church of *Jerusalem*, the Seat of our Lord himself, the mother of all Churches, the fountain of Christian Doctrine, the first Consistory of the Apostles, ennobled by so many glorious performances (by the Life, Preaching, Miracles, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension of our Saviour; by the first preaching of the Apostles, the effusion of the Holy Spirit, the Conversion of so many People, and Constitution of the first Church, and Celebration of the first Synods) upon these considerations not obtain preeminence to other Churches, but in honour be cast behind divers others; and as to Power be subjected to *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Palestine?*

Optat. *l.* 6. (*p* 169.) Hier. *Ep.* 61. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 7.

Majores enim in instituendis sedibus Ecclesiarum non aliam iniisse rationem, quam secundum divisionem Provinciarum, & Prærogativas à Romanis anteà stabilitas, quàm plurima sunt exempla. Baron. *Anno* 39. 10.

The true reason of this even *Baronius* himself did see and acknowledge; for *that* (saith he) *the Ancients observ'd no other rule in instituting the Ecclesiastical Sees, than the division of Provinces, and the Prerogative before established by the Romans, there are very many examples.*

Of which examples, that of *Rome* is the most obvious and notable; and what he so generally asserteth may be so applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its preeminence.

X. The truth is, all Ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, or dependencies of some Bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs were introduced merely by humane Ordinance, and established by

by Law or Custom, upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things: Hence the Prerogatives of other Sees did proceed; and hereto whatever Dignity, Privilege, or Authority the Pope with equity might at any time claim, is to be imputed.

To clear which point, we will search the matter nearer the quick; propounding some observations concerning the ancient forms of Discipline, and considering what interest the Pope had therein.

At first each Church was settled apart under its own Bishop and Presbyters; so as independently and separately to manage its own concernments; each was αὐτοκέφαλος, and αὐτόνομος, *governed by its own head, and had its own Laws.* Every Bishop as a Prince in his own Church, did act freely according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his Ecclesiastical Senate, and * with the consent of his people (the which he did use to consult) without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, farther than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighboring Churches did require, in which regard if he were notably peccant, he was liable to be disclaimed by them, as no good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his Church, if it did adhere to him in his misdemeanors. This may be collected from the remainders of State in the times of St. *Cyprian.*

But because little, disjointed and incoherent Bodies were like dust, apt to be dissipated by every wind of external assault, or intestine faction; and peaceable union could hardly be retained without some ligature of discipline; and Churches could not mutually support and defend each other without some method of entercourse and rule of confederacy, engaging them: Therefore for many good purposes (for upholding and advancing the common interests of Christianity, for protection and support of each Church from inbred disorders and dissensions; for preserving the integrity of the Faith, for securing the concord of divers Churches, for providing fit Pastors to each Church, and correcting such as were scandalously bad * or unfaithful) it was soon found needful, that divers Churches should be combined and linked together in some regular form of Discipline; † that if any Church did want a Bishop, the neighbour Bishops might step in to approve

* Cypr. *Ep.* 52. 55. 72. 73. 76.

Omnis hic actus populo erat insinuandus. P. Corn. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 46.

All this business was to have been imparted to the people.

Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum, & omnium nostrum commune consilium— ea quæ agenda sunt disponere. Cypr. *Ep.* 40. *(Plebi Univ.)*

To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all.

Et limanda plenius ratio non solùm cùm Collegis meis, sed & cum plebe ipsa universa. Cypr. *Ep.* 28.

And the reason is more throughly to be examined not only with my Collegues, but with the whole people.

Præjudicare ego & soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo. Ep 18.

I dare not therefore prejudge, nor assume to my self alone a matter which is common to all.

Hoc enim & verecundiæ & disciplinæ & vitæ ipsi omnium nostrûm convenit, ut Episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente & stantium plebe, (quibus & ipsis pro fide & timore suo honor habendus est) disponere omnia consilia communi religione possimus. Ep. 14.

For it becomes the modesty, the discipline, and the manner of our living, that many Bishops meeting together, the people being also present, (to whom respect ought to be had for their faith and fear) we may order all things with the common advice.

——— *quoniam non paucorum, nec Ecclesiæ unius aut unius Provinciæ, sed totius orbis hæc causa est.*——— Cypr. *Ep.* 14.

——— because this is the concern not of a few men or one Church, or one Province, but of the whole world.

Idcirco copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum——ut si quis ex Collegio nostro hæresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri—— Cypr. *Ep.* 76.

Therefore the Clergy is a large body ——— that if any one of our own society should vent an heresy, and attempt to rent and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might come in to their help.

* Particularly in the dispensation of Church goods. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* 25.

† Nov. 137. *cap.* 4.
123. *cap.* 10.

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and ordain a fit one; * that if any Bishop did notoriously swerve from the Christian rule, the others might interpose to correct or void him: that if any errour, or schism did peep up in any Church, the joynt concurrence of divers Bishops might avail to stop its progress, and to quench it; by convenient means of instruction, reprehension and censure: that if any Church were oppressed by persecution, by indigency, by faction; the others might be engaged to afford effectual succour and relief; for such ends it was needful, that Bishops in certain precincts should convene, with intent to deliberate and resolve about the best expedients to compass them; And that the manner of such proceeding, (to avoid uncertain distraction, confusion, arbitrarineſs, dissatisfaction and mutinous opposition) should be settled in an ordinary course; according to rules known and allowed by all.

* *Vid. Can. Apost.* 38. (*al.* 30.) *de Synodis.*

(οἰκονομίαι Ἐκκλησιαστικαί. *Syn.* Const. *Can.* 2.)

In defining such precincts it was most natural, most easy, most commodious to follow divisions of Territory, or Jurisdiction already established in the Civil State; that the Spirtual administrations being in such circumstances aptly conformed to the Secular might go on more smoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not clashing with the other: according to the judgment of the two great Synods, that of *Chalcedon*, and the *Trullane*; which did ordain, that *if by Royal authority any City be or should hereafter be re-established, the order of the Churches shall be according to the civil and publick form.*

Εἰ ἢ καὶ τὶς ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τὴ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ τάξις ἀκολουθείτω. *Conc.* Chalced. *Can.* 17. & *Conc.* Trull. *Can.* 38.

Whereas therefore in each Nation or Province subject to one Political Jurisdiction there was a *Metropolis* or *Head-city*, to which the greatest resort was for dispensation of Justice, and dispatch of principal Affairs emergent in that Province; it was also most convenient, that also the determination of Ecclesiastical matters should be affixed thereto; especially considering that usually those places were opportunely seated; that many persons upon other occasions did meet there; that the Churches in those Cities did exceed the rest in number, in opulency, in ability and opportunity to promote the common interest in all kinds of advantages.

P. Anacl. *dist.* 99. *cap.* 1. P. Greg. *VII. Ep.* 6. 35.

Moreover because in all Societies and Confederacies of men for ordering publick affairs, (for the settling things in motion, for effectual dispatch, for preventing endless dissentions and confusions both in resolving upon and executing things) it is needful that one person should be authorized to preside among the rest, unto whom the power and care should be entrusted to convoke Assemblies in fit season, to propose matters for consultation, to moderate the debates and proceedings, to declare the result, and to see that what is agreed upon may be duly executed; Such a charge then naturally would devolve it self upon the Prelate of the *Metropolis*, as being supposed constantly present on the place; as being at home in his own seat of presidence, and receiving the rest under his wing; as inconteſtably surpassing others in all advantages answerable to the secular advantages of his City; for that it was unseemly and hard, if he at home should be postponed in dignity to others repairing thither; for that also commonly he

Ad hoc divinæ dispensationis provisio gradus & diversos constituit ordines in se distinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent, & potiores minoribus diligentiam impenderent, una concordiæ fieret à diversitate contentio & rectè officiorum gereretur administratio singulorum. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 95.

To this end divine providence hath appointed degrees and divers orders distinct from one another, that while the less reverence the greater, and the greater take care of the less, from this diversity there might arise one frame of concord, and all offices be daily administred.

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was in a manner the spiritual Father of the rest, (Religion being first planted in great Cities, and thence propagated to others) so that the reverence and dependence on Colonies to the mother City was due from other Churches to his See.

Wherefore by consent of all Churches, grounded on such obvious reason of things, the presidency in each Province was assigned to the Bishop of the *Metropolis*, who was called the first Bishop, the *Metropolitan*, (in some places the * *Primate*, the *Archbishop*, the *Patriarch*, the *Pope*) of the Province. The Apostolical Canons call him the first Bishop (which sheweth the Antiquity of this Institution;) the *African* Synods did appoint that name to him as most modest, and calling him Primate in that sense; other ancient Synods style him the *Metropolite*; and to the *Metropolites* of the principal Cities they gave the Title of *Archbishop*. The Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria* peculiarly were called *Popes*; although that name was sometimes deferred to any other Bishop.

* *Primas Provinciæ. Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 19.

Τὰς Ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον. *Can. Apost.* 27.

The Bishops of each Nation ought to know who is chief among them.

Cod. Afr. *Can.* 39. *Dist.* 99. *cap.* 3.

During this state of things the whole Church did consist of so many Provinces, being αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent on each other in Ecclesiastical administrations; each reserving to it self the constitution of Bishops, the convocation of Synods, the enacting of Canons, the decision of Causes, the definition of Questions; yet so that each Province did hold peaceful and amicable correspondence with others; upon the like terms as before each παροικία, or Episcopal precinct did hold intercourse with its neighbours.

And whoever in any Province did not comply with, or submit to the Orders and Determinations resolved upon in those Assemblies, was deemed a schismatical, contentious and contumelious person; with good reason, because he did thwart a Discipline plainly conducible to publick good; because declining such judgments he plainly shewed that he would admit none, (there not being any fairer way of determining things than by common advice and agreement of Pastors) because he did in effect refuse all good terms of communion and peace.

Παράταξις *Syn.* Nic. *Can.* 18.

Thus I conceive the *Metropolitical* governance was introduced, by humane prudence following considerations of publick necessity or utility: There are indeed some, who think it was instituted by the Apostles; but their Arguments do not seem convincing, and such a constitution doth not (as I take it) well sute to the state of their times, and the course they took in founding Churches.

Into such a Chanel, through all parts of *Christendom* (though with some petty differences in the methods and measures of acting) had Ecclesiastical administrations fallen of themselves; plain community of reason, and immitation insensibly propagating that course; and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general consent and solemn sanction established.

The whole Church then was a Body consisting of several confederations of Bishops, acting in behalf of their Churches under their respective *Metropolitans*, who did manage the common affairs in each Province; convoking Synods at stated times, and upon emergent occasions; in them deciding Causes and Controversies incident, relating to faith or practice; framing Rules serviceable to common Edification, and decent Uniformity in God's service; quashing Here-

Can. Apost. 38.
Tertull. *de Jej. cap.* 13.
Syn. Nic. *Can.* 5.

Διὰ τὰς Ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις—— *Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 20.

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ſies and Schiſms, declaring truths impugned or queſtioned; maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other Provinces adjacent or remote.

Such was the ſtate of the Church, unto which the Apoſtolical Canons and Conſtitutions do refer, anſwerable to the times in which they were framed; and which we may diſcern in the practice of ancient Synods.

Such it did continue, when the great Synod of *Nice* was celebrated, which by its authority (preſumed to repreſent the authority of all Biſhops in the World, who were ſummoned thereto (backed by the Imperial Authority and Power, did confirm thoſe Orders, as they found them ſtanding by more general cuſtom, and received Rules in moſt Provinces; reducing them into more uniform practice; ſo that what before ſtood upon reaſon, cuſtomary uſage, particular conſent, by ſo auguſt ſanction did become univerſal Law; and did obtain ſo great veneration, as by ſome to be conceived everlaſtingly and immutably obligatory; according to thoſe maxims of Pope *Leo*.

Παλαιός τε ὡς ἴστε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὅρος —— *Syn.* Conſtant. Theod. 5. 9.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. *Can.* 20.

It is here farther obſervable, that whereof divers Provinces did hold communion and entercourſe; ſo that upon occaſion they did (by their formed Letters) render to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, eſpecially of thoſe which concerned the general ſtate of Chriſtianity, and common Faith; calling, when need was, for aſſiſtance one of another to reſolve points of faith, or to ſettle order and peace; there was in ſo doing a ſpecial reſpect given to the *Metropolites* of great Cities: and to prevent diſſenſions, which naturally ambition doth prompt men to, grounded upon degrees of reſpect, an Order was fixed among them, according to which in ſubſcriptions of Letters, in accidental congreſſes, and the like occaſions, ſome ſhould precede others; (that diſtinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatneſs, ſplendor, opulency of Cities; or following the ſecular dignity of them:) whence *Rome* had the *firſt* place, *Alexandria* the *ſecond*, *Antioch* the *third*, *Hieruſalem* the *fourth*, &c.

Zoſ. *lib.* 2. *p.* 63. Sextus Rufus, *Brev.*

Afterward, *Conſtantine* having introduced a new partition of the *Empire*, whereby divers Provinces were combined together into one Territory, under the regiment of a *Vicar*, or a *Lieutenant* of a *Præfectus-prætorio*; which Territory was called a *Dioceſe*; the *Eccleſiaſtical* ſtate was adapted in conformity thereto; new Eccleſiaſtical Syſtems, and a new ſort of ſpiritual Heads thence ſpringing up; ſo that in each Dioceſe, conſiſting of divers Provinces an Eccleſiaſtical *Exarch* (otherwiſe ſometimes called a *Primate*, ſometimes a *Dioceſan*, ſometimes a *Patriarch*) was conſtituted, anſwerable to the Civil *Exarch* of a Dioceſe; who by ſuch conſtitution did obtain a like Authority over the *Metropolitans* of Provinces, as they had in their Province over the Biſhops of Cities; ſo that it appertained to them to call together the Synods of the whole Dioceſe, to preſide in them, and in them to diſpatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain Metropolitans, to confirm the Ordinations of Biſhops, to decide Cauſes and

Ἐπικολούθησα τῷ ἐξάρχῳ μου. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 10. *p.* 388.

Διοικητὴς. *Epiſt.* Orient. *ad* Rufum, *in Syn.* Eph. *p.* 396.

Diſt. 99. *cap.* 1, 2.

Οἱ ὁσιώτατοι Πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 2. (*p.* 211.)

Epheſi δίκαιον Πατριαρχικόν. Ev. 3. 6.

Τινὲς μὲν ἐξάρχους τῶν διοικήσεων τοὺς Πατριάρχας φασί. Zon. *ad* 28. *Can.* Chalc

Novell. 137. *cap.* 5. & 123. *cap.* 10.

P. Greg. I. *Ep.* 11, 56.

Ordo Epiſcoporum quadripartitus eſt, id eſt, in Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Metropolitanis, atque Epiſcopis. Iſid. *diſt.* 21. *cap.* 1.

Dionyſius Ex. tranſlates ἔξαρχον, *Primatem*, *in Syn.* Chalc. *Can.* 9, & 17.

and Controversies between Bishops upon appeal from Provincial Synods.

Some conceive the Synod of *Nice* did establish it; but that can hardly well be; for that Synod was held about the time of that division, (after that *Constantine* was settled in a peaceful enjoyment of the Empire) and scarce could take notice of so fresh a change in the State; that doth not pretend to innovate, but professeth in its sanctions specially to regard *ancient custom, saving to the Churches their privileges* of which they were possessed; that only mentioneth Provinces, and representeth the *Metropolitans* in them as the chief Governors Ecclesiastical then being; that constituteth a peremptory decision of weighty causes in Provincial Synods, which is consistent with the *Diocesan* Authority; that taketh no notice of *Constantinople*, the principal Diocese in the East, as seat of the Empire; (and the Synod of *Antioch*, insisting in the footsteps of the *Nicene*, doth touch only *Metropolitans (Can.19.)* and the Synod of *Laodicea* doth only suppose that Order.) In fine, that Synod is not recorded by any old Historian to have framed such an alteration; which indeed was so considerable, that *Eusebius* who was present there could not well have passed it over in silence.

Ὅπερ ἔτε ὁ κανὼν, ἔτε ἡ Συνήθεια παρέδωκεν—— *Can.*18.

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω. *Can.* 6.

Ἐπειδὴ Συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία —— *Can* 7.

Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν. καὶ ἐν τῶν ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα Σώζεσθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησίαις. *Ibid.*

Τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν Μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πέριξ Ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι —— *Syn.* Laod. *Can.*12.

The Bishops should be constituted by the judgment of the Metropolitans and the neighbouring Bishops.

Of this opinion was the Synod of *Carthage* in their Epistle to Pope *Celestine* I. who understood no jurisdiction but that of *Metropolitans* to be constituted in the *Nicene* Synod.

Some think the Fathers of the Second General Synod did introduce it, seeing it expedient that Ecclesiastical administrations should correspond to the Political; for they did innovate somewhat in the form of Government; they do expresly use the new word *Diocese*, according to the Civil sense, as distinct from a Province; they do distinctly name the particular *Dioceses* of the *Oriental* Empire, as they stood in the Civil establishment; they do prescribe to the Bishops in each *Diocese* to act unitedly there, not skipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the Synod of the *Diocese*, prohibiting other appeals: The Historians expresly do report of them, that they did *distinguish and distribute Dioceses*, that they did *constitute Patriarchs*, that they did prohibit that any of one *Diocese* should intrude upon another.

Εἰ δὲ συμβαίη ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἐπαρχιῶτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτοὺς προσιέναι μείζονι Συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλουμένων—— *Syn* Const. *Can.*6.

But if it so happen that the Bishops of any Province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a Bishop, they shall then go to a greater Synod of the Bishops of that Diocese, met together for that purpose.

The Fathers of *Constantinople* in their Synodick Epistle distinguish the Province and Diocese of *Antioch*, οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως Συνδραμόντες—— Theod. 5.9.

Καὶ Πατριάρχας κατέστησαν διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας. Socr. 5. 8.

Ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει Συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι Πατέρες· συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ Συναθροισθεῖσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἑκάστῃ διοικήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπένειμαν, ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέρᾳ μὴ ἐπιέναι. Theodor. *Ep* 86. (*ad* Flavianum.)

For, says *Theodoret*, the Blessed Fathers meeting together in the Imperial City, distinguished Dioceses agreeably to what the *Nicene* Fathers had done, and allotted to every Diocese what belonged to it: on the contrary charging that no one of one Diocese should encroach upon another.

But if we shall attently search and scan passages, we may perhaps find reason to judge, that this form did soon after the Synod of *Nice* creep in without any solemn appointment by spontaneous assumption and submission, accommodating things to the Political course; the great Bishops (who by the amplification of their City in power, wealth and con-

course of people were advanced in reputation and interest) assuming such authority to themselves; and the lesser Bishops easily complying;
Theod. 2. 26. Soz. 4.25. And of this we have some Arguments. *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem* being deposed and extruded by *Acacius*, *Metropolitan* of *Palestine*, *did appeal to a greater Judicatory*; being the first, (as *Socrates* noteth) who ever did use that course; because, it seemeth, there was no greater in being till about that time; which was some years before the Synod of *Constantinople*; in which there is mention *of a greater Synod of the Diocese* ——

Βιβλίον τ καθελῶσι διαπεμψάμενο μεῖζον ὤφειλε καλέσατο δικαστήριον —— τοῦτο μὲν ἓν μόνο ἐν πρώτο φθέγ. τῷ συνηθὲς Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι κύριλλο ἐποίησεν —— Socr. 2.40.

There was a convention of Bishops of the *Pontick* Diocese at Soz. 6. 12. *Tyana*; (distinguished from the *Asian* Bishops) whereof *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* is reckoned in the first place, as President; in the time of *Valens*.

Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριο Cum Γρηγορίῳ ἡγεμονίαν ἔσχατο. (*in prosphonetico ad Imper.*)

Nectarius Bishop of *Constantinople* is said by the Synod of *Chalcedon* to have presided in the Synod of *Constantinople*.

Τὰς τῶν διοικήσεων Ἐπισκόπους —— *Can.* 2.

Περαιέναι μέζονι Cum ὁδῷ τ τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπισκόπων —— *Can.* 6.

A good Argument is drawn from the very Canon of the Synod of *Constantinople* it self; which doth speak concerning *Bishops over Dioceses* as already constituted, or extant; not instituting that Order of Bishops, but supposing it, and together with an implicit confirmation regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting Bishops to leap over the bounds of their *Diocese*, so as to meddle in the affairs of other *Dioceses*; and by ordering *appeals to the Synod of a Diocese*.

Of Authority gained by such assumption, and concession without law, there might be produced divers instances.

As particularly that the See of *Constantinople* did assume to it self Ordination and other acts of Jurisdiction, in three *Dioceses*, before any such power was granted to it by any Synodical Decree; the which to have done divers instances shew; some whereof are alledged in the Synod of *Chalcedon*; as St. *Chrysostom*, of whom it is there said, *That going into Asia he deposed fifteen Bishops, and consecrated others in their room.*

Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 16. (*p.* 463)

Ἰωάννης δεκαπέντε Ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν, ἀπελθὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, χ ἐχειροτόνησεν ἄλλους ἀντ' αὐτῶν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 11. (*p.* 411.)

Soz. 8.6. He also deposed *Gerontius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, belonging to the *Diocese of Pontus*.

Τὸ γὰ ἐκ πολλῶ κεφάλαιον ἔθο ὅτε ἔδοξεν ἡ Κωνσταντινοπολιτῶν ἁγία Θεῶ Ἐκκλησία τὸ χειροτονεῖν μητροπολίτας τ διοικήσεων τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς, χ Ποντικῆς, χ Θρᾳκικῆς χ πω χ' Cum ὁδικῶ ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. *Syn.* Chalc. *in Epist. ad P.* Leonem.

Whence the Fathers of *Chalcedon* did aver, *That they had in a Synod confirmed the ancient custom which the Holy Church of God in Constantinople had, to ordain Metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian Dioceses.*

Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 16. (*p.* 462.) The which custom, (consistent with reason, and becoming the dignity of the Empire, and grateful to the Court) that great Synod did establish, although the *Roman* Church out of jealousy did contest and protest against it.

But the most pertinent instances are those of the *Roman*, *Alexandrine*, and *Antiochene* Churches, having by degrees assumed to themselves such power over divers Provinces; in imitation of which Churches the other Diocesan Bishops may well be thought to have enlarged their Jurisdiction.

This

This form of government is intimated in the Synod of *Ephesus*; by those words in which Dioceses and Provinces are distinguished; *and the same shall be observed in all Dioceses and all Provinces every where.*

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται. *Syn.* Eph. *Can.* 8.

[There is mention of Dioceses in *Strabo.*]

However that this form of Discipline was perfectly settled in the times of the Fourth General Synod is evident by two notable Canons thereof, wherein it is decreed, that *if any Bishop have a controversy with his Metropolitan of his Province, he shall resort to and be judged by the Exarch of the Diocese, or by the See of Constantinople.*

Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας Μητροπολίτην Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίη, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω. *Syn.* Chalc. *Can.* 19, & 17.

This was a great privilege conferred on the Bishop of *Constantinople*; the which perhaps did ground (to be sure it did make way for) the plea of that Bishop to the Title of *Oecumenical Patriarch*, or *Universal Bishop*, which Pope *Gregory* did so exagitate; and indeed it soundeth so fairly toward it, that the Pope hath nothing comparable to it to alledge in favour of his pretences; this being the Decree of the greatest Synod that ever was held among the Ancients, where all the Patriarchs did concur in making these Decrees; which Pope *Gregory* did reverence as *one of the Gospels.* — If any ancient Synod did ever constitute any thing like to *Universal* Monarchy, it was this; wherein a final determination of greatest Causes was granted to the See of *Constantinople*, without any exception or reservation: I mean as to semblance, and the sound of words; for as to the true sense I do indeed conceive that the Canon did only relate to causes emergent in the Eastern parts; and probably it did only respect the three Dioceses (of *Asia*, *Pontus*, and *Thrace*) which were immediately subjected to his *Patriarchal* Jurisdiction.

Pope *Nicholas* I. doth very jocularly expound this Canon; affirming that by the Primate of the Diocese is understood the Pope (Diocese being put by a notable figure for Dioceses) and that an appeal is to be made to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, only by permission, in case the party will be content therewith.

Quem autem Primatem Diœceseos S. Synodus dixerit, præter Apostoli primi Vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur——— None can understand whom the Holy Synod should call Primate of a Diocese, except the Vicar of the prime Apostle.

Tantundem valet dixisse Primatem Diœceseos, quantum si perhibuisset Diœceseon. P. Nich. I. *Ep.* 8. (*p.* 507.) To say the Primate of a Diocese is as much as to say of Dioceses.

We may note, that some Provincial Churches were by ancient custom exempted from dependence on any Primacy or Patriarchate.

Such an one the *Cyprian* Church was adjudged to be in the *Ephesine* Synod; wherein the privileges of such Churches were confirmed against the invasion of greater Churches; and to that purpose this general Law enacted, *Let the same be observed in all Dioceses and Provinces every where — that none of the Bishops most beloved of God invade another Province which did not formerly belong to him or his Predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seiz'd it, that he restore it.*

Τῷ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται——— ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων Ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν, διὰ εἰ καί τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται, βιασάμενος σοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, &c. *Conc.* Eph. *Can.* 8.

Such a Church was that of *Britain* anciently, before *Austin* did introduce the Papal Authority here, against that Canon: as by divers learned Pens hath been shewed.

Such was the Church of *Africk*, as by their Canons against transmarine appeals, and about all other matters doth appear.

Isid. *dist.* 2. *cap.* 1. It is supposed, by some, that Discipline was screwed yet one peg higher, by setting up the Order of *Patriarchs* higher than *Primates*, or *Dioceſan Exarchs*; but I find no ground of this ſuppoſal except in one caſe; that is, of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being ſet above the Biſhops of *Epheſus*, *Cæſarea* and *Heraclea*, which were the *Primates* of the three *Dioceſes*.

Omnes ſive Patriarchæ cujuſlibet apices, ſive Metropoleon Primatus, aut Epiſcopatuum Cathedras, vel Eccleſiarum cujuſlibet Ordinis Dignitates inſtituit Romana Eccleſia, P. Nic. *II. Diſt.* 22. *cap.* 1.

It is a notable Fib which Pope *Nicholas* II. telleth, as *Gratian* citeth him; *That the Church of Rome inſtituted all Patriarchal Supremacies, all Metropolitan Primacies, Epiſcopal Sees, all Eccleſiaſtical Orders and Dignities whatſoever.*

Now things ſtanding thus in Chriſtendom, we may, concerning the intereſt of the *Roman* Biſhop, in reference to them, obſerve,

1. In all theſe tranſactions about modelling the ſpiritual Diſcipline, there was no Canon eſtabliſhed any peculiar Juriſdiction to the Biſhop of *Rome*, only the

2. Synod of *Nice* did ſuppoſe that he by cuſtom did enjoy ſome Authority within certain precincts of the Weſt, like to that which it did confirm to the Biſhop of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, and the Countries adjacent thereto.

Πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς. *Can.* 3. Τὰ πρεσβεῖα καὶ ἐξαίρετον τιμή. *Syn. Ch. Act.* 16. 3. The Synods of *Conſtantinople* did allow him *honorary privileges* or precedence before all other Biſhops, aſſigning the next place after him to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. 4. In other privileges the Synod of *Chalcedon* did equal the See of *Conſtantinople* to the *Roman*.

5. The Canons of the two Firſt and Fourth General Synods, ordering all affairs to be diſpatched, and cauſes to be determined in *Metropolitan* or *Dioceſan* Synods, do exclude the *Roman* Biſhop from meddling in thoſe concerns.

6. The Popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themſelves, and which ſerved their Intereſts) did not reliſh thoſe Canons, although enacted by Synods which themſelves admitted for Oecumenical: *That ſubſcription of ſome Biſhops made above ſixty years ſince as you boaſt, does no whit favour your perſuaſion; a ſubſcription never tranſmitted to the knowledge of the Apoſtolick See by your Predeceſſors, which from its very beginning being weak, and long ſince ruinous, you endeavour now too late and unprofitably to revive.*

Perſuaſioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus ſuffragatur quorundam Epiſcoporum ante ſexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta ſubſcriptio, nunquàmq; à prædeceſſoribus tuis ad Apoſtolicæ Sedis tranſmiſſa notitiam, cui ab initio ſui caducæ, dudùmq; collapſæ ſera nunc & inutilia ſubjicere fomenta voluiſti — P. Leo. *Ep.* 53. (*ad* Anatol.) *Vid. Ep.* 54, & 55, & 61.

Romana autem Eccleſia ejuſdem Canones vel geſta Synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit. Greg. M. *Ep.* 6. 31. (*ad* Eulog. Alex.)

So doth Pope *Leo* I. treat the Second Great Synod, writing to *Anatolius*: and *Gregory* ſpeaking of the ſame ſays, *That the Roman Church has not the acts of that Synod, nor received its Canons.*

7. Wherefore in the Weſt they did obtain no effect, ſo as to eſtabliſh *Dioceſan* Primacies there.

N A Roman Synod, *Anno* 378. conſiſting of Italian Biſhops did

The Biſhops of Cities, which were Heads of Dioceſes, either did not know of theſe Canons (which is probable, becauſe *Rome* did ſmother the notice of them:) or were hindred from uſing them; the Pope having ſo winded himſelf in, and got ſuch hold among them, as he would not let go.

give the Pope ſuch a privilege as the Synod of *Conſtantinople* did to the Biſhop of that See. (Marc. *de Primat. p.* 103. *ex app. Cod.* Theodoſ. *Vide* Baron.)

But there is difference between a General Synod, and an Italian Synod: and what had an Italian Synod to preſcribe to all the Provinces of the Roman Empire, or rather of the Weſt? *P.* Greg *I. Ep.* 7, 8.

8. It

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the Pope, in carrying on his Encroachments, and enlarging his worldly Interests, that the Western Churches did not, as the Eastern, conform themselves to the Political frame in embracing *Diocesan* Primacies; which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the Liberties of their Churches from Papal Invasions.

Balusius thinketh, that *Hilarius* of *Arles* did pretend and offer at his Primatical power *apud* Marc. 5. 32. but P. *Leo* did mainly check and quash his attempt.

9. For hence, for want of a better, the Pope did claim to himself a Patriarchal authority over the Western Churches; pretending a right of calling Synods, of meddling in Ordinations, of determining Causes by appeal to him; of dictating Laws and Rules to them, against the old rights of Metropolitans, and the later Constitutions for Primacies.

Of this we have an Instance in St. *Gregory*; where he alledging an Imperial Constitution importing that in case a Clergy-man should appeal from his Metropolitan, *the cause should be referred to the Archbishop and Patriarch of that Diocese, who judging according to the Canons and Laws should give an end thereto*; doth consequentially assume an appeal from a Bishop to himself, adjoyning, *If against these things it be said, that the Bishop had neither Metropolitan nor Patriarch, it is to be said that this cause was to be heard and decided by the Apostolical See, which is the head of all Churches.*

Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec Metropolitam habuit nec Patriarcham; dicendum est quia à Sede Apostolica, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat. Greg. I. *Ep.* 11. 56.

10. Having got such advantage, and as to extent stretched his Authority beyond the bounds of *his sub-urbicarian precincts*, he did also intend it in quality far beyond the privileges by any Ecclesiastical Law granted to Patriarchs; or claimed or exercised by another Patriarch; till at length by degrees he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enslaved the Western Churches. Ruffin. *Hist.* 1. 6.

The ancient Order did allow a Patriarch or Primate to call a Synod of the Bishops in his Diocese, and with them to determine Ecclesiastical Affairs by majority of Suffrages; but he doth not do so, but setting himself down in his Chair, with a few of his Courtiers about him, doth make Decrees and Dictates, to which he pretendeth all must submit.

The ancient Order did allow a Patriarch to ordain Metropolitans duly elected in their Dioceses; leaving Bishops to be ordained by the Metropolitans in their Provincial Synods; but he will meddle in the Ordination of every Bishop, suffering none to be constituted without his confirmation, for which he must soundly pay.

The ancient Order did allow a Patriarch, with the advice and consent of his Synod, to make Canons for the well-ordering his Diocese; but he sendeth about his Decretal Letters, composed by an infallible Secretary, which he pretendeth must have the force of Laws, equal to the highest Decrees of the whole Church.

The ancient Order did suppose Bishops by their Ordination sufficiently obliged to render unto their Patriarch due observance, according to the Canons, he being liable to be judged in a Synod for the transgression of his duty; but he forceth all Bishops to take the most slavish oaths of obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient Order did appoint that Bishops accused for offences should be judged in their Provinces; or upon appeal from them in Patriarchal Synods:

Synods: but he receiveth appeals at the first hand, and determineth them in his Court, without calling such a Synod in an age for any such purpose.

The ancient Patriarchs did order all things, as became good Subjects, with leave and under submission to the Emperour, who as he pleased did interpose his confirmation of their Sanctions: but this man pretendeth to decree what he pleaseth without the leave, and against the will of Princes.

Wherefore he is not a Patriarch of the Western Churches, (for that he acteth according to no Patriarchal Rule) but a certain kind of Sovereign Lord, or a tyrannical Oppressor of them.

Isid. *in dist.* 21. *cap.* 1.

11. In all the transactions for modelling the Church there never was allowed to the Pope any dominion over his Fellow-patriarchs, or of those great Primates who had assumed that name to themselves; among whom indeed, for the dignity of his City, he had obtained a priority of honour or place; but never had any power over them settled by a title of Law, or by clear and uncontested practice.

Insomuch, that if any of them had erred in Faith, or offended in Practice, it was requisite to call a General Synod to judge them; as in the cases of *Athanasius*, of *Gregory Nazianzene* and *Maximus*, of *Theophilus* and St. *Chrysostom*, of *Nestorius* and of *Dioscorus*—— is evident.

12. Indeed all the *Oriental* Churches did keep themselves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had swollen so big in the West, he sometimes did take occasion to attempt on their Liberty; which they sometimes did warily decline, sometimes stoutly did oppose.

Vid. de Marc. *lib.* 7. *cap.* 4. & 5.

But as to the main, those flourishing Churches constantly did maintain a distinct administration from the Western Churches, under their own Patriarchs and Synods, not suffering him to interlope in prejudice to their Liberty.

They, without his leave or notice, did call and celebrate Synods (whereof all the first great Synods are instances) there Ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; Appeals were not (with publick regard or allowance) thence made to him in causes great or little, but they decided them among themselves: they quashed Heresies springing up among them, as the Second General Synod, the *Macedonians*, *Theophilus* the *Origenists*, &c. Little in any case had his Worship to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general communion and correspondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And sometimes, when a pert Pope, upon some incidental advantage of differences risen among them, would be more busy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their affairs they did rap his fingers: so *Victor*, so *Stephanus*, so *Julius* and *Liberius* of old did feel to their smart: so afterwards *Damasus* and other Popes in the case of *Flavianus*; *Innocent* in the case of St. *Chrysostom*; *Felix* and his Successors in the case of *Acacius* did find little regard had to their interposals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not suffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any farther, I shall briefly draw some Corollaries from this Historical account which I have given of the original and growth of *Metropolitical*, *Primatical*, and *Patriarchal* Jurisdiction.

1. Patriarchs are an humane Institution.

2. As

2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, so they may be dissolved by the same.

3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of Princes; and by the same they may be dejected, if great reason do appear.

4. The Patriarchate of the Pope beyond his own Province or Diocese doth not subsist upon any Canon of a General Synod.

5. He can therefore claim no such power otherwise than upon his invasion or assumption.

6. The Primates and Metropolitans of the Western Church cannot be supposed otherwise than by force, or out of fear, to have submitted to such an authority as he doth usurp.

7. It is not really a Patriarchal Power (like to that which was granted by the Canons and Princes) but another sort of power which the Pope doth exercise.

6. The most rightful Patriarch, holding false Doctrine, or imposing unjust Laws, or tyrannically abusing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a Patriarch is to be judged by a free Synod, if it may be had.

10. If such a Synod cannot be had by consent of Princes, each Church may free it self from the mischiefs induced by his perverse doctrine or practice.

11. No Ecclesiastical Power can interpose in the management of any affairs within the Territory of any Prince without his concession.

12. By the Laws of God, and according to ancient Practice, Princes may model the bounds of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, erect Bishopricks, enlarge, diminish, or transfer them as they please.

13. Wherefore each Prince (having Supreme Power in his own Dominions, and equal to what the Emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign Prelate from Jurisdiction in his Territories.

14. It is expedient for peace and publick Good that he should do thus.

15. Such Prelate, according to the rules of Christianity, ought to be content with his doing so.

16. Any Prelate, exercising Power in the Dominion of any Prince *eatenus*, his Subject; as the Popes and all Bishops were to the *Roman* Emperors.

17. Those joints of Ecclesiastical Discipline, established in the *Roman* Empire by the confirmation of Emperors, were (as to necessary continuance) dissolved by the dissolution of the *Roman* Empire.

18. The power of the Pope in the Territories of any Prince did subsist by his authority and favour.

19. By the same reason as Princes have curbed the exorbitancy of Papal power in some cases (of entertaining Legates, making appeals, disposing of Benefices, *&c.*) by the same they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Christianity doth not depend upon the subsistence of such a form instituted by man.

Having shewed at large that this Universal Sovereignty and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome* over the Christian Church hath no real Foundation either in Scripture or elsewhere, it will be requisite to shew by what ways and means so groundless a claim and pretence should gain belief and submission to it from so considerable a part of Christendom; and that from so very slender roots (from slight beginnings and the slimmest pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow, the vastest that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be less wonderful, if we do consider the many causes which did concur and contribute thereto; some whereof are proposed in the following Observations.

De pusillo crescere. P. Leo. Ep. 55.

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity,) doth easily pass into advantages of

real

real power and command over those who are inferior in those respects, and have any dealings or common transactions with such Superiors.

For to persons endowed with such eminency by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed; none presuming to stand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The same conduct of things, upon the same accounts, and by reason of their possession, doth continue fast in their hands, so long as they do retain such advantages.

Then from a custom of managing things doth spring up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to assume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire such things, and so are apt to defer extraordinary respect to the possessors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only instruments to attain, but incentives spurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours: for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be crossed by any. Pope *Leo* had no reason to wonder that *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* was not content with dry honour. Men are apt to think their honour is precarious and standeth on an uncertain foundation, if it be not supported with real power; and therefore they will not be satisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are so easily improvable by power, by inveigling some, and scaring or constraining others to bear their yoke: and they are able to benefit and gratify some, and thereby render them willing to submit, those afterwards become serviceable to bring others under, who are disaffected or refractary.

Quid illi fit nfaciet, si tantæ urbis magnificentia & claritudo non sufficit? Leo *Ep.* 55.

So the Bishops of *Constantinople* and of *Jerusalem*, at first had only privileges of honour; but afterward they soon hooked in power.

Now the *Roman* Bishops from the beginning were eminent above all other Bishops, in all kinds of advantages.

Euseb. 6. 43. (*Anno* 254.) *Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumspectè vestiti.* } Amm. Marc. *l.* 27. (*p.* 337.) *Anno* 367.

He was seated in the Imperial City, the place of general resort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name sounding in all mouths. He had a most numerous, opulent, splendid flock and Clergy. He had the greatest income (from liberal oblations) to dispose of. He lived in greatest state and lustre. He had opportunities to assist others in their business, and to relieve them in their wants. He necessarily thence did obtain great respect and veneration. Hence in all common affairs, the conduct and presidence were naturally devolved on him, without contest.

Euseb.

No wonder then, that after some time the Pope did arrive to some pitch of authority over poor Christians, especially those who lay nearest to him; improving his eminency into power, and his pastoral charge nto a kind of Empire; according to that observation of *Socrates*, that *long before his time the Roman Episcopacy had advanced it self beyond the Priesthood into a Potentacy.*

Τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπῆς πρὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. Socr. 7. 11.

Socr. 7. 7. And the like he observeth to have happen'd in the Church of *Alexandria*, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of such a pattern.

2. Any small power is apt to grow and spread it self; a spark of it soon will expand it self into a flame: it is very like to *the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Encroaching* (as *Plutarch* saith) *is an innate disease of Potentacies.* Whoever hath any pittance of it, will be improving his stock, having tasted

Matth. 13. 32.

Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα τῶν δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία. Plut. *in* Pyrrh.

tasted the sweetness of having his will which extremely gratifieth the nature of man) he will not be satisfied without having more; he will take himself to be straitned by any bounds; and will strive to free himself of all restraints.

Any pretence will serve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked. For Power is bold, enterprizing, restless: it always watcheth, or often findeth, *never passeth opportunities of dilating it self.* Every accession doth beget farther advantages to amplify it; as its stock groweth, so it with ease proportionably doth encrease; being ever out at use. As it groweth, so its strength to maintain and enlarge it self doth grow: it gaining more wealth, more friends, more associates and dependents.

Subrependi occasiones non prætermittit ambitio— P. Leo I. Ep 62.
Facilius crescit dignitas quàm incipit. Sen. Ep. 101.
Prima dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sit ingressus, adsunt studia & ministri. Tacit. *Ann.* 4. (*p.* 143.)

None can resist or obstruct its growth without danger and manifold disadvantages; for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, so its opposers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, disloyalty; and not succeeding in their resistence they will be undone.

None ever doth enterprize more than to stop its carriere; so that it seldom loseth by opposition; and it ever gaineth by composition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the Sea, at another season, in another point, break in. If it is sometimes overthrown in a Battle, it is seldom conquered in the War.

It is always on its march forward, and gaineth ground; for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alledged for a precedent to authorize or justify it. It seldom moveth backward; for every Successor thinketh he may justly enjoy what his Predecessor did gain, or which is transmitted into his possession; so that there hardly can ever be any restitution of ill-gotten-power.

Thus have many absolute Kingdoms grown; the first Chief was a Leader of Volunteers; from thence he grew to be a Prince with stated Privileges; after he became a Monarch invested with high Prerogatives; in fine, he creepeth forward to a *Grand Seigniour*, usurping absolute dominion; so did *Augustus Cæsar* first only assume the style of Prince of the Senate, demeaning himself modestly as such; but he soon drew to himself the administration of all things; and upon that foundation his Successors very suddenly did erect a boundless power. If you trace the footsteps of most Empires to the beginning you may perceive the like.

So the Pope, when he had got a little power, continually did swell it. The puny pretence of the succeeding Saint *Peter*, and the name of the *Apostolical See*; the precedence by reason of the Imperial City; the honorary privileges allowed him by Councils; the Authority deferred to him by one Synod of revising the Causes of Bishops; the countenance given to him in repressing some Heresies, he did improve to constitute himself Sovereign Lord of the Church.

3. Spiritual power especially is of a growing nature, and more especially that which deriveth from Divine Institution; for it hath a great awe upon the hearts and consciences of men; which engageth them to a firm and constant adherence. It useth the most subtile arms, which it hath always ready, which needeth no time or cost to furnish, which cannot be extorted from its hand; so that it can never be disarmed. And its weapons make strong impression, because it proposeth the most effectual encouragements to its abettors, and discouragements to its adversaries; alluring the one with promises of God's favour and eternal happiness, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven and endless

misery; the which do ever quell religious, superstitious, weak people; and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is presumed unchangeable and unextinguishable by any humane power, and thence is not (as all other power) subject to revolutions. Hence like *Achilles* it is hardly vincible, because almost immortal. If it be sometimes rebuffed or impaired; it soon will recover greater strength and vigour.

Dist. 21. *cap.* 2, 3. The Popes derive their Authority from Divine Institution; and their weapons always are sentences of Scripture; they pretend to dispense remission of sins; and promise heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curse and damn the opposers of their designs.

They pretend they never can lose any power that ever did belong to their See: they are always stiff, and they never recede or give back. *The privileges of the Roman Church can sustain no detriment.*

Privilegia Romanæ Ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum—— P. Nic. l. Ep. 36. (32——)

4. Power is easily attained and augmented upon occasion of dissensions. Each faction usually doth make it self a Head, the chief in strength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that Head it will strive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cause; and if the cause doth prosper he is rewarded with accession of Privileges and Authority: especially those who were oppressed, and find relief by his means, do become zealously active for his aggrandisement.

Thus usually in civil broils the Captain of the prevalent Party groweth a Prince, or is crowned with great Privileges (as *Cæsar*, *Octavian*, *Cromwell*, &c.)

So upon occasion of the *Arian* faction, and the oppression of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, *Paulus*, and other Bishops, the *Pope* (who by their application to him had occasion to head the Catholick Party did grow in power;) for thereupon the *Sardican* Synod did decree to him that Privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engin of rearing himself so high.

And by his interposal in the dissensions raised by the *Nestorians*, the *Pelagians*, the *Eutychians*, the *Acacians*, the *Monothelites*, the *Image-worshippers*, and *Image-breakers*, &c, his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in those causes to the prevailing Party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and sway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of persons sheltered under it, and by it enjoying subordinate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its encrease.

Such persons therefore will ever be inciting their Chief and Patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compass it, they will be very industriously, resolutely and steadily active; their own interest moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be busy in contriving ways to further his interests, their care and pains will be employed in accomplishing his designs; they with their utmost strength will contend in his defence against all oppositions.

Thus the *Roman* Clergy first, then the Bishops of *Italy*, then all the Clergy of the *West* became engaged to support, to fortifie, to enlarge the *Papal* authority; they all sharing with him in domination over the Laity; and injoying wealth, credit, support, privileges and immunities thereby. Some of them especially were ever putting him on higher pretences, and furthering him by all means in his acquist and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a Potentate himself should have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of it self grow, he need only be passive therein; the interest of his partisans would effect it; so that often

often power doth no less thrive under sluggish and weak Potentates, especially if they are void of goodness, than under the most active and able: Let the Ministers alone to drive on their interest.

7. Even persons otherwise just and good do seldom scruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at least to uphold the usurpations of their foregoers; for even such are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring censure and blame, if they should part with any thing left them by their Predecessors. They apprehend themselves to owe a dearness to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and prosperity, in promoting which they suppose themselves not to act for their own private interest; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their Office that they stickle and bustle; and that in so doing they imitate Saint *Paul* who did *magnify his office.* They are encouraged hereto by the applause of men, especially of those who are allied with them in interest, and who converse with them; who take it for a Maxime, *Boni Principis est ampliare imperium:* The extenders of Empire are admired and commended however they do it, although with cruel Wars, or by any unjust means.

Hence usually the worthiest men in the world's eye are greatest enlargers of power; and such men bringing appearances of vertue, ability, reputation to aid their endeavours, do most easily compass designs of this nature, finding less obstruction to their attempts; for men are not so apt to suspect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who discern their aims and consequences of things, are overborn by the number of those who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus *Julius* I. *Damasus* I. *Innocent* I. *Gregory* I. and the like Popes, whom History representeth as laudable persons, did yet confer to the advancement of Papal grandeur. But they who did most advance that interest, as Pope *Leo* I. *Gelasius* I. Pope *Nicholas* I. Pope *Gregory* VII. in the esteem of true zealots pass for the best Popes. Hence the distinction between a good Man, a good Prince, a good Pope. Sixtus V.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to express themselves highly in commendation of those who are in a superior rank, especially upon occasion of address and intercourse; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, and thence do sometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly said, that it *doth fondly serve fame, and is stonn'd with titles and images*; readily ascribing to Superiors whatever they claim, without scanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men out of abjectedness or fear are wont to crouch, and submit to any thing upon any terms. Wise men do not love brangling, nor will expose their quiet and safety without great reason; thence being inclinable to comply with greater persons. Bad men out of design to procure advantages or impunity are prone to flatter and gloze with them. Good men out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair usage from them, are ready to complement them, or treat them with the most respectful terms. Those who are obliged to them will not spare to extol them; paying the easy return of good words for good deeds.

——qui famæ servit ineptus,
Ac stupet in titulis & imaginibus ——
Hor.

Thus all men conspire to exalt power; the which snatcheth all good words as true, and construeth them to the most favourable sense; and alledgeth them as verdicts and arguments of unquestionable right. So are the complements or terms of respect used by *Hierom*, *Austin*, *Theodoret*, and divers others toward Popes, drawn into an Argument for Papal Au-

thority; whenas the actions of such Fathers, and their discourses upon other occasions do manifest their serious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences: wherefore the Emperor of *Constantinople* in the *Florentine* Synod had good reason to decline such sayings *for arguments, for *if* (saith he) *any of the Saints doth in an Epistle honour the Pope, shall he take that as importing privileges.*

* Κατὰ ῥητὰ τ ἁγίων.
Μήπως, φησί, τις τ ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τ πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλάβῃ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίων. *Syn.* Flor. *Sess.* 25. (*p.* 848.)

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable simplicity, meekness, modesty and humility, love of peace, and averseness from contention) are apt to yield to the encroachments of those who any-wise do excel them; and when such men do yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little interest to resist, and no heart to stand for publick good; but rather strike in presently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themselves. Hence so many of all sorts in all times did comply with Popes, or did not obstruct them; suffering them without great obstacle to raise their power.

10. If in such cases a few wise men do apprehend the consequences of things, yet they can do little to prevent them. They seldom have the courage with sufficient zeal to bustle against encroachments; fearing to be overborn by its stream, to lose their labour, and vainly to suffer by it: If they offer at resistence, it is usually faint and moderate: whereas power doth act vigorously, and push it self forward with mighty violence; so that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppose it.

Ità de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimùm quæstiones subornantur, sicut & de verborum in communionibus. Tertull. *de Resur. Carn.* 54.

Ambiguity of words (as it causeth many debates, so) yieldeth much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power: for whatever is said of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelesly used are by interpretation extended to signify great matters, or what you please. For instance,

The word *Bishop* may import any kind of superintendency or inspection; hence Saint *Peter* came to be reckoned Bishop of *Rome*, because in virtue of his Apostolical Office he had inspection over that Church founded by him, and might exercise some Episcopal acts.

Καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κεφαλὴ. *Can. Apost.* 34.

The word *Head* doth signify any kind of eminency, the word *Prince* any priority, the word to *preside* any kind of superiority or preeminence; hence some Fathers attributing those names to Saint *Peter*, they are interpreted to have thought him Sovereign in power over the Apostles. And because some did give like terms to the Pope, they infer his Superiority in power over all Bishops; notwithstanding such Fathers did express a contrary judgment.

The word *Successour* may import any derivation of power; hence because Saint *Peter* is said to have founded the Church of *Rome*, and to have ordain'd the first Bishop there, the Pope is called his Successor.

The word *Authority* doth often import any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any such advantage.) Hence because the Pope of old sometimes was desired to interpose his authority, they will understand him to have had right to command or judge in such cases; although authority is sometimes opposed to command, as where *Livy* saith, that *Evander did hold those places by authority rather than by command*; and *Tacitus* of the *German* Princes saith, *They are heard rather according to their authority of persuading, than power of commanding.*

Quia duobus Episcopis, quorum eâ tempestate summa authoritas erat, non illuserat——Sulp. Sev. 2. 63.
Because he had not deluded the two Bishops who had the greatest authority in those times.
Non Mediocris authoritatis Episcopus Carthag. Aug. *Ep.* 162.
The Bishop of Carthage was of no mean Authority.
——*audiuntur authoritate suadendi potiùs quàm jubendi potestate.* Tac. *de Mor. Ger.* (*p.* 640.).

commanding. The word Judge (saith *Canus*) *is frequently used to signify no more than I do think or conceive*; whereby he doth excuse divers Popes from having decreed a notable errour (for *Alexander* III. says of them, *that they judged that after a matrimony contracted, not consummated; another may be valid, that being dissolved.*) Yet if the Pope is said to have *judged* so or so in any case, it is alledged for a certain argument of proper *Jurisdiction.*

Evander —— ea authoritate magis quàm imperio retinebat loca. Liv. 1.
Verbum Judico *frequenter in ea significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio seu opinor.* Can. *loc.* 6. *cap.* 8. (*comp. lib.* 6. 1.)

11. There is a strange inchantment in words; which being (although with no great colour of reason) assumed, do work on the fancies of men, especially of the weaker sort. Of these power doth ever arrogate to it self such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending it self.

So divers prevalent Factions did assume to themselves the name of *Catholick*; and the *Roman* Church particularly hath appropriated that word to it self, even so as to commit a Bull, implying *Rome* and the Universe to be the same place; and the perpetual canting of this Term hath been one of its most effectual charms to weak people. *I am a Catholick*, that is, *an Universal, therefore all I hold is true*; this is their great argument.

The words *Successor of Peter*, *Apostolick See*, *Prima Sedes*, have been strongly urged for Arguments of Papal Authority; the which have beyond their true force (for indeed they signify nothing) had a strange efficacy upon men of understanding and wisdom.

12. The Pope's power was much amplified by the importunity of persons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon just accounts, or wrongfully and by faction; for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redress did often apply to him: for what will not men do, whither will not they go in straits?

——ut ad Domini mei tanti Pontificis & piissimi Patris, omnium ad se confugientium tutissimi defensoris ac protectoris, &c. Rothaldi *appell.* (*in P.* Nich. *I. Ep.* 37. *p.* 563.
—— my Lord so great a Pontiff, and most pious a Father, the safe defender and protector of all those that flee unto him for succour.

Thus did *Marcion* go to *Rome*, and sue for admission to communion there. So *Fortunatus* and *Felicissimus* in St. *Cyprian*, being condemned in *Africk* did fly to *Rome* for shelter, of which absurdity St. *Cyprian* doth so complain. So likewise *Martianus* and *Basilides*, in St. *Cyprian*, being outed of their Sees, for having lapsed from the Christian profession, did fly to *Stephen* for succour, to be restored. So *Maximus* (the Cynick) went to *Rome*, to get a confirmation of his election at *Constantinople*. So *Marcellus*, being rejected for Heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his Orthodoxy (of which St. *Basil* complaineth.) So *Apiarius*, being condemned in *Africk* for his crimes, did appeal to *Rome*.

Cyp. *Ep.* 68.
Ep. 55.

And on the other side, *Athanasius* being with great partiality condemned by the Synod of *Tyre*, *Paulus* and other Bishops being extruded from their Sees for Orthodoxy; St. *Chrysostom* being condemned, and expelled by *Theophilus* and his complices; *Flavianus* being deposed by *Dioscorus*, and the *Ephesine* Synod; *Theodoret* being condemned by the same, did cry out for help from *Rome*. *Chelidonius*, Bishop of *Resanon*, being deposed by *Hilarius* of *Arles*, (for crimes) did fly to Pope *Leo*. *Ignatius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, being extruded from his See by *Photius*, did complain to the Pope.

Calendion of *Antioch*, *Liber. cap.* 18. *P.* Leo, *Ep.* 89. Marc. 5. 32. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 38. (*p.* 564.) Rothaldus.

13. All Princes are forward to heap honour on the Bishop of their Imperial City; it seeming a disgrace to themselves, that so near a relation be an inferior to any other: who is as it were their Spiritual Pastor, who is usually by their special favour advanced. The City it self and the Court will be restless in assisting him to climb.

Thus

Thus did the Bishop of *Constantinople* arise to that high pitch of honour, and to be Second Patriarch; who at first was a mean Suffragan to the Bishop of *Heraclea*; this by the Synods of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* is assigned for the reason of his advancement. And how ready the Emperors were to promote the dignity of that Bishop, we see by many of their Edicts to that purpose; as particularly that of *Leo*.

Cod. Lib. 1. tit. 2. cap. 16.

So, for the honour of their City, the Emperors usually did favour the Pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, and extending his Privileges by their Edicts at home, and Letters to the Eastern Emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the Synod of *Chalcedon* we have the Letters of *Valentinian*, together with those of *Placidia* and of *Eudoxia* the Empresses to *Theodosius*, in behalf of Pope *Leo*, for retractation of the *Ephesine* Synod; wherein they do express themselves engaged to maintain the honour of the *Roman* See; *Seeing that* (saith *Placidia*, Mother of *Theodosius*) *it becometh us in all Things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief City, which is the Mistress of all others.*

Ὁπότε περὶ ἡμᾶς ταύτην τὴν μητέρα πόλιν, ἥτις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν χωρῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας προφυλάξαι. *Syn.* Chalc. (*p.* 27.)

So Pope *Nicholas* confesseth, that the Emperors had *extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits* (or benefices,) *&c.*

Qualiter (Imperatores) eam diversis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c. P. Nic. I. *Ep.* 8. (*p.* 513.)

——— *Romanus tempore prisco*
Pauper erat Præsul, Regali munere crevit, &c.
Gunth. Lig. *lib.* 6.

14. The Popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to the Court, and thereby to procure his Edicts (directed or dictated by themselves) in their favour, for extending their power, or repressing any opposition made to their encroachments.

Baronius observeth that the Bishops of *Constantinople* did use this advantage for their ends; for thus he reflecteth on the Edict of the Emperor *Leo* in favour of that See: *These things Leo, but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride.*

Hæc Leo, sed Acacii fastu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, & stylo superbiæ exarata. Baron. *Ann.* 473 §. 4.

And no less unquestionably did the Popes conceive words for the Emperor in countenance of their Authority.

Apud Marc. 5. 32.

Such was the Edict of *Valentinian* in favour of *Leo* against *Hilarius* Bishop of *Arles*,* (in an unjust cause as *Binius* confesseth) who contested his Authority to undo what was done in a *Gallicane* Synod. And we may thank *Baronius* himself for this Observation, *By this, Reader, thou understandest, that when the Emperours ordained Laws concerning Religion, they did it by transcribing and enacting the Laws of the Church upon the admonition of the Holy Bishops requiring them to do their duty.* It was a notable Edict, which Pope *Hilarius* alledgeth, *It was also decreed by the Laws of Christian Princes, that whatsoever the Bishop of the Apostolick See should upon examination pronounce concerning Churches and their Governours,* &c. *should with reverence be received and strictly observed,* &c.

* Bin. *ad* P. Hill. *Ep.* 11. (*p.* 576.)

Ex his intelligis, Lector, cùm de rebus sacris Imperatores leges sanxivere, id ipsum admonitione SS. Præsulum requirentium eorum officium ex scriptis legibus statuisse. Baron. *An.* 458. §. 4.

Christianorum quoque Principum lege decretum est, &c. P. Hilarius, *Ep.* 11. (*p.* 576)

Such Edicts by crafty suggestions being at opportunes time from easy and unwary Princes procured, did hold, not being easily reversed: and the Power which the Pope once had obtained by them, he would

would never part with; fortifying it by higher pretences of Divine immutable right. P. Nich. I. Ep. 36.

The Emperor *Gratian*, having gotten the World under him, did order the Churches to those who would communicate with Pope *Damasus*. This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the *Roman* See. Theod. 5. 2.

15. It is therefore no wonder, that Popes being seated in the *Metropolis* of the Western Empire (the head of all the *Roman* State) should find interest sufficient to make themselves by degrees what they would be; for they not only surpassing the Provincial Bishops in wealth and repute, but having power in Court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withstand their encroachments? What wise man would not rather bear much, than contest upon such disadvantages, and without probable grounds of success?

16. Princes who favoured them with such concessions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foresee what such increase of power in time would arise to; or suspect the prejudice thence done to Imperial Authority. They little thought that in virtue thereof Popes would check, and mate Princes; or would claim superiority over them; for the Popes at that time did behave and express themselves with modesty and respect to Emperors.

17. Power once rooted doth find seasons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confusions of things, the eruptions of Barbarians, the straits of Emperors, the contentions of Princes, *&c.* did all turn to account for him; and in confusion of things he did snatch what he could to himself.

The declination and infirmity of the *Roman* Empire gave him opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by closing with it, so as to gain somewhat by its concession; or by opposing it, so as to head a Faction against it. As he often had opportunity to promote the designs of Emperors and Princes, so those did return to him encrease of Authority; so they trucked and bartered together. For when Princes were in straits, or did need assistence (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their designs, or support of their interest in *Italy*, they were content to honour him, and grant what he desired: as in the case of *Acacius*, which had caused so long a Breach, the Emperor to engage Pope *Hormisdas*, did consent to his will. And at the *Florentine* Synod, the Emperor did bow to the Pope's terms, in hopes to get his assistence against the Turks.

When the *Eastern* Emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of *Italy*, he snatched a good part of it to himself, and set up for a Temporal Prince.

Δρυὸς πεσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλίζεται——
When the Oak is fallen every one gets some wood.

When Princes did clash, he by yielding countenance to one side, would be sure to make a good market for himself: for this pretended Successor to the Fisherman, was really skilled to angle in troubled Waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Christendom, the kindlers and fomenters of War. And would often stir up Wars, and inclining to the stronger part, would share with the Conqueror; as when he stirr'd up Anast. *in Vit.* Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25. 30. *&c.*

Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum Pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atq; nutrirent. Modruviensis *Episc. in Conc.* Lat. *sub* Leone *X. Sess.* 6. (*p.* 72.)

up *Charles* against the *Lombards*. They would, upon spiritual pretence, be interposing in all affairs.

He did oblige Princes by abetting their Cause when it was unjust or weak; his spiritual Authority satisfying their Conscience: whence he was sure to receive good acknowledgment and recompence. As
An. 752. when he did allow *Pepin*'s usurpation.

He pretended to dispose of Kingdoms, and to constitute Princes;
An. 1060. reserving obeisance to himself. *Gregory* VII. granted to *Robert Guiscard*
An. 1139. *Naples* and *Sicily beneficiario jure*. *Innocent* II. gave to *Roger* the title of King.

There is scarce any Kingdom in *Europe* which he hath not claimed the Sovereignty of, by some pretence or other. Princes sometime for quiet sake have desired the Pope's consent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themselves, whence the Pope took advantage to claim an original right of disposing such things.

The proceeding of the Pope upon occasion of Wars is remarkable; when he did enter League with a Prince to side with him in a War against another, he did covenant to prosecute the Enemy with Spiritual Arms (that is, with Excommunications and Interdicts) engaging his Confederates to use Temporal Arms. So making Ecclesiastical Censures tools of Interest.

When Princes were in difficulties, (by the mutinous disposition of Princes, the emulation of Antagonists) he would, as served his interest interpose; hooking in some advantage to himself.

In the tumults against our King *John*, he struck in, and would have drawn the Kingdom to himself.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with Princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his Spiritual Power: as about the point of the investiture of Bishops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate *Henry* III. (*Anno* 1076.)
Calixtus II. —— *Henry* IV. (*Anno* 1120.)
Adrian IV. —— *Frederick*, (*Anno* 1160.)
Celestinus III. —— *Henry* V. (*Anno* 1195.)
Innocent III. —— *Otho* (*Anno* 1219.)
Honorius III. and *Gregory* IX. — *Frederick* II. (*Anno* 1220.)
Innocent IV. in the *Ludg.* Conc. 1245.)

18. The ignorance of times did him great service; for then all the little Learning which was, being in his Clients and Factors, they could instill what they pleased into the credulous People. Then his Dictates would pass for infallible Oracles, and his Decrees for inviolable Laws: whence his veneration was exceedingly encreased.

Anselme *Anno* 1109. Eadmer.
Becket *Anno* 1154. Matt. Par.

19. He was forward to support factious Church-men against Princes, upon pretence of spiritual Interest and Liberty. And usually by his importunity and arts getting the better in such contests, he thereby did much strengthen his Authority.

20. He

20. He maketh himself the head of all the Clergy, and carrying himself as its Protector and Patron, did ingage thereby innumerable most able Heads, Tongues and Pens; who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little else to do.

21. So great a party he cherished with exorbitant Liberties, suffering none to rule over them or touch them beside himself.

22. He did found divers *Militias* and bands of spiritual *Janisaries*, to be Combatants for his Interests; who depending immediately upon him, subsisting by his Charters, enjoying exemptions by his Authority from other Jurisdictions, being sworn to a special obeisance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his Interests, and to maintain all the pretences of their Patron and Benefactor.

These had great sway among the People, upon account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of sanctimony, austerity, contempt of the World. And learning being mostly confined to them, they were the chief Teachers and Guides of Christendom; so that no wonder, if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his Power as superiour to all others. They did attribute to him titles strangely high, *Vice-god*, *Spouse of the Church*, *&c.* strange attributes of *Omnipotency*, *Infallibility*, *&c.*

23. Whereas Wealth is a great sinew of Power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great store thereof to himself. *Pro pallio omninò aliquid dare prohibeo.* Greg. I. Ep. 4. 44.

By how may tricks did he proll Money from all parts of Christendom? as by

Dispensations for Marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times,---for Vows and Oaths; for observance of Fasts and Abstinences; for Pluralities and incompatible Benefices, Non-residences, *&c.*

Indulgences, and Pardons, and freeing Souls from the pains of Purgatory. *Vendit plumbum pro auro*

Reservations, and Provisions of Benefices, not bestowed *gratis.* *Taxa Camerariæ*

Consecrated Presents; *Agnus Dei*'s, *Swords*, *Roses*, *&c.*

Confirmations of Bishops; * sending Palls.

* In the times of *Henry* I. the Bishop of *York* did pay 10000 l. *Sterling* for his Pall. *Matt. Par.* (p. 274.)

Appeals to his Court.

Tributes of *Peter-pence*, *Annates*, *Tithes*,---- introduced upon occasion of Holy Wars, and continued. Peter-pence. Plat. p. 257.

Playing fast and loose, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending Legates to drein places of Money.

Commutations of Penance for Money.

Inviting to Pilgrimage at *Rome.*

Hooking in Legacies. What a mass of Treasure did all this come to? what a Trade did he drive? *Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Christi?*

24. He did indeed easily by the help of his mercenary Divines transform most Points of Divinity in accommodation to his interests of Power, Reputation and Gain.

25. Any pretence, how slender soever, will in time get some validity; being fortified by the consent of divers Authors, and a current of sutable practice.

Any story serving the designs of a Party, will get credit by being often told, especially by Writers bearing a semblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flourishing Party.

26. The Histories of some Ages were composed only by the Popes Clients, *Friars* and *Monks*, and such People; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his Interests, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to question any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called *Heretick*, and treated as such.

27. Whereas the Pope had two sorts of Opposites to subdue, temporal *Princes* and *Bishops*; his business being to o'ertop *Princes*, and to enslave all *Bishops*; or to invade and usurp the rights of both; he used the help of each to compass his designs on the other; by the Authority of *Princes* oppressing *Bishops*, and by the assistance of *Bishops* mating *Princes*.

Quando & Apostolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non observatur, & à te spernitur & violatur. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 37.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did incessantly clamour or whine, that *Saint Peter was injured.*

29. The forgery of the *Decretal Epistles* (wherein the ancient Popes are made expresly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpose; authorising his Encroachments by the suffrage of ancient Doctrine and Practice: a great part of his *Canon-law* is extracted out of these, and grounded on them.

The Donation of *Constantine*, fictitious Acts of Councils, and the like counterfeit stuff did help thereto; the which were soon embraced, as we see in Pope *Gregory* II. ——

Ἀπάτη τῆς ἀδικίας 2 Thess. 2. 10. Twisd. *p.* 17.

As also *Legends*, Fables of Miracles, and all such *deceivableness of unrighteousness.*

Non necessitatis, sed honoris causâ peto. Extortis assentationibus. P. Leo *Epist.* (*ad Syn.* Chalc)

30. Popes were so cunning as to form Grants, and impute that to Privileges derived from them, which Princes did enjoy by right or custom.

31. Synods of Bishops called by him at opportune seasons, consisting of his Votaries or Slaves. None dared therein to whisper any thing to the prejudice of his Authority. He carried whatever he pleased to propose, without check or contradiction. Who dared to question any thing done by such numbers of Pastors styling themselves the *Representative of Christendom.*

32. The having hampered all the Clergy with strict Oaths of universal obedience to him (beginning about the times of Pope *Gregory* VII.) did greatly assure his Power.

33. When intolerable Oppressions and Exactions did constrain Princes to struggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to composition; whereby he was to be sure for that time a gainer, and gained establishment in some Points, leaving the rest to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witness the *Concordates* between { *Henry* II. and P. *Alex.* III. *Anno* 1172. / *Edw.* III. and P. *Greg.* XI. *Anno* 1373. / *Henry* V. and P. *Mart.* V. *Anno* 1418.

34. When Princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by *Pragmatical Sanctions*, they were restless till they had got those Sanctions revoked. And when they found weak Princes, or any Prince in circumstances advantaging their design, they did obtain their end. So Pope *Leo* X. got *Lewis* XI. to repeal the *Pragmatical Sanctions* of his Ancestors.

35. The Power he did assume to absolve Men from Oaths and Vows, to dispence with prohibited Marriages, *&c.* did not only bring much grist to his Mill; but did enable him highly to oblige divers persons (especially great ones) to himself. For to him they owed the quiet of their Conscience from scruples. To him they owed the satisfaction of their desires, and legitimation of their issue, and title to their Possessions.

36. So the device of Indulgences did greatly raise the veneration of him; for who would not adore him, that could loose bands, and free his Soul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPO-

SUPPOSITION VI.

The next *Supposition* is this, *That in Fact the* Roman *Bishops continually from Saint* Peter's *time have enjoyed and exercised this Sovereign Power.*

THIS is a Question of Fact which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several Branches of Sovereign Power; that so we may examine the more distinctly whether in all Ages the Popes have enjoyed and exercised them, or not.

And if we survey the particular Branches of Sovereignty, we shall find that the Pope hath no just title to them, in reason, by valid Law, or according to ancient Practice, whence each of them doth yield a good argument against his pretences.

I. If the Pope were Sovereign of the Church, he would have power to convocate its supreme Councils and Judicatories; and would constantly have exercised it.

This power therefore the Pope doth claim; and indeed did pretend to it a long time since, before they could obtain to exercise it: *It is manifestly apparent* (saith Pope *Leo* X. with approbation of his *Lateran* Synod) *that the Roman Bishop for the time being (as who hath authority over all Councils) hath alone the full right and power of indicting, translating and dissolving Councils:* and long before him, *To the Apostolical authority* (said Pope *Adrian* I.) *by our Lord's command, and by the merits of Saint* Peter, *and by the decrees of the Holy Cannons and of the venerable Fathers, a right and special power of convocating Synods hath many-wise been committed*; and yet before him, *The authority* (saith Pope *Pelagius* II.) *of convocating Synods hath been delivered to the Apostolical See by the singular privilege of Saint* Peter.

Distinct. 17.
Cùm etiam solum Rom. Pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia Concilia habentem, Conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum jus & potestatem habere——manifestè constet. Con. Later. *Sess.* 11. (*p.* 152.) *Ann.*
——Cui jussione Domini, & meritis B. Petri Apostoli, singularis congregandarum Synodorum authoritas, & Sanctorum Canonum ac Venerandorum Patrum decretis multipliciter privata, tradita est potestas. P. Hadrian *I. apud* Bin. *Tom.* 5. *p.* 565. (*Anno* 785.)
*Cùm generalium Synodorum convocandi auctoritas Apostolicæ Sedi B. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita——*P. Pelag. *II. Epist.* 8. (Bin. *Tom.* 4. *p* 476.) *Anno* 587. *qu An hæc Epistola sit* Pelagii *II.* *Negat* Launoius.

But it is manifest, that the Pope cannot pretend to this power by vertue of any old Ecclesiastical Canon; none such being extant or produced by him: Nor can he alledge any ancient Custom; there having been no General Synod before *Constantine:* and as to the practice from that time, it is very clear, that for some Ages the Popes did not assume or exercise such a power, and that it was not taken for their due. Nothing can be more evident and it were extreme impudence to deny that the Emperors at their pleasure, and by their authority did congregate all the first General Synods; for so the oldest Historians in most expres terms do report, so those Princes in their Edicts did aver, so the Synods themselves did declare. The most just and pious Emperors, who did bear greatest love to the Clergy, and had much respect for the Pope, did call them without scruple; it was deemed their right to do it, none did remonstrate against their practice, the Fathers in each Synod did refer thereto, with allowance, and commonly with applause; Popes themselves did not contest their right, yea commonly did petition them to exercise it.

These things are so clear and so obvious, that it is almost vain to prove them; I shall therefore but touch them.

In general *Socrates* doth thus attest to the ancient practice; *We* (saith he) *do continually include the Emperors in our History, because upon them, ever since they became Christians, Ecclesiastical affairs have depended, and the greatest Synods have been and are made by their appointment:* and *Justinian* in his prefatory type to the Fifth General Council beginneth thus: *It hath been ever the care of Pious and Orthodox Emperors by the assembling of the most religious Bishops to cut off Heresies, as they did spring up, and by the right faith sincerely preach'd, to keep the Holy Church of God in peace:* and to do this was so proper to the Emperours: that when *Ruffin* did affirm St. *Hilary* to have been excommunicated in a Synod, St. *Hierome* to confute him, did ask; *tell me, What Emperor did command this Synod to be congregated*; implying it to be illegal or impossible that a Synod should be congregated without the Imperial command.

Σωεργῶς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ ἱστορίᾳ προσλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' ὧν Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτηται ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται. Socr. 5. *proœm.*

Semper studium fuit Orthodoxis, & piis imperatoribus, pro tempore exortas Hæreses per congregationem religiosissimorum Episcoporum amputare, & recta fide sincerè prædicata, in pace Sanctam Dei Ecclesiam custodire —— Justin. *in Syn. 5. Collat. 1. (p. 209) Græce p. 368. magis Emphaticè.*

Dixe——quis Imperator hanc Synodum jusserit congregari. Hier.

Particularly *Eusebius* saith of the first Christian Emperor, that *as a common Bishop appointed by God he did summon Synods of God's Ministers*; so did he *command a great number of Bishops to meet at Arles*, (for decision of the *Donatists* cause;) so did he also *command* the Bishops from all quarters to meet at *Tyre* for examination of the affairs concerning *Athanasius*; and that he did convocate the great Synod of *Nice* (the first and most renowned of all General Synods) all the Historians do agree, he did himself affirm, the Fathers thereof in their Synodical remonstrances did avow; as we shall hereafter, in remarking on the passages of that Synod shew.

Οἷά τις κοινὸς Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθιερωμένος συνόδους τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει. Euseb *de Vit* Const. *l.* 44

Πλείστους δὲ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων Ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν. Euseb. *Hist.* 10. 5. *Ep. ad* Chrestum. *Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi Imperatoris voluntate adducti*, say the Fathers in their Epistle to P. *Sylvester* himself.

Vid. Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. *lib.* 4. *cap.* 41, 42, 43. & Socr. 1. 28.

The same course did his Son *Constantius* follow, without impediment; for although he was a favourer of the *Arian* Party, yet did the *Catholick* Bishops readily at his call assemble in the great Synods of * *Sardica*, of † *Ariminum*, of ‖ *Seleucia*, of * *Sirmium*, of † *Milan*, *&c.* Which he out of a great zeal to compose dissensions among the Bishops did convocate.

*Πρόσταξεν εἰς Σαρδικὴν συνδρομὴν Ἐπισκόπους. Theod 2 4. Soz. 3 11. Socr. 2. 16, 20. Athan. *Tom. 1. p. 761. Hil. *in fragm. p. Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam Episcopos congregari.* Sulp 2. 52. † Ἐκ προστάξεως, καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας πρόσταγμα, *&c. Syn.* Arim. *Ep ad* Const Socr. 2. 37. ‖ Socr. 2. 39 ἦν—γνώσθαι τὸ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε πρόσταγμα. *Ann.* 381. * Ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον Ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γνώσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Socr 2. 99. Soz. 4. 6. † Πρόσταγμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πολλὰ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. Socr. 1. 36. Soz. 4. 9.*

After him the Emperor *Valentinian*, understanding of dissensions about divine matters to compose them, did indict a Synod in *Illyricum*.

Ἐν ᾧ τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ σύνοδον γνώσεως προστάξε. Theod. 4. 7.

A while after, for settlement of the Christian State (which had been greatly disturbed by the Persecution of *Julian* and of *Valens*, and by divers Factions.) *Theodosius* I. did *command* (saith *Theodoret*) *the Bishops of his Empire to be assembled together at Constantinople*; the which meeting accordingly did make the Second General Synod; in the congregation of which the Pope had so little to do, that *Baronius* saith, it was celebrated against his will.

Σύνοδον ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκρότησε. Soz. 7. 7. Socr. 5. 8.

Μόνης τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς Ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροισθῆναι προστάξεν. Theod. 5. 7.

Repugnante Damaso celebrata, &c. Baron. *Anno* 553. § 224.

Afterwards, when *Nestorius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, affecting to seem wiser than others in explaining the mystery of Christ's Incarnation, had raised a jangle to the disturbance of the Church. For removing it, the Emperor *Theodosius* II. did *by his edict command the Bishops to meet at Ephesus*; who there did celebrate the Third General Council: in the beginning

Πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνιέναι ἐκέλευσεν. Socr 7. 34. Evagr. 1. 3.

ning of each *Action* it is affirm'd, that the Synod was *convocated by the Imperial degree*; the Synod it self doth often profess it; the Pope's own Legate doth acknowledge it; and so doth *Cyril* the President thereof.

Ἐκ διατάγματος τ βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.

Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἣν χάριτι Θεοῦ χ τὸ διάταγμα τ ἐυσεβεστάτων κ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα. *Syn.* Eph. *Act.* 1. *p.* 291.

The holy Synod assembled by the grace of God, according to the Decree of our most Religious Emperors, &c.

—— ἣν χάριτι Θεοῦ κ πνεύματι τὰ ὑμέτερα κράτη συναχθῆσα. *p.* 297.

Τὰ προσεταχθέντα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρὰ τ ὑμετέρων κρατῶν, &c. *Act.* 5. *p.* 347.

Τοῖς ἀθροισθεῖσι χ τὸ πρόσταγμα τ βασιλέων. *p.* 404.

Ἥνινα σύνοδον οἱ χριστιανικώτατοι κ φιλαθεμ πόταλοι βασιλεῖς ὥρισαν.

Which Synod our most Christian and gracious Emperors appointed, saith *Philip*, the Pope's Legate. *Act.* 3. *p.* 330.

Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ χ Θεοῦ χάριν κ διατάγματι τ θεοφιλεστάτων κ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων συναχθείσῃ——

To the holy Synod assembled by the grace of God, and the command of our Emperors, &c. So do *Cyril* and *Memnon* inscribe in there Epistle. *Act* 4. *p.* 337.

The same Emperor, upon occasion of *Eutyches* being condemned at *Constantinople*, and the stirs thence arising, did indict the Second General Synod of *Ephesus*, (which proved abortive by the miscarriages of *Dioscorus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*) as appeareth by his Imperial Letters to *Dioscorus*, and the other Bishops, summoning them to that Synod: ---*We have decreed that the most holy Bishops meeting together*, &c. *After the same manner the other most reverend Bishops were written to, to come to the Synod.* And as Pope *Leo* doth confess; calling it *the Council of Bishops which you* (Theodosius) *commanded to be held at Ephesus.*

Ἐδιατάξαμεν χ ταῦτα συνελθόντων ὁσιοτάτων, &c.

Τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ ἐγράφη κ πρὸς ἄλλους ἐυλαβεστάτους Ἐπισκόπους ὥστε παραγενέσθαι εἰς τ σύνοδον. *Syn.* Chalc. *pars* 1. *p.* 53.

Episcopale consilium, quod haberi apud Ephesum præcepistis.. P. Leo. *I. Ep.* 25. (& 24.) *ad* Theod.

The next General Synod of *Chalcedon* was convocated by the authority of the Emperor *Marcian*; as is expressed in the beginning of each *Action*, as the Emperor declareth, as the Synod it self in the front of its definion doth avow; *the holy, great and Oecumenical Synod gather'd together by the grace of God and the command of our most dread Emperors*, &c. *has determin'd as follows.*

Ann. 451.

Κατὰ θεῖον διάταγμα συναθροισθεῖσα.

Τῶν ἁγίων ὑμῶν ἠθροίσαμεν σύνοδον. (*Act.* 6. *p.* 345.)

Ἡ ἁγία κ μεγάλη κ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἣν χ Θεοῦ χάριν, κ διάταγμα τ θεοφιλεστάτων κ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχθεῖσα —— ὥρισε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα. *Act.* 6. 346.

The Fifth General Synod was also congregated by the authority of *Justinian* I. and the Emperor's Letter authorizing it, beginning (as we saw before) with an assertion (backed with a particular enumeration) that all former great Synods were called by the same power: the Fathers themselves do say, that they had *come together according to the will of God, and the command of the most pious Emperor.* So little had the Pope to do in it, that, as *Baronius* himself telleth us, it was congregated *against his will, or with his resistance.*

Ann. 533. *Act. p.* 368. *Gr. p.* 309. *Lat.*

Pro Dei voluntate, & jussione piissimi Imperatoris ad hanc urbem convenimus; Collat. 8.

Ut quæ resistente Romano Pontifice fuerit congregata. Baron *Ann.* 553. §. 219.

The Sixth General Synod at *Constantinople* was also indicted by the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatas*; as doth appear by his Letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each *Action*, as the Synod doth acknowledge, as Pope *Leo* II. (in whose time it was concluded) doth affirm. The Synod in its definition, as also in its Epistle to Pope *Agatho* doth inscribe it self *The Holy and Oecumenical Synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the altogether religious Sanction of the most pious, and most faithful great Emperor* Constantine; and, in their definition they say, *By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our most gracious Emperor through the divine Wisdom being guided, as a defender of the true Faith, and an enemy to the false, having gather'd us together in this holy and Oecumenical Synod, has united the whole frame of the Church*, &c. In its acclia-

Ἡ ἁγία κ μεγάλη, κ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἣν χ Θεοῦ χάριν κ παλαιστὴς διάταγμα τὸ ἐυσεβέστατε κ πιστότατε μεγάλε βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνε συναχθεῖσα. *Act.* 18. *p.* 255. & *p.* 285. (*in Epist. ad P.* Agath.)

Ταύτῃ τῇ θεολέκτῳ τ εἰρήνης διδασκαλίᾳ θεοσόφως ὁ πανάριστος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὁδηγούμενος, ὁ τ μὲ ὀρθοδοξίας ὑπέρμαχος, τ δ κακοδοξίας ἀντίμαχος, τ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν ταύτην κ οἰκουμενικὴν ἀθροίσας ὁ μήνυσιν, τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἅπαν ἥνωσε σύγκριμα. *Act.* 18. *p.* 256. *in definitione Synodica.*

matory

Καὶ γὸ ἐπέγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἔκτη σύνοδος, ἧτις χάριν Θεοῦ ἐκλεγεῖσα, τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἐναρχομένη τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντίνου πόλει ——— P. Leo II. *in Ep ad* Con. *Imp. p.* 305.

matory Oration to the Emperour it saith; ταῖς θειοτάταις ὑμῶν προστάξεσιν ἑπομένες ὅ τε τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀρχιερατικώτατος πρόεδρος καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλάχιστοι, &c. *Act.* 18. *p.* 271. *We all acquiescing in your most sacred commands; both the most holy President of (Rome) the most Ancient and Apostolical City, and we the least,* &c.

These are all the great Synods, which Posterity with clear consent did admit as General; for the next two have been disclaimed by great Churches (the Seventh by most of the *Western* Churches, the Eighth by the *Eastern*) so that even † divers Popes after them did not reckon them for General Councils; and all the rest have been only Assembles of *Western* Bishops, celebrated after the breach between the *Oriental* and *Occidental* Churches.

† P. John VIII. Ep. 247. P. Nic I. Ep. 7, 8, 10. P. Hadr II. Ep. 26.

Yet even that Second Synod of *Nice*, which is called the Seventh Synod, doth avow it self to have *convened by the Emperours command*; and in the front of each *Action*, as also of the Synodical definition, the same style is retained.

Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' ἐν θείαν Θεῷ, προστάξει τε τῆ φιλοχείσε ὑμῶν βασιλείας συνελθοῦσα. *Act.* 7. *p.* 831. *Act.* 1. *p.* 519. *Act.* 2. *p.* 551. *Act.* 3 *p.* 586 *Act.* 4. *p.* 609. *Act.* 5. *p.* 696. *Act* 6. *p.* 722. *Act.* 7. *p.* 812. *Defin. Synod. Act.* 7. *p.* 817.

Hitherto it is evident, that all General Synods were convocated by the Imperial Authority; and about this matter divers things are observable.

It is observable in how peremptory a manner the Emperours did require the Bishops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. *Constantine* in his Letter inditing the Synod of *Tyre* hath these words; *If any one presuming to violate our command and sense*, &c.

Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. 4. 42. (*Vid. in* 5. *p.* 30.).

Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὃ τοῦτον πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι φροντίδα ἀπολειπόνεσθαι ἑνὸς φρονήσεως ἀνεξόμεθα· ἑστίαν τε ἕξει πρὸς θεὸν, ἑστὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ὃ μὴ προσχρῆμα χρὴ τὸ προειρημένον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸ ἀφορισθέντα τόπον ἀπαθῶς παραγινόμενον. Theod. *Jun. Ep. ad* Cyril. *Conc.* Eph. *pars* 1. *p.* 26.

Theodosius II. summoneth the Bishops to the *Ephesine* Synod in these terms; *We taking a great deal of care about these things will not suffer any one if he be absent to go unpunish'd; nor shall he find excuse either with God or us, who presently without delay does not by the time set, appear in the place appointed.*

In like terms did he call them to the Second *Ephesine* Synod, *If any one shall chuse to neglect meeting in a Synod so necessary and grateful to God, and by the set time do not withal diligence appear in the place appointed, he shall find no excuse*, &c.

Εἰ δέ τις τὸν ὅσον ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλην παρελθεῖν ἔλοιτο σύνοδον, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει χρὴ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα καταλάβοι τόπον, ἑστίαν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν Theod. *in Ep. ad* Dios. *in Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

Marcian thus indicteth the Synod of *Nice* (after by him translated to *Chalcedon*) *It properly seemeth good to our clemency that an holy Synod meet in the City of* Nice, *in the Province of* Bithynia.

Τοῦτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤρεσεν ἡμερότητι, ἵνα ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαέων πόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συλλεγῇ. *In Epist. ad Episc. Syn.* Chalc. *pars* 1. *p.* 34

Again we may observe, that in the Imperial Edicts or Epistles whereby Councils effectually were convened, there is nothing signified concerning the Pope's having any authority to call them; it is not as by licence from the Pope's Holiness, but in their own Name and Authority they Act: which were very strange if the Popes had any plea then commonly approved for such a power.

* Κύριλλος ——— εἰκότως ἐδέησε πυθέσθαι τὸ νέον Θεοδοσίου τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἑῴας διέποντος τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτῳ σύνοδον ἀλλαχῆναι. Evagr. 1. 3.

As commonly Emperors did call Synods by the suggestion of other Bishops *, so again, there be divers Instances of Popes applying themselves to the Emperors with petitions to indict Synods; wherein sometimes they prevailed, sometimes they were disappointed: so Pope *Liberius* did request of *Constantius* to indict a Synod for deciding the Cause of *Athanasius*: *Ecclesiastical judgment* (said

(said he, as *Theodoret* reports) *should be made with great equity; wherefore if it please your Piety, command a Judicatory to be constituted*; and in his Epistle to *Hosius*, produced by *Baronius*, he saith, *Many Bishops out of Italy met together, who together with me had beseecht the most Religious Emperor, that he would command, as he had thought fit, the Council of Aquileia to meet.*

Διόπερ εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ κριτήριον συσταθῆναι κέλευσον. Theod. 2. 16.

Multi ex Italia Episcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religiosissimum Imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet sicut ipsi placuerat, dudum concilium Aquileiense congregari. Baron. *Ann.* 353 § 19.

So Pope *Damasus*, having a desire that a General Synod should be celebrated in *Italy* for repressing Heresies and Factions then in the Church did obtain the Imperial Letters for that purpose directed to the *Eastern* Bishops, as they in their Epistle to the *Western* Bishops do intimate: *But because expressing a brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us as your own Members by the most pious Emperor's Letters to that Synod which by the will of God ye are gathering at Rome.*

Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τὴν ἀδελφικὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, σύνοδον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Θεοῦ βουλήσει συγκροτοῦντες. καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη προσεκαλέσασθε, διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων. Theod. 5. 9.

It is a wonder that *Bellarmine* should have the confidence to alledge this passage for himself. Bell *de Pont. R.* 2. 13.

So again Pope *Innocent* I. being desirous to restore St. *Chrysostom*, *did* (as *Sozomen* telleth us) *send five Bishops and two Priests of the Roman Church to Honorius and to Arcadius the Emperor, requesting a Synod, with the time and the place thereof*; in which attempt he suffered a repulse; for the Courtiers of *Arcadius* did repel those Agents, *as troubling another Government, which was beyond their bounds*, or wherein the Pope had nothing to do, that they knew of.

Πέπομφεν Ἐπισκόπους πέντε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ὁνώριον, καὶ Ἀρκάδιον τὸν βασιλέα, σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, καὶ καιρὸν ταύτης καὶ τόπον. Soz. 8. 28.

Ὡς ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας. *Ibid.*

So also Pope *Leo* I. (whom no Pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the Privileges and advance the Eminence of his See) did in these terms request *Theodosius* to indict a Synod; *whence if your piety shall vouchsafe consent to our suggestion and supplication, that you would command an Episcopal Council to be held in Italy; soon, God aiding, may all scandals be cut off*: upon this occasion the Emperor did appoint a Council (not in *Italy* according to the Popes desire, but) at *Ephesus*; the which not succeeding well, Pope *Leo* again did address to *Theodosius* in these words, *All the Churches of our parts, all Bishops with groans and tears do supplicate your Grace, that you would command a General Synod to be celebrated within Italy*; to which request (although back'd with the desire of the Western Emperor) *Theodosius* would by no means consent; for, as *Leontius* reporteth, *when Valentinian being importuned by Pope Leo, did write to Theodosius II, that he would procure another Synod to be held for examining whether Dioscorus had judged rightly or no, Theodosius did write back to him saying, I shall make no other Synod.*

Humiliter ac sapienter exposite, ut petitioni nostræ, quâ plenariam indici Synodum postulamus, clementissimus Imperator dignetur annuere, (saith Pope *Leo*, to the Clergy and People of *Constantinople*. *Ep.* 23.)

Unde si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis Episcopale Concilium, citò auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia scandala resecari. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 9.

Omnes partium Ecclesiæ nostrarum, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus & lacrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut generalem Synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari. P. Leo I. *Ep.* 42.

Οὐαλεντιανὸς ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα γράφει Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μικρῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ σύνοδον γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γνῶναι εἰ καλῶς ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος ἢ οὐ· ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντέγραφεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ ἄλλην σύνοδον. Leont. *de Sect. Act.* 4.

The same Pope did again of the same Emperor petition for a Synod to examine the cause of *Anatolius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*: *Let your clemency* (saith he) *be pleased to grant an Universal Council to be held in Italy; as with me the Synod, which for this cause did meet at Rome, doth request*; Thus did that Pope continually harp upon one string to get a General Synod to be celebrated

celebrated at his own doors; but never could obtain his purpose, the Emperor being stiff in refusing it.

The same Pope, with better success, (as * to the thing, though not as to the place) did request of the Emperor *Marcian* a Synod; for he (concurring in opinion that it was needful) *did* (saith *Liberatus*) *at the petition of the Pope and the Roman Princes command a General Council to be congregated at Nice.*

**Sanctum clementiæ vestræ studium, quo ad reparationem pacis Ecclesiasticæ Synodum habere voluistis, adeò libenter accepi, ut quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam poposcissem, &c.* Leo *Ep.* 50.

Poposceram quidem à glorioſissima clementia vestra, ut Synodum, quam pro reparanda Orientalis Ecclesiæ pace à nobis etiam petitam necessariam judicastis, aliquantisper differri ad tempus opportunius juberetis ——— P. Leo *Ep.* 43. 44. 50.

Sed eo defuncto, cùm Martianus Imperii culmen fuisset adeptus, pro illa Papæ & Principum Romanorum petitione Universale Concilium in Nicena congregari jussit. Lib. Brev. cap. 13.

Now, if the Pope had himself a known right to convocate Synods, what needed all this supplication, or this application to the Emperors? would not the Pope have endeavoured to exercise his Authority? would he not have clamoured or whined at any interruption thereof? would so spiritful and sturdy a Pope as *Leo* * have begged that to be done by another, which he had authority to do of himself, when he did apprehend so great necessity for it, and was so much provoked thereto? would he not at least have remonstrated against the injury therein done to him by *Theodosius*.

* *Fortissimus* Leo *Liber. cap.* 12.

All that this daring Pope could adventure at, was to wind in a pretence that the Synod of *Chalcedon* was congregated by his consent; for, *it hath been the pleasure* (of whom I pray) *that a General Council should be congregated, both by the command of the Christian Princes, and with the consent of the Apostolick See*, saith he very cuningly; yet not so cunningly, but that any other Bishop might have said the same for his See.

——*in causa fidei, propter quam Generale Concilium & ex præcepto Christianorum Principum, & ex consensu Apostolicæ Sedis placuit congregari. Ep.* 61.

This power indeed upon many just accounts peculiarly doth belong to Princes; It suteth to the dignity of their state, it appertaineth to their duty, they are most able to discharge it. They are the Guardians of publick tranquillity, which constantly is endangered, which commonly is violated by dissentions in religious matters; (whence we must pray for them, that by their care *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*,) they alone can authorize their Subiects to take such Journeys, or to meet in such Assemblies; they alone can well cause the expences needful for holding Synods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain Order and Peace in them, can procure Observance to their Determinations; they alone have a Sword to constrain resty and refractary Persons (and in no cases are Men so apt to be such as in debates about these matters) to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree, to observe what is settled: They, as *nursing Fathers of the Church*, as *Ministers of God's Kingdom*, as *encouragers of good Works*; as the Stewards of God, entrusted with the great Talents of Power, Dignity, Wealth, enabling them to serve God, are obliged to cause Bishops in such cases to perform their duty; according to the example of good Princes in Holy Scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature; for so King *Josias* did convocate a General Synod of the Church in his time, *then* (saith the Text) *the King sent, and gathered together all the Elders of Judah and Jerusalem*; In this Synod he presided, *standing in his place*; *and making a Covenant before the Lord*; its Resolutions he confirmed, *causing all that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to that Covenant*; and he took care of their Execution, *making all present in Israel effectually to serve the Lord their God.*

1 Tim. 2. 2.

Isa. 49 23. Sap. 6. 4. Rom. 13. 3.

2 Chron. 34. 29, &c.

So also did King *Hezekiah gather the Priests and Levites together*, did warn, did command them to do their duty, and reform things in the Church: *My Sons* (said he) *be not now negligent, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense.* 2 Chron. 29. 4, 15, 20, 21, &c. Vers. 11.

Beside them none other can have reasonable pretence to such a Power, or can well be deemed able to manage it: so great an Authority cannot be exercised upon the Subjects of any Prince without eclipsing his Majesty, infringing his natural right, and endangering his State. He that at his pleasure can summon all Christian Pastours, and make them trot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect Emperor, or in a fair way to make himself so. It is not fit therefore that any other person should have all the Governours of the Church at his beck, so as to draw them from remote places whither he pleaseth; to put them on long and chargeable Journeys; to detain them from their charge; to set them on what deliberations and debates he thinketh good. It is not reasonable that any one without the leave of Princes should authorize so great conventions of Men, having such interest and sway; it is not safe, that any one should have such dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to clash with Princes, and withdraw his Subjects from their due obedience. Neither can any success be well expected from the use of such authority by any, who hath not power, by which he can force Bishops to convene, to resolve, to obey; whence we see that *Constantine*, who was a Prince so gentle and friendly to the Clergy, was put to threaten those Bishops, who would absent themselves from the Synod indicted by him at *Tyre*; and *Theodosius* (also *a very mild and religious Prince*) did the like in his summoning the two *Ephesine* Synods. We likewise may observe, that when the *Pope and Western Bishops*, in a Synodical Epistle, *did invite those in the East to a great Synod indicted at Rome, these did refuse the Journey, alledging that it would be to no good purpose*; so also when the *Western* Bishops did call those of the *East*, for resolving the difference between *Flavianus* and *Paulinus*, both pretending to be Bishops of *Antioch*, what effect had their summons? and so will they always or often be ready to say, who are called at the pleasure of those who want force to constrain them; so that such Authority in unarmed hands (and God keep Arms out of the Pope's hands) will be only a source of discords.

Τῇ πραότητι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένους ἐνίκα.

—— ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος πραΰς σφόδρα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. Socr. 7. 42.

Τὴν ἀποδημίαν παρῃτήσαντο ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν κέρδος. Theod. 5. 8.

Ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖτε, καὶ Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλοῦντες εἰς τὴν δύσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς Ἐπισκόπους. Soz. 7. 11.

Both they and *Gratian* the Emperor wrote, calling the Eastern Bishops into the West.

Either the Pope is a Subject, as he was in the first times, and then it were too great a presumption for him to claim such a power over his fellow-Subjects in prejudice to his Sovereign; (nor indeed did he presume so far, untill he had in a manner shaken off subjection to the Emperor) or he is not a Subject; and then it is not reasonable that he should have such power in the Territories of another Prince.

The whole business of General Synods, was an expedient for Peace, contrived by Emperors, and so to be regulated by their order. Hence even in times and places where the Pope was most reverenced, yet Princes were jealous of suffering the Pope to exercise such a power over the Bishops their Subjects; and to obviate it, did command all Bishops not to stir out of their Territories without licence; particularly our own Nation, in the Council at *Clarendon*, where it was decreed, *that they should not go out of the Kingdom without the King's leave.*

Philip of *France*. Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 906. (*Ann.* 1302.)

Decretum est——non licere——exire Regnum absque licentia Regis. Conc. Clarend. *vid.* Matt. Par. *Ann.* 1164.

To some things above said a passage may be objected which occurreth in the acclamation of the Sixth Synod to the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus*; wherein 'tis said, that *Constantine* and *Sylvester* did collect the Synod of *Nice*, *Theodosius* I. and *Damasus* (together with *Gregory* and *Nectarius*) the Synod of *Constantinople*; *Theodosius* II. with *Celestine* and *Cyril* the *Ephesine* Synod, and so of the rest: To which I answer, that the Fathers mean only for the honour of those Prelates to signifie, that they in their places and ways did concur and co-operate to the celebration of those Synods; otherwise we might as to matter of Fact and History contest the accurateness of their relation; and 'tis observable, that they joyn other great Bishops then flourishing, with the Popes; so that if their suffrage prove any thing, it proveth more than our Adversaries would have, *viz.* that all great Bishops and Patriarchs have a power or right to convocate Synods.

Syn. Sext. Act. 18. *p.* 272.
Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀεισέβαστος, καὶ Σίλβεστρος ὁ ἀοίδιμος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλην τε καὶ περίβλεπτον συνέλεγεν σύνοδον.
—— ἀλλ' ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ Δάμασος ὁ ἀδάμας τῆς πίστεως —— Γρηγόριός τε καὶ Νεκτάριος τὴν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει συνήθροιζον σύλλογον.
Πάλιν Νεστόριος, καὶ πάλιν Κελεστῖνος, καὶ Κύριλλος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Χριστὸν διήρει, καὶ κατεδίχαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῷ τῶν σκήπτρων δεσπόζοντι τὴν κατατομέα κατέβαλλον ——

As for passages alledged by our Adversaries, that no Synod could be called, or Ecclesiastical Law enacted, without consent of the Pope, they are no-wise pertinent to this question; for we do not deny that the Pope had a right to sit in every General Synod; and every other Patriarch at least had no less; as all reason and practice do shew; and as they of the Seventh Synod do suppose, arguing the Synod of *Constantinople*, which condemned the worship of Images, to be no General Council, *because it had not the Pope's co-operation, nor the consent of the Eastern Patriarchs. Syncellus* the Patriarch of *Jerusalem's* Legate in the Eighth Synod, says, *for this reason did the Holy Spirit set up Patriarchs in the World, that they might suppress Scandals arising in the Church of God:* And *Photius* is in the same Synod told *that the judgment past against him was most equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one but all the four Patriarchs.*

Ἀναγνωσθέντων τίνων συνοδικῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δεῖν γίνεσθαι ποτὲ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν παρεκτὸς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων Πατριάρχων. *Anteacta Syn.* Nic. *II. p.* 518.
Οὐκ ἔσχε συνεργὸν τὴν τηνικαῦτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πάπαν —— καθὼς νόμος ἐστὶ τῶν συνόδοις· ἀλλ' οὔτε συμφρονοῦντας αὐτῇ τοὺς Πατριάρχας τῆς ἕω. *Syn.* 7. *Act* 6. *p.* 725.
Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς Πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔθετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφυόμενα σκάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφανίζωνται. *Syn* 8. *Act.* 1. *p.* 930.
Ἀπροσωπόληπτος ἡ κρίσις, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸς μόνου θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων Πατριαρχικῶν γινομένη, *Act.* 5 *p* 945.

That a General Synod doth not need a Pope to call it, or preside in it, appeareth by what the Synods of *Pisa* and *Constance* define, for provision in time of Schisms.

Sess. 39. (*p.* 1109.)

II. It inseparably doth belong to Sovereigns in the General Assemblies of their States to preside, and moderate affairs; proposing what they judge fit to be consulted or debated; stopping what seemeth unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and steering them to a good issue; checking disorders aud irregularities, which the distemper or indiscretion of any persons may create in deliberations or disputes.

This privilege therefore the Pope doth claim; not allowing any General Council to be legitimate, wherein he in person, or by his Legates, doth not preside and sway. *All Catholicks*, says *Bellarmine, teach this to be the chief Pontif's proper Office, that either in person or by his Legate he preside, and as a chief Judge moderate all.*

Catholici omnes id munus proprium esse docent summi Pontificis, ut per se, vel per Legatos præsideat, & tanquam supremus judex omnia moderetur. Bell *de Conc.* 119.

But for this Prerogative no express Grant from God, no ancient Canon of the Church, no certain Custom can be produced.

Nor doth ancient practice favour the Pope's claim to such a Prerogative, it appearing that he did not exercise it in the first General Synods.

Saint

Saint *Peter* himself did not preside in the Apostolical Synod at *Jerusalem*, where he was present; but rather St. *James*, as we before have shewed. Act. 15.

In all the first Synods, convocated by Emperors, they did either themselves in person, or by honourable persons authorized by them, in effect preside, governing the proceedings.

In the Synod of *Nice*, *Constantine* was the chief Manager, Director, and Moderator of the Transactions; and under him other chief Bishops did preside; but that the Pope's Legates had any considerable influence or sway there, doth by no evidence appear; as we shall hereafter out of History declare.

Προεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς προέδροις. Euseb. 3. 13.

In the Synod of *Sardica*, (which in design was a General Council, but in effect did not prove so, being divided by a Schism into two great parts) *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* did preside, (or by reason of his age and venerable worth) had the first place assigned to him, and bore the Office of Proloquutor; so the Synod it self doth imply; *All we Bishops* (say they in their Catholick Epistle) *meeting together, and especially the most ancient Hosius, who for his age, and for his confession, and for that he hath undergone so much pains, is worthy all reverence*; so *Athanasius* expresly doth call him; *The holy Synod* (saith he) *the Proloquutor of which was the great Hosius, presently sent to them*, &c. The Canons of the Synod intimate the same, wherein he proposeth matters, and asketh the pleasure of the Synod; the same is confirmed by the subscriptions of their General Epistle; wherein he is set before Pope *Julius* himself. (*Hosius from Spain, Julius of Rome, by the Presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenus.*) In this all Ecclesiastical Histories do agree; none speaking of the Pope's presiding there by his Legates.

Πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ εὐγηροτάτου Ὁσίου, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσοῦτον κάματον ὑπομεμενηκέναι, πάσης αἰδοῦς ἄξιον τυγχάνοντος, &c. Athan. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 761.

Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἧς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, &c. Athan. *ad Solit* 819.

Ἀμέλει Ὅσιος, καὶ προτογένης, οἳ τότε ὑπῆρχον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων. —— Soz. 12. 13.

Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων προτεύσας. Theod 2. 15.

Τῶν μὲν Ὅσιος ἐξῆρχε τῆς γνώμης. —— *Syn.* Chalc. *ad Imp.* Marc. *p.* 468.

Ὅσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰούλιος Ῥώμης, δι' Ἀρχιδάμου, καὶ Φιλοξένου πρεσβυτέρων, &c. *apud* Athan. *p.* 767.

In the Second General Synod at *Constantinople* the Pope had plainly no stroke; the Oriental Bishops alone did there resolve on matters, *being headed* by their Patriarchs; (of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*,) as *Sozomen* saith; *being guided by Nectarius and Saint Gregory Nazianzene*, as the Council of *Chalcedon* in its Epistle to the Emperor doth aver. Baron. *An.* 553. §. 224. Ἡγοῦντο. Soz. 7. 7. Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος

Σὺν Γρηγορίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤρατο. *Conc.* Chalc. *in Epist. ad Imp.* Marc. (*p.* 469)

In the Third General Synod at *Ephesus*, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria* did preside; as Pope *Leo* himself doth testify; he is called *the Head of it*, in the Acts. *Prioris Ephesinæ Synodi, cui sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus Episcopus tunc præsedit.* P. Leo I. *Ep.* 47. Κεφαλὴ τῶν συνειλεγμένων ἁγιωτάτων Ἐπισκόπων Κύριλλος. *Relat. Act.* Eph. *cap.* 60

We may note, that the Bishop of the place where the Synod is held, did bear a kind of presidency in all Synods; so did Saint *James* Bishop of *Jerusalem* in the First Synod, as St. *Chrysostom* noteth; so did *Protogenes* at *Sardica*, and *Nectarius* at *Constantinople*, and *Memnon* in this of *Ephesus*. *Digress.*

It is true, that according to the Acts of that Synod, and the reports of divers Historians, Pope *Celestine* (according to a new politick device of Popes) did authorize *Cyril* to represent his person, and act as his

Proctor in those affairs; assigning to him (as he saith) *jointly both the authority of his throne* (that is, his right of voting) *and the order of his place* (the first place in sitting;) but it is not consequent thence, that *Cyril* upon that sole account did preside in the Synod. He thereby had the disposal of one so considerable suffrage, or a legal concurrence of the Pope with him in his actings; He thereby might pretend to the first place of sitting and subscribing (which kind of advantages it appeareth that some Bishops had in Synods by the virtue of the like substitution in the place of others) but he thence could have no authoritative Presidency; for that the Pope himself could by no delegation impart, having himself no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by any Precedent; *that* depended on the Emperor's will, or on the Election of the Fathers, or on a tacit regard to personal eminence in comparison to others present: This distinction *Evagrius* seemeth to intimate, when he saith, that the divine *Cyril* did *administer it, and the place of Celestine* (where a word seemeth to have fallen out) and *Zonoras* more plainly doth express; saying, that *Cyril Pope of Alexandria did preside over the Orthodox Fathers, and also did hold the place of Celestine:* and *Photius*; *Cyril did supply the seat, and the person of Celestine.* If any latter Historians do confound these things, we are not obliged to comply with their ignorance or mistake.

Σωαφθείσης σοι τ αὐθεντίας τῆς ἡμετέρας θρόνου, καὶ τῆ ἡμετέρα τῆς τόπου διαδοχῆ. Celest. *ad* Cyril. *Relat. cap.* 16.

N. Yet the Fathers in their Epistle to Pope *Celestine* do only take notice of *Arcadius, Projectus*, and *Philippus* supplying his place. *Act. p.* 353.

Κυρίλλε τῆ θεοσεσίᾳ διέποντ☉ καὶ τ Κελεστίνε τόπον. Evagr. 1. 4.

Προισαμένε τ Ὀρθοδόξων Πατέρων τῆ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλε Πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντ☉ τ καὶ τ τόπον Κελεστίνε. Zon. *in Syn.* Eph. *Can.* 1.

Τῆ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνε ἐπλήρε τ καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον.

Indeed as to Presidency there we may observe, that sometime it is attributed to *Cyril* alone, as being the first Bishop present, and bearing a great sway; sometimes to Pope *Celestine*, as being in representation present, and being the first Bishop of the Church in Order; sometimes to both *Cyril* and *Celestine*; sometimes to *Cyril* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who as being very active, and having great influence on the proceedings, are styled the Presidents and Rulers of the Synod. The which sheweth, that Presidency was a lax thing, and no peculiarity in right or usage annexed to the Pope; nor did altogether depend on his grant or representation, to which *Memnon* had no title.

Ἧς ἡγεῖτο μαχάρι☉ Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλ☉. Con. Chalc. *Act.* 4. *p.* 302.

Συνόδε καθηγητής. Cler. Const. *in Syn* Eph. *p.* 418. *Cui præfuit* Cyrillus *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 173.

Ἧς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελεστῖν☉ καὶ Κύριλλ☉. *Syn.* Chalc. *defin. in Act.* 5. *p.* 338. & *Act.* 4. *p.* 300.

The Bishops of *Isauria* to the Emperor *Leo*, say, that *Cyril* was partaker with Pope *Celestine*, &c. *Dum B. Celestino incolumis Ecclesiæ Romanorum particeps*—— *Part.* 3. *Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 522.

Τῆς συνόδε πρόεδροι. Eph. *Act* 4. *p.* 338. (*p.* 420. & 422)

Πρόεδροι τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. *Act.* 5. *p.* 347.

Ἡμέτεροι πρόεδροι. *Relat. Syn. p.* 406.

Ἔξαρχοι τ Συνόδε. *Relat. p.* 411.

Σύνοδ☉, ἡ Συνεδρεύει καὶ ὁ τ μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπ☉. *Relat. ad Imp. p.* 422.

The Pope himself and his Legates are divers times in the Acts said συνεδρεύειν, *to sit together* with the Bishops; which confidence doth not well comport with his special right to Presidency.

Συνεδρεύσαντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, &c. *Act.* 2. *p.* 322.

Τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον Συνεδρεύοντα ἡμῖν. *Act.* 4. *p.* 340.

Yea it is observable that the *Oriental* Bishops, which with *John* of *Antioch* did oppose the *Cyrillian* Party in that Synod, did charge on *Cyril*, that *he, (as if he lived in a time of Anarchy) did proceed to all irregularity*; and that *snatching to himself the Authority, which neither was given him by the Canons, nor by the Emperors Sanctions, did*

Ὡς ἐν ἀβασιλεύτοις καιροῖς χωρεῖ πρὸς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν——

Ἁρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τ αὐθεντίαν τ μήτε παρὰ τ Κανόνων αὐτῷ δοθεῖσαν, μήτε ὑπὸ τ ὑμετέρων διατυπωμάτων, ὁρμᾷ

did rush on to all kind of disorder, and unlawfulness; whence it is evident, that in the judgment of those Bishops, (among whom * were divers worthy and excellent persons) the Pope had no right to any authoritative Presidency.

πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας. *Relat. ad Imper. Act.* Eph. *p.* 380.

* The Bishops of *Syria* being then the most learned in the World; as *John* of *Antioch* doth imply. *p.* 377.

This word *Presidency* indeed hath an ambiguity, apt to impose on those who do not observe it; for it may be taken for a privilege of Precedence, or for authority to govern things; the first kind of presidence the Pope without dispute, when present at a Synod, would have had among the Bishops (as being the *Bishop of the first See*, as the Sixth Synod calleth him; and *the first of Priests*, as *Justinian* called him) and in his absence his Legates might take up his Chair (for in General Synods each See had its Chair assigned to it, according to its order of dignity by custom.) And according to this sence the Patriarchs, and chief Metropolitans, are also often (singly or conjunctly) said to preside: as sitting in one of the first Chairs.

Πρωτόθρονος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. *Syn.* 6. *p.* 285.

Τῶν τε συνθρόνων αὐτὴ μετ' αὐτὴν ἁγιωτάτων Πατριαρχῶν. *Ibid. p.* 297.

Πρῶτος ἱερέων. Justin. *Cod. Tit.* 1.

But the other kind of Presidency was (as those Bishops in their complaint against *Cyril* do imply, and as we shall See in practice) disposed by the Emperor, as he saw reason; although usually it was conferred on him, who among those present, in dignity did preceed the rest: This is that authority, αὐθεντία, which the *Syrian* Bishops complained against *Cyril* for assuming to himself, without the Emperor's Warrant and whereof we have a notable Instance in the next General Synod at *Ephesus*. For,

In the Second *Ephesine* Synod, (which in design was a General Synod, lawfully convened, for a publick cause of determining truth, and settling peace in the Church; but which by some miscarriages proved abortive:) although the Pope had his Legates there, yet by the Emperor's order *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* did preside, *We* (said *Theodosius* in his Epistle to him) *do also commit to thy godliness the authority, and the preeminency of all things appertaining to the Synod now assembled*; and in the Synod of *Chalcedon* it is said of him, that *he had received the authority of all affairs, and of judgment*; and Pope *Leo* I. in this Epistle to the Emperor saith, that *Dioscorus* did *challenge to himself the principal place*; (insinuating a complaint, that *Dioscorus* should be preferred before him, although not openly contesting his right.)

Καὶ μὲν (συνῆν) καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἐπίσκοπος τόπον πληρῶν Λέοντος, τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης Ἐπισκόπου. Evag. 1. 10.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ νῦν συναθροιζομένῃ συνόδῳ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, καὶ τὰ προστεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 59.

Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων εἰληφὼς πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κρίσεως. *Syn.* Chalc *Act.* 1. *p.* 160.

Ἧς ἔξαρχος καθειστήκει Διόσκορος. Evag. 1. 10.

—*Si is qui sibi locum principalem vindicabat, Sacerdotalem moderationem custodire voluisset* — Leo *I. Ep.* 25, 26, &c.

The Emperor had indeed some reason not to commit the Presidency to Pope *Leo*, because he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cause, having declared in favour of *Flavianus*, against *Eutyches*; whence *Eutyches* declined his Legate's interessing in the judgment of his cause, saying, *they were suspected to him, because they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard.* And *Dioscorus*, being Bishop of the next See, was taken for more indifferent, and otherwise a person (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation; *He did* (saith the Emperor) *shine by the Grace of God, both in honesty of life, and orthodoxy of faith*; and *Theodoret* himself, before those differences arose, doth say of him, that he was

Ὑποπτοί μοι γεγόνασι, &c. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 80.

—τῇ σῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ ἐκλαμπούσῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐπίτε τῇ τοῦ βίου σεμνότητι, καὶ τῇ ὀρθοτάτῃ πίστει. Theod. *Ep. ad* Diosc. *in Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 59.

by

Πολλοῖς μὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς κοσμεῖσθαι τὸ σὸν ἀγωνόνλω ἀκόμμι— ἐκ πάντας ἔδοσι τὸ τῆς φρονήματος μέτριον. Theod. *Ep* 60.

by common fame *reported a man adorned with many other kinds of vertue, and that especially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind.*

It is true, that the Legates of Pope *Leo* did take in dudgeon this preferment of *Dioscorus*; and (if we may give credence to *Liberatus*) *would not sit down in the Synod, because the preseſſion was not given to their Holy See*; and afterwards in the Synod of *Chalcedon* the Pope's Legate *Paschasinus* (together with other Bishops) did complain, that *Dioscorus* was preferred before the Bishop of *Constantinople*; but notwithstanding those ineffectual mutinies, the Emperor's will did take place, and according thereto *Dioscorus* had, (although he did not use it so wisely and justly as he should) the chief managery of things.

Ecclesiæ Romanæ Diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis assidere non passi sunt, eò quòd non data fuerit præsessio sanctæ Sedi eorum. Liber cap. 12.

Παχασῖνος εἶπεν— ἵνα ἡμεῖς Θεῷ θέλοντος Κύριον τὸν Ἀνατόλιον πρῶτον ἔχωμεν· ἤτοι πρέμπον ἔταξεν ὁ μακάριος Φλαυιανός. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 62.

It is to be observed, that to other chief Bishops the Presidency in that Synod is also ascribed, by virtue of the Emperor's appointment; *Let the most reverend Bishops* (say the Imperial Commissaries in the Synod of *Chalcedon*) *to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the Royal Sovereignty granted, speak why the Epistle of the most Holy Archbishop Leo was not read*: and, *You* (say they again) *to whom the power of judging was given*; and of *Dioscorus*, *Juvenalis* (Bishop of *Jerusalem*) *Thalassius* (of *Cæsarea*) *Eusebius* (of *Ancyra*) *Eustathius* (of *Beristus*) *Basilius* (of *Seleucia*) it is by the same Commissioners said that they *had received the authority, and did govern the Synod which was then*; and *Elpidius*, the Emperor's Agent in the *Ephesine* Synod it self did expresly style them *Presidents*; and Pope *Leo* himself calleth them *Presidents and Primates of the Synod.*

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς ἡ αὐθεντία τότε τῶν προκειμένων ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐδέδοτο κορυφῆς, λεγέτωσαν. —— *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 65.

Ὑμεῖς, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία τὸ διακρίνειν ἐδέδοτο —— *Ibid p* 77.

Τὰς ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότας, καὶ ἐξάρχοντας τότε ὑπόδε —— *Act* 2. *p.* 202. & *Act.* 4. *p.* 288. (Ἐναρχοι)

Κοινῆς ἁπάντων φανῆς ὑποδεμένης τε καὶ ὑμῶν τῶν προεδρευόντων ὕφον —— *Ibid. p.* 70.

Siquidem penè omnes, qui in consensum, Præsidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut coacti. Leo. *Ep.* 51.

Ibi Primates Synodi nec resistentibus, &c. P. Leo. *I. Ep.*

Whence it appeareth, that at that time according to common opinion and practice, authoritative Presidency was not affixed to the *Roman* Chair.

In the Synod of *Chalcedon*, Pope *Leo* did indeed assume to himself a kind of Presidency by his Legates; and no wonder that a man of a stout and ardent Spirit (impregnated with high conceits of his See, and resolved with all his might to advance its interests, as his Legates themselves did in effect declare to the world) should do so; having so favourable a time, by the misbehaviour of *Dioscorus* and his adherents; against whom the Clergy of *Constantinople*, and other Fathers of the Synod, being incensed, were ready to comply with *Leo* (who had been the Champion and Patron of their Cause) in allowing him extraordinary respect, and whatever advantages he could pretend to.

In his fratribus — me Synodo vestræ fraternitas existimet præsidere. P. Leo. *I. Ep.* 47.

Ὧν σὺ μὲ ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνδες, ἐν τοῖς τὸ σὸν τάξιν ἐπέχεσι. *Syn.* Chalc. *Epist. ad* Leon. *p* 473.

Yet in effect the Emperor by his Commissioners did preside there; they propounding and allowing matters to be discussed; moderating debates by their interlocution and driving them to an issue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing those things, which the Pope's Legates at *Trent*, or otherwhere in the height of his power did undertake.

Act 1. *p.* 50. & *p.* 202. *Act.* 2. *p.* 211.

To them supplicatory addresses were made for succour and redress by persons needing it; (as for instance) *Command* (said *Eusebius* of *Dorylæum*) *that my supplications may be read.*

Κελεύσαι τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναγνωσθῆναι. *Act.* 1. *p.* 50.

Of

Of them leave is requested for time to deliberate; *Command* (saith *Atticus* in behalf of other Bishops) *that respite be given, so that within a few days, with a calm mind, and undisturbed reason, those things may be formed which shall be pleasing to God and the Holy Fathers.*

Κελεύσαι ἐνδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀκυμάντῳ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀταράχῳ λογισμῷ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι τυποθῆναι. *Act.* 1. *p.* 219.

Accordingly they order the time for consultation; *Let* (said they) *the hearing be deferred for five days, that in the mean time your Holiness may meet at the house of the most Holy Archbishop Anatolius, and deliberate in common about the faith, that the doubtful may be instructed.*

Ὑπεδήσαν ἡ ἀκρόασις ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ συνελθεῖν τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἁγιωσύνας εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀναπολίου, καὶ κοινῶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλεῦσαι, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφιβάλλοντες διδαχθῶσι. *Act.* 4 *p.* 289.

They were acknowledged Judges; and had thanks given them for the issue by persons concerned; *I* (said *Eunomius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*) *do thank your Honour for your right judgment.* And in the cause between *Stephanus* and *Bassianus* concerning their title to the Bishoprick of *Ephesus*; they having declared their sense, *the Holy Synod cryed this is right judgment*; *Christ hath decided the case, God judgeth by you:* And in the result, upon their declaring their opinion; *the whole Synod exclaimed, This is a right judgment, this is a pious order.*

Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ὑμῶν. *Act.* 13. *p.* 420.

Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, αὕτη δικαία κρίσις. ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδίκασε τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν δικάζει. *Act.* 12. *p.* 409.

Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐβόησεν, αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, θεία εὐσεβὴς τύπος. *Ibid. p.* 414.

When the Bishops, transported with eagerness and passion, did tumultuously clamour, they gravely did check them, saying, *These vulgar exclamations neither become Bishops, nor shall advantage the parties.*

Αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ ὅτε Ἐπισκόποις πρέπουσιν, ἔτε τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν. *Act.* 1. *p.* 55.

In the great contest about the privileges of the *Constantinopolitan* See, they did arbitrate and decide the matter, even against the sense and endeavours of the Pope's Legates; the whole Synod concurring with them in these acclamations; *this is a right sentence, we all say these things, these things please us all, things are duly ordered; let the things ordered be held.*

——καὶ τὴν Συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον. *Syn.* Chal. *ad* Leon. *Ep. p.* 475.

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, αὕτη δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, πάντα δέοντος ἐτυπώθη, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατείτω. *Act.* 16. *p.* 464.

The Pope's Legates themselves did avow this authority in them; for, *If* (said *Paschasinus*, in the case of the *Egyptian* Bishops) *your authothority doth command, and ye injoin that somewhat of humanity be granted to them,* &c.

Εἰ πρόσταξεν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία, καὶ κελεύετε τι ποτε αὐτοῖς φιλοφρονηθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον—— *Act.* 4. *p.* 315.

And in another case, *If, said the Bishops, supplying the place of the Apostolical See, your Honours do command, we have an information to suggest.*

Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι ἐπέχοντες τὸν τόπον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς θρόνου εἶπον· εἰ προστάξει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν. *Act.* 16. *p.* 451.

Neither is the Presidency of these *Roman* Legates expressed in the Conciliar Acts; but they are barely said *συνελθεῖν (to concur) and †συνεδρεύειν (to sit together) with the other Fathers; and accordingly although they sometimes talked high, yet it is not observable that they did much there; their Presidency was nothing like that at *Trent*, and in other like Papal Synods. It may be noted, that the Emperor's Deputies are always named in the first place, at the entrance of the Acts, before the Pope's Legates, so that they who directed the Notaries were not Popish. In effect the Emperor was President, though not as a Judge of Spiritual matters, yet as an Orderer of the Conciliar transactions; as the Synod doth report it to *Leo*; *the faithful Emperors* (said they) *did preside*, (or govern it) *for good order sake.*

* *Act.* 5. *Act.* 7. *Act.* 8. *p.* 366. *Act.* 9. *Act.* 11. *Act.* 13. 14. † *Act.* 3. (*p.* 230.)

Βασιλεῖς ὁ περὶ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἐξῆρχεν. *Relat. Syn. ad* Leon. 473.

In

In the Fifth General Synod, Pope *Vigilius* indeed was moved to be present, and (in his way) to preside; but he out of state or policy declined it; wherefore the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was the Ecclesiastical President, as in the beginning of every Collation doth appear; whence clearly we may infer that the Pope's Presidency is no-wise necessary to the being of a General Council.

Ideò petimus Præsidente nobis vestrâ beatitudine, sub tranquillitate, & mansuetudine Sacerdotali, sanctis propositis Evangeliis, communi tractatu, &c. Coll. 1. p. 212. (& *in Const.* Vigil.)

In the Sixth General Synod the Emperor in each Act is expressly said to preside, in Person or by his Deputies; although P. *Agatho* had his Legats there.

Περκαθημένε τε ἐυσεβεσάτε βασιλέως, Κωνσαντίνε, &c.

In the Synod of *Constance* sometimes the Cardinal of *Cambray* sometimes of *Hostia* did preside (by order of the Synod it self) and sometime the King of the *Romans* did supply that place; so little essential was the Pope's Presidency to a Council deemed even then, when Papal Authority had mounted to so high a pitch.

Dominus Rom. Rex indutus vestibus Regalibus recessit de Sede sua solita, & transivit ad aliam Sedem positam in fronte Altaris, tanquam Præsidens pro tunc in Concilio. Syn. Const. *Sess.* 14. (*p.* 1044)

Nor is there good reason why the Pope should have this privilege, or why this Prerogative should be affixed to any one See; so that (if there be cause; as if the Pope be unfit, or less fit; if Princes, or the Church cannot confide in him; if he be suspected of prejudice or partiality: if he be party in causes or controversies to be decided; if he do himself need correction) Princes may not assign, or the Church with allowance of Princes may not chuse any other President, more proper in their judgment for that charge; in such cases the publick welfare of Church and State is to be regarded.

Were an Erroneous Pope (as *Vigilius* or *Honorius*) fit to govern a Council, gathered to consult about defining Truth in the matter of their Error.

Were a Lewd Pope (as *Alexander* VI. *John* XII. *Paul* III. innumerable such, scandalously vicious) worthy to preside in a Synod convocated to prescribe strict Laws of Reformation?

Were a Furious, Pugnacious Pope (as *Julius* II——) apt to moderate an Assembly drawn together for settlement of Peace?

Were a Pope engaged in Schism (as many have been) a proper Moderator of a Council, design'd to suppress Schism?

Were a *Gregory* VII. or an *Innocent* IV. or a *Boniface* VIII. an allowable manager any where of Controversies about the Papal Authority?

Were now indeed any Pope fit to preside in any Council wherein the Reformation of the Church is concerned, it being notorious that Popes as such do most need Reformation, that they are the great obstructors of it, that all Christendom hath a long time a Controversie with them for their detaining it in bondage?

In this and many other cases we may reject their Presidency, as implying iniquity; according to the Rule of an old Pope; *I would know of them where they would have that judgment they pretend, examin'd, what by themselves, that the same may be Adversaries, Witnesses and Judges? to such judgment as this even humane affairs are not to be trusted, much less the integrity of the divine Law.*

Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, & testes, & judices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas. P. Gel. *Ep.* 4.

It is not reasonable that any person should have such a Prerogative which would be an engine of mischief: for thereby (bearing sway in general Assembles of Bishops) he would be enabled and irresistibly tempted to domineer over the World, to abuse Princes, and disturb States

States; to oppress and enslave the Church; to obstruct all Reformation; to enact Laws; to promote and establish Errors serviceable to his Interest; the which effects of such power exercised by him in the Synod of *Trent*, and in divers other of the later General Synods, experience hath declared. Nic. II. Ludg. Lat. IV. & V.

III. If the Pope were Sovereign of the Church, the Legislative power wholly or in part would belong to him; so far at least, that no Synod, or Ecclesiastical Consistory could without his consent determine or prescribe any thing; His approbation would be required to give life and validity to their Decrees; He should at least have a negative, so that nothing might pass against his will: This is a most essential ingredient of Sovereignty; and is therefore claimed by the Pope, who long hath pretended that no Decrees of Synods are valid without his consent, and confirmation.

But the Decrees made by the Holy Popes, of the chief See of the Roman Church, by whose authority and sanction all Synods and holy Councils are strengthened and established, why do you say, that you do not receive and observe them.

Lastly, as you know nothing is accounted valid or to be receiv'd in universal Councils but what the See of Saint Peter has approv'd: so on the other side whatever She alone has rejected that only is rejected.

We never read of any Synod that was valid, unless it were confirm'd by the Apostolick Authority.

We trust no true Christian is now ignorant that no See is above all the rest more oblig'd to observe the Constitution of each Council which the consent of the universal Church hath approv'd, than the prime See which by its authority confirms every Synod, and by continued moderating preserves them according to its principality, &c.

Decretalia autem, quæ à sanctis Pontificibus primæ Sedis Romanæ Ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes Synodi, & sancta Concilia roborantur, & stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere, vel observare dicitis? Papa Nic. I. *Ep.* 6. (*ad* Photium)

Denique ut in universalibus Conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorsus acceptum nisi quod Sedes B. *Petri probavit (ut ipsi scitis) habetur; sicut è contrario quod ipsa sola reprobavit, hoc solummodo consistat hactenus reprobatum.* P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 7.

——*Nulla unquam Synodus rata legatur, quæ Apostolicâ auctoritate non fuerit fulta.* P. Pelag. *II. Ep.* 8. (*Dist.* 17.)

Confidimus quòd nullus jam veraciter Christianus ignoret uniuscujusque Synodi constitutum, quod universalis Ecclesiæ probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exequi Sedem præ cæteris oportere, quàm primam; quæ & unamquamque Synodum sua auctoritate confirmat, & continuatâ moderatione custodit, pro suo scilicet principatu, &c. P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 13. (*ad Episc.* Dard.) *vid. p.* 647. *tract de* Anath.

God hath promised to bless particular Synods. *Matt.* 18. 19.

But this pretence, as it hath no ground in the Divine Law, or in any old Canon, or in primitive Custom; so it doth cross the sentiments and practice of Antiquity; for that in ancient Synods divers things were ordained without the Pope's consent, divers things against his pleasure.

What particular or formal confirmation did Saint *Peter* yield to the Assembly at *Jerusalem?*

That in some of the first General Synods he was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenour and air of things, or by the little regard expressed toward him, sufficiently clear. There is not in the Synodical Epistles of *Nice*, or of *Sardica* any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively all those Decrees may be supposed to pass without his consent, which do thwart these pretences; for if these are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for such; and being such we cannot suppose the Pope willingly to have consented in derogation to them.

Wherefore the *Nicene* Canons establishing Ecclesiastical administrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other Metropolitans with him, may be supposed to pass without his consent.

Persuasioni tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur, quorundam Episcoporum ante 60, ut jactas, annos, nunquámque à prædecessoribus tuis ad Apostolicæ Sedis transmissa notitiam.——Leo *Ep.* 53. (*ad* Anat.) *Conc.* Constant. *Can.* 3.
Concil. Chalc. *Can.* 9, 17, 28. *Syn.* Trull. *Can.* 36.

The Canons of the Second General Council, and of all others confirming those; as also the Canons of all Synods, which advanced the See of *Constantinople*, his Rival for Authority, above its former state, first to a proximity in Order, then to an equality of Privileges with the See of *Rome*, may, as plainly contrary to his interest and spirit, be supposed to pass without his consent: And so divers Popes have affirmed; if we may believe Pope *Leo*, (as I suppose) the Canons of the Second Council were not transmitted to *Rome*, they did therefore pass, and obtain in practice of the Catholick Church, without its consent or knowledge.

Romana autem Ecclesia eosdem Canones vel gesta Synodi illius hactenus non habet nec accipit; in hoc autem eandem Synodum accepit quod est per eam contra Macedonium definitum. P. Greg. M *Ep.* 6. 31.
The same Pope *Leo* I. doth affirm *Ep* 53.
——*ejus civitatis quæ non solùm inter Sedes numeratur, sed nec inter Metropolitanorum jura censetur, &c.* P. Gelas. I *Ep.* 13 (*ad Ep.* Dard.)

Pope *Gregory* I. saith, *that the Roman Church did not admit them*, wherein it plainly discorded with the Catholick Church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them; and in despight to the Canon of that Synod, advancing the Royal City to that eminency, Pope *Gelasius* I. would not admit it for so much as a Metropolitan See; O proud insolency, O contentious frowardness, O rebellious contumacy against the Catholick Church and its peace? (Such was the humour of that See, to allow nothing which did not sute with the interest of its Ambition.

But farther, divers Synodical Decrees did pass expresly against the Pope's mind and will: I pass over those at *Tyre*, at *Antioch*, at *Ariminum*, at *Constantinople*, in divers places of the *East*, (the which do yet evince that commonly there was no such Opinion entertain'd of this privilege belonging to the Pope) and shall instance only in General Synods.

Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. Πάντα ἡ σύνοδος ἐκύρωσε. (*in fine Actorum.* p. 464.)

In the Synod of *Chalcedon equal privileges* were assigned to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, as the Bishop of *Rome* had; this with a general concurrence *was decreed and subscribed*, although the *Pope's Legates did earnestly resist, clamour and protest against it*; The Imperial Commissioners, and all the Bishops not understanding, or not allowing the Pope's negative voice.

Inde enim fratres nostri, ab Apostolica Sede directi qui vice meâ Synodo præsidebant, probabiliter atque constanter illicitis ausibus obstiterunt, apertè reclamantes, &c. Leo *I. Ep.* 53, 54.
Οἱ ἐυλαβέστατοι Ἐπίσκοποι ἐβόησαν, οὐδεὶς ἐναγκάσθη. (*Act.* 16. *p.* 469. against P. *Leo*'s assertion, that the consent was extorted)
Τὸ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος——κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον, (say the Fathers to Pope *Leo p.* 475.) By a Synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient Custom.

And whereas Pope *Leo* (moved with a jealousie, that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him, should aspire to get above him) did fiercely dispute, exclaim, inveigh, menace against this Order, striving to defeat it, pretending to annull it, labouring to depress the Bishop of *Constantinople* from that degree, which both himself, and his Legates in the Synod had acknowledged due to him: In which endeavour divers of his Successors did imitate him: *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Dorylæum*, said, *I have willingly subscrib'd, because I have read this Canon to the most holy Pope of Rome, the Clergy of Constantinople being present, and he receiv'd it.*

Ep. 53, 54, 55, 61, 62,

Εὐσέβιος Ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαίου εἶπεν ἑκὼν ὑπέγραψα· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν Κανόνα τοῦτον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ Πάπᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτόν. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 16. (*p.* 462.) *supra.*

Yet could not he or they accomplish their design; the veneration of that Synod and consent of Christendom overbearing their opposition; the Bishop of *Constantinople* sitting in all the succeeding General Synods in the second place, without any contrast; so that at length Popes were fain to acquiesce in the Bishop of *Constantinople's* possession of the second place in dignity among the Patriarchs.

In

In the Fifth General Synod Pope *Vigilius* did make a Constitution, in most express terms prohibiting the condemnation of the *three Chapters* (as they are called) and the anathematization of persons deceased in peace of the Church; *We dare not our selves*, says he, *condemn Theodorus; neither do we yield to have him condemn'd by any other*; and in the same Constitution he orders and decrees, *That nothing be said or done by any to the injury or discredit of Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus, a Man most approv'd in the Synod of Chalcedon; and the same*, says he, *have the Decrees of the Apostolical See determined, that no man pass a new judgment upon persons dead, but leave them as death found them. Lastly by that Constitution he specially provides that (as he had before said) nothing might be derogated from persons dying in the Peace and Communion of the Universal Church, by his condemning that perverse opinion.*

Eum (Theodorum) nostrâ non audemus damnare sententiâ, sed nec ab alio quopiam condemnari concedimus. Vig. Const. p. 186. *Statuimus atque decernimus nihil injuriam atque obtrectationem probatissimi in Chalcedonensi Synodo viri, hoc est Theodoreti Episcopi Cyri, sub taxatione nominis ejus à quoquam fieri vel proferri. Ibid.*

Idémque regulariter Apostolicæ Sedis definiunt constituta, nulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare personis; sed in hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque supremus dies invenit. ——

Hac præsentis Constitutionis dispositione quàm maximè providemus, nè (sicut suprà diximus) personis, quæ in pace & communione universalis Ecclesiæ quieverunt, sub hac damnati à nobis perversi dogmatis occasione aliquid derogetur. Ibid.

Yet did the Synod (in smart terms reflecting on the Pope, and giving him the lye, not regarding his opinion or authority) decree, that persons deceased were liable to be anathematized; they did anathematize *Theodorus*, they did expresly condemn each of the *Chapters*; they threatned deposition or excommunication on whoever should oppose their Constitutions; * they anathematize whoever doth not anathematize *Theodorus*.

Quoniam autem post hæc omnia impietatis illius defensoris injuriis contra creatorem suum dictis gloriantes dicebant non oportere eum post mortem anathematizare — qui hæc dicunt nullam curam Dei judicatorum faciunt, nec Apostolicarum pronunciationum, nec paternarum traditionum. Coll. 8. p. 289.

Condemnamus autem & anathematizamus unà cum omnibus aliis hæreticis & Theodorum. Coll. 8. p. 291.

Quod dicitur à quibusdam quòd in communicatione & pace, defunctus est Theodorus, mendacium est, & calumnia magis adversus Ecclesiam. Coll. 5. p. 250.

Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæ piè disposuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel scribere, siquidem Episcopus vel Clericus sit iste tanquam aliena à Sacerdotibus & statu Ecclesiastico faciens, denudabitur Episcopatu vel Clericatu: si autem Monachus vel Laicus sit, anathematizabitur. (Coll. 8. p. 293.)

** Si quis defendit —— & non anathematizat eum —— anathema sit. Ibid.*

But Pope *Vigilius* did refuse to approve their Doctrine and Sentence; and therefore (which was the case of many other Bishops, * as *Baronius* himself doth confess and argue) was driven into banishment; wherein he did expire.

— contra ipsius (Pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (Synodo) pariter sententia dicta. Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 219. *Non consentientes depositi in exilium missi sunt. Lib. cap.* 24. * Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 223.

Yet Posterity hath embraced this Synod as a legitimate and valid General Synod; and the Popes following did profess the highest reverence thereto, equally with the preceding General Synods: so little necessary is the Pope's consent or concurrence to the validity of Synodical definitions.

Greg. *Ep.* 1. 24. *Quintam quoque Synodum pariter veneror, &c.* 1. 24.
Pelag. *II. Ep.* ——
Agatho *Syn.* 6. *Act.* 4.
Leo. *Syn.* 6. *Act.* 18.
Hadrian. *ad* Nectar.

Upon this *Baronius* hath an admirable reflexion: *Here stay* (saith he) *O Reader, and consider the matter attently* (Ay, do so I pray) *That it is no new thing, that some Synod, in which the Pope was not even present by his Legates, but did oppose it, should yet obtain the title of an Oecumenical Synod; whenas afterward the Pope's will did come in, that it should obtain such a title.*

Hic siste, Lector, atque rem attentè considera; non esse hoc novum, ut aliqua Synodus, cui nec per Legatos ipse Pontifex interfuerit, sed adversatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit Oecumenicæ, cum postea ut hujusmodi titulum obtineret, Romani Pontificis voluntas accessit. Baron. *Ann.* 553. § 224.

So in the opinion of this Doctor, the Pope can easily change the nature of things, and make that become a General Synod which once was none; yea which, as it was held, did not deserve the name of any Synod at all. O the Virtue of Papal Magick! or rather O the Impudence of Papal Advocates!

Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plenè consentiès ipsam non Oecumenicæ tantùm, sed nec privatæ Synodi mereri nomen. Id. Ann. 553. § 219.

Can. 2, 7, 13, 36, 55, 58, 67. The Canons of the Sixth General Council, exhibited by the *Trullane* (or *Quinisext*) Synod clearly and expresly do condemn several Doctrines and Practices of *Rome*; I ask whether the Pope did confirm them? they will to be sure, as they are concerned to do, answer No: and indeed Pope *Sergius*, as *Anastasius* in his Life reporteth, did refuse them; yet did they pass for legitimate in the whole Church; for in their General Synod (the second *Nicene*) without contradiction, one of them is alledged (out of the very original Paper, wherein the Fathers had subscribed) as a *Canon of the Holy General Sixth Synod*; and avowed for such by the Patriarch *Tarasius*, both in way of argument of defence and of profession in his *Synodical Epistle* to the Patriarchs; (where he saith, that *together with the divine Doctrines of the Sixth Synod he doth also embrace the Canons enacted by it*;) of which *Epistle* Pope *Adrian* in his Answer thereto doth recite a part containing those words, and * applaud it for Orthodox; signifying no offence at his embracing the *Trullane* Canons. And all those 102 Canons are again avowed by the Synod in their *Antitheses* to the Synod of *Constantinople*. In fine, if we believe *Anastasius*, Pope *John* VII. did, *being timorous, out of humane frailty direct these Canons, without amendment, by two Metropolites, to the Emperor*, that is he did admit them so as they stand.

——in quibus diversa capitula Romanæ Ecclesiæ contraria scripta inerant. Anast. *in Vit.* Joh. *VII.*

Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης Συνόδου. *Syn.* Nic. *II. Act.* 4. (631.)

Πρωτότυπόν χάρτης ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρες. *Ibid.*

Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης Συνόδου, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν ἐνθέσμως καὶ θεωδῶς ἐκφωνηθέντων δογμάτων παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας Κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι. *Act.* 3. *p.* 592.

* Τούτῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τὴν ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c. *ib.* (*p.*363.). *Act.* 6. *p.* 732. (*Dist.* 16. *cap.* 5, &c.)

Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per suprafatos Metropolitas direxit ad Principem. Anast. *in Vit.* Joh. *VII.*

But it may be instanced that divers Synods have asked the Pope's consent for ratification of their Decrees and Acts.

So the Fathers of the Second General Synod, having in an *Epistle* to Pope *Damasus* and the Western Bishops, declared what Constitutions they had made, in the close speak thus---*In which things, being legally and canonically settled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquiesce out of spiritual charity and fear of the Lord*---

Οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκραμένοις καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μετὰ τοῦ θείου φόβου, &c. Theod 5.9.

So the Synod of *Chalcedon* did, with much respect, ask from Pope *Leo* the confirmation of its Sanctions. *That you may know how that we have done nothing for favour or out of spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done.*

Ἵνα δὲ γνῶτε ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείᾳ κυβερνώμενοι πνεύματι, πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τὴν πεπραγμένων δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τὴν πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν. *Syn.* Chalc. *ad P.* Leon. *I. p.*476.

Of the Fifth Synod Pope *Leo* II. saith, ---*that he agreed to what was determin'd in it, and confirms it with the authority of the Blessed Saint Peter.*

Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς δεισθείσι συναινεῖ, καὶ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου βεβαιοῖ. *P.* Leo. *II. Ep.* (*p.*306.)

To these allegations we reply, That it was indeed the manner of all Synods, (for notification of things, and promulgation of their Orders; for

for demonstration and maintenance of concord, for adding weight and authority to their determinations, for engaging all Bishops to a willing compliance in observing them, for attestation to the common interest of all Bishops in the Christian Truth, and in the governance and edification of the Church) having framed Decrees concerning the publick State, to demand in fairest terms the consent to them of all Catholick Bishops, who were absent from them, to be attested by their subscription.

So did *Constantine* recommend the *Nicene* Decrees to all Bishops, undertaking that they would assent to them.

Ἀσμένως δέχεσθε τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολὴν— *de Vit.* Const. 3. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀξιονοίᾳ ἀρέσαι ὑπεκρίνω. *Ib.* 3. 19.

So (more expressly) the Synod of *Sardica*, in their Epistle to all Bishops of the Catholick Church; *Do ye also, our Brethren and Fellow-ministers, the more use diligence, as being present in spirit with our Synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved every where by all the Fellow-ministers.*

Σπεύδοιτε ὁ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοί, ὡς τῷ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἡμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθε διὰ ὑπογραφῆς ὑμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πανταχοῦ τὰ πάντων τῶν πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ὁμοφωνίαν διασώζεσθαι. *Syn.* Sard. *Epist. apud* Athan. *in Apol.* 2. *p.* 766.

So did Pope *Liberius* request of the Emperor *Constantius*, *that the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the subscription of all Bishops.*

Ἐζήτει ὁ τὸν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς πάντων Ἐπισκόπων κραταιοῦσθαι. Soz. 4. 11.

So did *Athanasius procure a Synod at Alexandria to confirm the Decrees at Sardica, and in Palestine concerning him.*

Σύνοδον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύαζε τὸν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου Ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδικῇ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδογμένοις. Soz. 4. 1.

So the *Macedonian* Bishops are said to have authorized their Agents *to ratifie the faith of Consubstantiality.*

Ἐντεταλμένοι——κυρῶσαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον πίστιν. Socr. 4. 12.

Many such Instances occur in story, by which it may appear, that the Decrees of Synods concerning Faith, or concerning any matters of common interest were presented to all Bishops, and their consent requested or required; because, say the *Roman* Clergy in St. *Cyprian*, *a decree cannot be firm which has not the consent of many.*

——*quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere consensum. Cler. Rom. apud* Cyp. *Ep.* 31.

Whence it is no wonder, if any Synods did thus proceed toward so eminent a Bishop as was he of *Rome*, that they should endeavour to give him satisfaction; that they should desire to receive satisfaction from him of his conspiring with them in Faith, of his willingness to comply in observing good Rules of Discipline; that (as every vote had force, so) the suffrage of one in so great dignity and reputation might adjoin some regard to their judgment.

Παρακαλῶμεν τοίνυν ἡμῶν τὰς ψήφους τὸ κείσιν. *Syn.* Chalc. *ad* Leon. *p.* 476.

The Pope's confirmation of Synods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and assent, the which did confirm by addition of Suffrage; as those who were present by their Vote, and those who were absent by their Subscription are said to confirm the Decrees of Councils; every such consent being supposed to encrease the authority; whence the number of Bishops is sometimes reckoned according to the subscriptions of Bishops absent; as the Council of *Sardica*, is sometimes related to consist of three hundred Bishops, although not two hundred were present, the rest concurring by subscription to its definitions.

Κατὰ τὸ σύνοδικὸν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον— *Epist. Syn.* Chalc. *ad* Leon. *p.* 475.

Socr. 2. 20. & Vales. *Ann. ibid.*

Other

Sententias fratrum omnes sequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes observandas esse decernimus. Conc. Rom. P. Hill. *p.* 579.

Other Bishops in yielding their suffrage, do express it by *I confirm, I define, I decree.*

But the effectual confirmation of Synods, which gave them the force of Laws, was in other hands, and depended on the Imperial Sanction.

His itaque omnibus per diversa tempora subsecutis, prædicti piæ recordationis nostri Patres ea quæ in unoquoque Concilio judicata sunt, legibus suis corroboraverunt, & confirmaverunt; & hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor Conciliorum resistere, & Ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt. Justin. *in Conc. V. Coll.* 1. (*p.* 210.)

So *Justinian* affirmeth generally: *All these things at diverse times following, our above named Predecessors of pious memory, corroborated and confirm'd by their Laws what each Council had determin'd, and expell'd those Hereticks who attempted to resist the definitions of the aforesaid four Councils and disturb the Churches.*

Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα, τῇ συνεδείσῃ κοινωνῶν, ἐπεδέτυπε νόμῳ. Athan. *apud* Theod. 2. 4.

Τὰ τῆ συνόδῳ δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπεσφραγίζετο. Euseb. *de Vit.* Const 3.23.

Ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ διατάξειν ὀφείλετε. Eus. *ibid.* 3. 20.

So particularly *Constantine* (as *Athanasius* himself reporteth) *did by Law confirm the decrees of the great Synod* of Nice; and *Eusebius* assureth the same, *He* (saith he) *did ratifie the decrees of the Synod by his authority*; His Letters are extant, which he sent about the World exhorting and requiring all to conform to the constitutions of that Synod.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τῇ συνόδῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο. Soz. 7. 9.

So *Theodosius* did confirm the Decrees of the Second General Synod; *adding* (saith *Sozomen*) *his confirmatory Suffrage to their Decree*; the which he did at the supplication of the Fathers, addressed to him in these terms; *We therefore do beseech your Grace, that by your pious Edict the sentence of the Synod may be authorized; that as by the Letters of convocation you did honour the assembly, so you would also confirm the result of things decreed.*

Δεόμεθα τοίνυν τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος γράμμασι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπικυρωθῆναι τὴν συνόδον τῷ ψήφῳ, ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τέτιμηκας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος. *Præf. ad Can. Conc.* Const. (*apud* Bin. *p.* 660.)

The Third General Synod was also confirmed by *Theodosius* II. as *Justinian* telleth us; *The above-named Theodosius of pious memory, maintaining what had been so justly determined against Nestorius and his impiety made his condemnation valid.*

Sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodosius vindicans ea, quæ ità rectè contra Nestorium, & ejus impietatem fuerant judicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem. Justin. *in Quinto Cons. Coll.* 1.

And this Emperor asserted this privilege to himself, as of right and custom belonging to him; writing to the Synod in these word; *for all things, so as may please God, without contentiousness and with truth being examined ought so to be established by our religiousness.*

Χρὴ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ μέλλον ἀρέσκειν δίκαι φιλονεικίας καὶ μὴ ἀληθείας ἐξετασθέντα ἔτω φέρειν τὴν ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας βεβαιωθῆναι. *Epist.* Theod. *ad Syn.* Eph. *in Actis Conc. p.* 375.

The other abortive Synod at *Ephesus* was also confirmed by *Theodosius* Junior, as *Dioscorus* in his defence alledged in these words, which shew the manner of practice in this case; *We then indeed did judge the things, which were judged; the whole Synod did accord with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and subscribed; and they were referred to the most religious Emperor Theodosius of happy memory; and he did by a general Law confirm all things judged by the Holy and Oecumenical Synod.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐκείνοις μὲν τὰ κεκριμένα συνήνεσεν ἡμῖν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ κατέθετο οἰκείαις φωναῖς, καὶ ὑπέγραψε· καὶ ἀνενέχθη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τῷ θείας λήξεως Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε πάντα τὰ κεκριμένα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 59.

So

So also did the Emperor *Marcian* confirm the Synod of *Chalcedon*; as himself telleth us in his Royal Edict: *We* (saith he) *having by the sacred Edict of our serenity confirmed the Holy Synod, did warn all to cease from disputes about Religion:* with which Pope *Leo* signifieth his compliance in these terms; *But because by all means your piety and most religious will must be obeyed, I have willingly approv'd the Synodical Constitutions about confirming the Catholick Faith and condemning Hereticks, which pleased me.*

Ἱερῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος διατάγματι τὴν ἁγίαν βεβαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν ἅπαντας, ὥστε τῶν περὶ θρησκείας παύσασθαι διαλέξεων. Conc. Chalc. *Part.* 3. 478.

Quia verò omnibus modis obediendum est pietati vestræ, religiosissimæque voluntati, Constitutionibus Synodalibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei Catholicæ & hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci sententiam meam. P. Leo. I. *Ep.* 59. (*ad* Mart. Aug.)

Justinian did with a witness confirm the Fifth Synod, punishing with banishment all who would not submit to its determinations.

In the Sixth Synod the Fathers did request the Emperor, according to custom, to confirm its definitions, in these very words; *To what we have determined, set your Seal, your Royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all by your sacred Edicts and holy Constitutions according to custom.*

Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὁρισθεῖσι σφραγῖδα παράσχου τὴν ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον βασιλικὴν ἐπικύρωσιν, καὶ διὰ θείων ἠδίκτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθος εὐσεβῶν διατάξεων τὴν τούτων ἁπάντων βεβαίωσιν. *Syn. VI. Act.* 18. *p.* 275.

We beg that by your sacred signing of it you would give force to what we have defined and subscribed.

Αἰτοῦμεν διὰ θείας ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως τὸ κῦρος παρασχέσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκφωνηθέντι ἐνυπογράφῳ ὅρῳ. *Ibid. p.* 283.

We intreat the power of our Lord guided by God's wisdom to confirm, for the great strength and security of the Orthodox Faith, the copies of our determination read in the hearing of your most serene Majesty, and subscribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five Patriarchal Sees with your pious confirmation.

Αἰτοῦμεν τὸ θεόσοφον τοῦ δεσπότου κράτος πρὸς μείζονα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν ἰσοτύπους ἐναπογράφους ὅρους τῶν ἀναγνωσθέντος κατὰ παρουσίαν τῶν γαληνοτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους ὅρου ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς πέντε Πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως. *Ibid. p.* 284.

Accordingly he did confirm that Synod by his *Edict*; *All these things being thus ordered by this Sixth Holy and Oecumenical Synod; We decree that none whosoever trouble himself farther about this Faith, or advance any new inventions about it.*

Τούτων οὕτως ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου διατυπωθέντων, Sancimus, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πάντων ἕτερόν τι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, ἢ καινότερον δόγματος ἐφεύρεμα μηχανήσασθαι, &c. *Ibid. Edict.* Const. *p.* 294.

So he told Pope *Leo* II. in his *Epistle* to him; *This divine and venerable determination the Holy Synod has made, to which we also have subscribed, and confirmed it by our Religious Edicts, exhorting all our People who have any love for Christ, to follow the Faith there written.*

Θεῖον δὲ σεβάσμιον ὅρον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐξεβόησεν, ᾧ καὶ συνυπεγράψαμεν, καὶ δι' εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν ἠδίκτων τοῦτον ἐπεκυρώσαμεν προτρέψαντες ἅπαντα τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένῃ πίστει συνέπεσθαι, &c. *Ibid. p.* 298. & *p.* 302.

Pope *Leo* tells his name-sake *Leo* the Emperor, *That he must always remember that the Imperial power was given him not only to rule the World, but more especially to protect the Church.*

Debes incunctanter advertere Regiam potestatem tibi non solùm ad mundi Regimen, sed maximè ad Ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam, &c. Leo *M. Ep.* 75.

So by long prescription, commencing with the first General Synod, did the Emperor enjoy this Prerogative; and with good reason, He having an unquestionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the Church, designed by those Conventions; He being the Guardian of Concord among his Subjects, and Protector of their Liberties, which might be nearly concerned in Conciliar Proceedings; the power of enacting Laws being an incommunicable branch of Sovereign Majesty; He alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the observance of Decrees, without which they would in effect signifie little.

Because

Because also commonly the Decrees of Synods did in a manner retrench some part of the Royal Prerogative, translating or imparting to others Causes before appropriate to his Jurisdiction (as in the case of Appeals, and of prohibiting Addresses to Court, ordered in the *Sardican* and other Synods; of exempting Clergymen from secular Jurisdiction, from taxes and common burthens, *&c.*) which ought not to be done without his licence and authority.

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἡμεῖς δίκα τὰ ὑμετέρης κρατίστης εὐτάκτως καὶ εὐθέμιστα τὰ προκείμενα τυποῦσθαι. *Rel. Orient. ad imp. Act. Syn.* Eph. *p.* 372.

So that the *Oriental* Bishops had good reason to tell the Emperor, that *it was impossible without his authority to order the matters under consideration with good law and order.*

It is no-wise reasonable that any other should have this power, it being inconsistent with publick peace that in one State there should be two Legislative powers; which might clash the one with the other, the one enacting Sanctions prejudical to the interest and will of the other: wherefore the Pope being then a Citizen of *Rome*, and a Subject to the Emperor, could not have a Legislative power, or a negative vote in Synods, but that wholly did belong to the Imperial authority.

Τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ γενέσθαι τῶν τούτῳ ἀκύρων ὄντων, ὡς μήτε Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκόπου, μήτε γὰρ ἄλλων σωθέντων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτόθι συνελθόντων ἀπαρεσθέντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις. Soz. 6. 23.

But it is opposed, that some Synods have been declared invalid for want of the Pope's confirmation; for to the Decrees of the Synod at *Ariminum* it was excepted, that they were null, because the Bishop of *Rome* did not consent to them: *There could not* (say the *Roman* Synod in *Theodoret*) *be any prejudice from the number of those assembled in Ariminum, it being plain, that neither the Roman Bishop, whose suffrage ought first to have been received, nor Vicentius, who for so many years did hold his Episcopacy blameless, nor others agreeing to such things.* To which exception I answer, that

Οὐδὲ γὰρ προκεῖσθαί τι δυνατὸν ἦν τῷ δεύτερα τῇ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συναχθέντα, ὅποτε συνέσκε, μήτε τῆ Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκόπῳ, ἧ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδέξασθαι, ἅτε Οὐικεντίῳ ὃς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν ἀσπίλως ἐφύλαξεν, ἅτε τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγκαταθεμένων.—— Theod. 2. 22.

1. That which is alledged against the Synod of *Ariminum*, is not the defect of the Pope's confirmation subsequent, but of his consent and concurrence before it, or in it; * which is very reasonable, because he had a right to be present, and to concur in all such Assemblies, especially being so eminent a Bishop.

* P. *Liberius* being absent, detained from it by violence in banishment.

2. The same exception every Bishop might alledge, all having a like right and common interest to Vote in those Assemblies.

3. Accordingly the assent of other Bishops, particularly of those eminent in dignity or merit, is also alledged in exception; which had been needless, if his alone dissent had been of so very peculiar force.

4. The Emperor, and many other Bishops did not know of any peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

Again it may be objected, that Popes have voided the Decrees of General Synods, as did Pope *Leo* the Decrees of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, concerning the Privileges of the *Constantinopolitan* See, in these blunt words: *But the agreements of Bishops repugnant to the Holy Canons made at Nice, your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the Blessed Apostle Saint Peter, by a general determination we disanul*; and in his *Epistle* to

Consensiones verò Episcoporum, Sanctorum Canonum apud Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unitâ nobiscum vestræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, & per authoritatem Beati Petri Apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus. P. Leo *I. Ep.* 55. (*ad* Pulcher. Aug.)

to those of that Synod, *For however vain conceit may arm it self with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulness sufficiently strengthened with the name of Councils: yet whatever is contrary to the Canons of the above-nam'd fathers will be weak and void.* Lastly in his Epistle *to Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, he says, *He has such a reverence for the Nicene Canons, that he will not permit or endure that what those holy fathers have determined be by any novelty violated.*

Quantumlibet enim extortis assentationibus sese insinuat vanitatis elatio, & appetitus suos Consiliorum æstimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit, quicquid à prædictorum Patrum Canonibus discreparit. Ep. 61. (ad Syn. Chalc.d.)

Tanta apud me est Nicenorum Canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ sunt à Sanctis Patribus constituta nec permiserim nec patiar aliquâ novitate violari. Leo *Ep. 62. (ad* Max. Antioch.)

P. Gelas. *Ep. 13. (ad Episc.* Dard.) *p. 642. & in Tract. de* Anathem. *(pag. 647.*

P. Pelag. *II. Ep. 5. (ad* Eliam.) *p. 474.*——
Greg. *M. Ep.*

This behaviour of Pope *Leo* (although applauded and imitated by some of his Successors) I doubt not to except against in behalf of the *Synod*, that it was disorderly, factious and arrogant; (proceeding indeed from ambition and jealousie) the leading act of high presumption in this kind, and one of the seeds of that exorbitant ambition, which did at length overwhelm the dignity and liberty of the Christian Republick: Yet for somewhat qualifying the business it is observable, that he did ground his repugnancy and pretended annulling of that Decree (or of Decrees concerning Discipline) not so much upon his authority to cross General Synods, as upon the inviolable firmness and everlasting obligation of the *Nicene* Canons; the which he (although against the reason of things, and rules of Government) did presume no Synod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this opposition of his did prove ineffectual by the sense and practice of the Church, maintaining its ground against his pretence.

It is an unreasonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one man (no wiser or better commonly than others) should be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the same Office and Order with him; so that he should be able to overthrow and frustrate the result of their meetings and consultations, when it did not square to his conceit or interest; especially seeing there is not the least appearance of any right he hath to such a Privilege, grounded in Holy Scripture, Tradition or Custom; for seeing that Scripture hath not a syllable about General Synods, seeing that no Rule about them is extant in any of the first Fathers till after 300 years, seeing there was not one such Council celebrated till after that time, seeing in none of the First General Synods any such Canon was framed in favour of that Bishop, what ground of right could the Pope have to prescribe unto them, or thwart their proceedings? Far more reason there is, (in conformity to all former Rules and Practice) that he should yield to all his Brethren, than that all his Brethren should submit to him: and this we see to have been the judgment of the Church, declared by its Practice in the cases before touched.

IV. It is indeed a proper endowment of an absolute Sovereignty, immediately and immutably constituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will declared in way of Precept, Proclamations, concerning the Sanction of Laws, the abrogation of them, the Dispensation with them, should be observed.

This Privilege therefore in a high strein the Pope challengeth to himself; asserting to his Decrees and Sentences the force and obligation of Laws; so that the body of that Canon Law, whereby he

tome, and confirmed by Synodical Decrees) yet had not they a negative voice in Synodical debates: for it is decreed in the *Nicene* Synod, that in the designation of Bishops (which was the principal affair in Ecclesiastical administrations) *plurality of votes should prevail.*

Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλείονων ψῆφος. Conc. Nic. Can 6.

It is indeed there said, that none should be ordained χωρὶς γνώμης, *without the opinion of the Metropolitan*; but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice and suffrage: for so the Apostolical Canon (to which the *Nicene* Fathers there did allude and refer, meaning to interpret it) doth appoint that the *Metropolitan* should *doe nothing* ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης, *without the opinion of all*, that is without suffrage of the most, concluding all; (for surely that Canon doth not give to each one a negative voice) And so the Synod of *Antioch* (held soon after that of *Nice*, which therefore knew best the sense of the *Nicene* Fathers, and how the custome went) doth intetpret it, decreeing, that *a Bishop should not be ordained without a Synod, and the presence of the Metropolitan of the Province*; in which Synod yet they determine, that *plurality of votes should carry it*; no peculiar advantage in the case being granted to the *Metropolitan.*

Κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι. Apost. Can. 34.

Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ Μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Syn. Ant. Can. 19.

—— κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφον. ibid.

Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος. Syn. Nic. Can. 6.

Seeing therefore Provincial Synods were more ancient than General, and gave pattern to them; if we did grant the same Privilege to the *Pope* in *General* Synods, as the *Metropolitans* had in *Provincial* (which yet we cannot doe with any good reason or ground) yet could not the Pope thence pretend to an authority of making Laws by himself.

4. It was then a passable opinion, that *He* as one was in reason obliged to yield to the common judgment of his Collegues and Brethren; as the Emperour *Constantius* told Pope *Liberius*, that *the vote of the plurality of Bishops ought to prevail.*

Τῶν γὰρ πλείονων Ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύειν ὀφείλει. Theod. 2. 16.

5. When Pope *Julius* did seem to cross a rule of the Church, by communicating with persons condemned by Synods, the Fathers of *Antioch* did *smartly recriminate against him, shewing that* were *not to receive Canons from him.*

Γνώμη κοινῇ σωφρότερον δὲ ἐπιστολῆς ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ. Socr. 2. 15.

6. So far was the Pope from prescribing Laws to others, that he was looked upon as subject to the Laws of the Church no less than others; as the *Antiochene* Fathers did suppose, *complaining to Pope Julius of his transgressing the Canons*; the which charge he doth not repell by pretending exemption, but by declaring that he had not offended against the Canons, and retorting the accusation against themselves; as the *African* Eathers supposed, when they told Pope *Celestine*, that he could not admit persons to communion, which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a Decree of the *Nicene* Synod; as the *Roman* Church supposed it self, when it told *Marcian* that they could not receive him without leave of his Father who

Ὑμεῖς ὡς παρὰ κανόνας ποιέσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψασθε —— P. Julii Epist. apud Athanas. in Apol. 2. p. 748.

Τινὲς εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς, &c. p. 748.

Μὴ δὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους, &c. Epist. ad P. Celest. I.

Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου Πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Epiph. Hær. 42.

who had rejected him. This the whole tenour of Ecclesiastical Canons sheweth, they running in a general style, never excepting the Pope from the Laws prescribed to other Bishops.

7. The privilege of dispensing with Laws had then been a strange hearing, when the Pope could in no case dispense with himself for infringing them, without bringing clamour and censure upon him. It was then a *Maxim* becoming the mouth of a Pope, *Universæ pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit custodiri, nisi sua Canonibus reverentia intemerata servetur.* P. Leo *I. Ep.* 62.

The Tranquility of an universal peace cannot otherwise be kept, unless due reverence be paid to the Canons.

8. It had indeed been a vain thing for Synods with so much trouble and solemnity to assemble, if the Pope without them could have framed Laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the results of them by dispensation.

9. Even in the growth of *Papal* Dominion, and after that the Seeds of *Roman* ambition had sprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not Popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the universal Canons, or exemption from them; but pretended to be the chief observers, guardians, defenders, and executors of them; or of the Rights and Privileges of Churches established by them; for while any footsteps of ancient liberty, simplicity and integrity did remain, a claim of paramount or lawless Authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope *Zosimus* I. denieth that he could alter the Privileges of Churches.

P. Hil. *Ep.* 1. *N. B.* P. Innoc. *I. Ep.* 2. 17. P. Hil. *Ep.* 4. P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 9. *p.* 634. *Ep* 13. *p.* 639. *De Anathem. p.* 645.

P. Zos. *I. Ep.* 7. (*ad Episc.* Vienn. & Narb.) *Caus.* 25. *Qu.* 1. *cap.* 7.

10. If they did talk more highly, requiring observance to their Constitutions, it was either in their own precinct, or in the Provinces where they had a more immediate jurisdiction, or in some corners of the *West*, where they had obtained more sway; and in some cases, wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience; for the Popes were commonly *wise in their generations*, accommodating their discourse to the state of times and places.

P. Siric. *Ep.* 1. Leo *M. Ep.* 1. *cap* 5. P. Gelas. *Ep.* 9.

11. It is also to be observed, that often the Popes are supposed to speak and constitute things by their own authority, which indeed were done by Synods, consisting of *Western* Bishops more closely adhering to that *See*, in regard to those Regions; the Decrees of which Synods were binding in those places, not so much by virtue of *Papal* authority, as proceeding from the consent of their own *Bishops*: how ready soever he were to assume all to himself, pretending those Decrees as precepts of the *Apostolical See*.

P. Siric. *Ep.* 4. Ἁπασα χ῾ι δυην σύνοδ῾ον. Conc. Eph. *p.* 332. Σύνοδοι ἀνήκουσι τῇ συνόδῳ Ἀποστολικῇ θρόνῳ. *Syn. VI. Act.* 4. *p.* 60. *N.* The Pope did in those Councils ask the *Placets*. P. Hil. *in Conc. R.* (*p.* 578)

Whence all the Acts of modern Popes are invalid, and do not oblige, seeing they do not act in Synod; but onely of their own Head, or with the advice of a few Partizans about them, men linked in common interest with them to domineer over the Church.

12. Yet even in the *Western* Countries, in later times, their Decrees have been contested, when they did seem plainly to clash with the old *Canons*, or much to derogate from the Liberties of Churches; nor have there wanted learned Persons in most times, who so far as they durst, have expressed their dislike of this Usurpation.

For

Licèt namque Pontifex Romanæ Ecclesiæ ob dignitatem Apostolicæ Sedis cæteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo Canonici moderaminis tenorem, sicut enim unusquisque Orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ Pontifex ac Sponsus propriæ Sedis uniformiter speciem gerit Salvatoris, ità generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciter patrare Episcopi Diœcesi. Glab. Rod. 2. 4. *Vid.* Baron. *Ann.* 996. *sect.* 22. 23.

For although the Bishop of Rome be more venerable than the rest that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the Apostolical See, *yet it is not lawfull for him in any case to transgress the order of Canonical governance; for as every Bishop who is of the Orthodox Church, and the Spouse of his own See, doth intirely represent the Person of our Saviour; so generally or Bishop ought pragmatically to act any thing in anothers Dioceſe.*

13. In the times of Pope *Nicolas* I. *the* Greeks did not admit the *Roman* Decrees; so that Pope in an Epistle to *Photius* complains *that he did not receive the Decrees of the Popes whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Mosaical, and what the Law of Grace required.* And in another *Epistle* he expostulates with him for saying that *they neither had nor did observe the Decrees made by the Holy Popes of the Prime See of the Roman Church.*

Circa *Ann.* 860.

Noli quia Decreta ipsorum non suscepperis amplius asseverare, cùm ipsi nihil nisi quod Naturalis, quod Mosaica, necnon & Gratiæ Lex jussit, instituant. P. Nic. *I. Ep.* 11. (*ad* Phot.)

Decretalia autem, quæ à Sanctis Pontificibus Primæ Sedis Romanæ Ecclesiæ sunt institua, — cur vos non habere vel obeservare dicitis? Id Ep. 6. (*ad* Phot.)

14. That which greatly did advance the Papal Jurisdiction, and introduced his Usurpation of obtruding new Decrees on the Church, was the venting of the forged Decretal Epistles under the name of Old Popes; which when the Pope did alledge for authorizing his practices, the French Bishops, endeavouring to assert their Privilege, did alledge that *they were not contained in the whole body of their Canons.*

Vid. Hinom. *Quanquam quidam vestrum scripserint hanc illa decretalia priscorum Pontificum in toto codicis Canonum corpore contineri descripta, &c.* P. Nic. *I. Ep.* 42. (*ad Galliæ Epis.*)

15. The power of enacting and dispensing with Ecclesiastical Laws touching exteriour Discipline did of old belong to the Emperour. And it was reasonable that it should; because old Laws might not conveniently sute with the present state of things and the publick welfare; because new Laws might conduce to the good of Church and State, the care of which is incumbent on him; because the Prince is bound to use his power and authority to promote God's Service, the best way of doing which may be by framing Orders conducible thereto.

Accordingly the Emperours did enact divers Laws concerning Ecclesiastical matters, which we see extant in the *Codes* of *Theodosius* and *Justinian.*

Hæc — Domino Imperatori præsentanda decrevimus, poscentes ejus clementiam ut siquid hîc minus est, ejus prudentiâ suppleatur, si quid secus quàm se ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio divinâ opitulante clementiâ perficiatur. Conc. Arel. 4. *c.* 26. *Ann.* 813. (*sub* Carolo M.)

These things (saith the Council of *Arles*) *we have decreed to be presented to our Lord the Emperour, desiring his clemency that if any thing be defective it may be supplied by his prudence, if any thing be unreasonable it may be corrected by his judgment, if any thing be reasonably ordered it may by his help, the Divine Grace assisting, be perfected.*

We may observe that Popes did allow the validity of Imperial Laws. Pope *Gregory* I. doth alledge divers Laws of divers Emperours concerning Ecclesiastical affairs as authentick and obligatory Rules of practice.

P. Greg. *I. Ep.* 11. 56.

16. Divers Churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themselves.

Such as the Church of *Cyprus* in the *Ephesine* Synod did claim and obtain the confirmation of.

Such

Such was the ancient Church of *Britain*, before *Austin* came into *England*.

The Welsh Bishops are consecrated by the Bishop of St. Davids, and he himself in like manner is ordained by others who are as it were his Suffragans, professing no manner of subjection to any other Church.

Episcopi Walliæ à Menevensi Antistite sunt consecrati, & ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est constitutus, nullâ penitus alii Ecclesiæ factâ professione vel subjectione. Girald. Cambr. *Itin.* 2. 1.

V. Sovereign power, immediately by it self when it pleaseth, doth excercise all parts of Jurisdiction, setting it self in the Tribunal; or mediately doth execute it by others, as its Officers or Commissioners.

Wherefore now the Pope doth claim and exercise Universal Jurisdiction over all the Clergy; requiring of them engagements of strict submission and obedience to him; demanding that all causes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes; condemning, suspending, deposing, censuring them, or acquitting, absolving, restoring them, as he seeth cause, or findeth in his heart; He doth encourage people to accuse their pastours to him, in case any doth infringe his Laws and Orders. Bel. 2. 18. 26.

Per hoc illam de tota Ecclesia judicare. P. Gelas. 1. *Ep.* 4.

Cunctos ipse judicaturus à nemine est judicandus. Dist. 40. *cap.* 6.

Caus. 2. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 45. *&c.*

Sacra statuta & venerandæ decreta Episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandârunt. P. Nic. 1. *Ep* 38.

But (in general) that originally or anciently the Pope had no such right appropriate to him may appear by arguments, by cross instances, by the insufficiency of all pleas, and examples alledged in favour of this claim. For,

1. Originally there was not at all among Christians any jurisdiction like to that which is exercised in Civil Governments, and which now the papal Court doth execute. For this our Saviour did prohibit, and Saint *Peter* forbad the Presbyters κατακυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων. And St. *Chrysostome* affirmeth the Episcopal power not to be ἀυθεντία, or ἀρχή. And Ecclesiastical History doth inform us, that such a Jurisdiction was lately introduced in the Church, as by other great Bishops, so especially by the Bishop of *Rome*: *For (saith Socrates) from that time the Episcopacy of Alexandria, beyond the Sacerdotal Order did assume a domineering power in affairs.* 1. Pet. 5.

Chrys. *in* 1 Tim. 3. 1. *in* Eph. *Orat.* 11 Hier. *Ep.* 3 *& Ep.* 62. Isid. Pelus. *Ep.* 20. 125. 4. 219.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἐκείνου ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως καὶ δυναστείαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὸ ἀρχαῖον. Socr. 7. 7.

The which kind of power the *Roman* Bishops had long before assumed; for, (saith he) *the Episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already a great while agoe gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the Priesthood.*

— ὁ Ῥωμαίων Ἐπίσκοπος ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἤδη πάλαι προελθόντος. Socr. 7. 11.

At first the Episcopal power did onely consist in Paternal admonition, and correption of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they contumaciously did persist in disorderly behaviour, bringing them before the Congregation, and the cause being there heard and proved, with its consent imposing such penance or correction on them as seemed needful for the publick good, or their particular benefit; *All things* (saith St. *Cyprian*) *shall be examined you being present and judging.* And (elsewhere) *according to your divine suffrages; according to your pleasure.*

1 Cor. 5. 4, 12. —— 2 Cor 2. 6. —— *Examinabuntur singulæ præsentibus, & judicantibus vobis.* Cypr. *Ep.* 12. (*fratribus in plebe.*)

Secundùm vestra divina suffragia. Cypr. *Ep.* 40.

Secundùm arbitrium quoque vestrum. Ibid. (*Ep.* 46.)

Tertul. *Apol.* 39. *ibidem.* ——

2. Originally no one Bishop had any Jurisdiction over another, or authority to judge his actions; as St. *Cyprian* (who well knew the current

rent judgment and practice of his age) in many places doth affirm: who particularly doth reflect on the *Roman* Bishop, for presuming to censure his brethren, who dissented from him: *Let us all* (saith he) *expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power to prefer us to the government of his Church and to judge of what we doe.*

Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus & solus habet potestatem & præponendi nos in Ecclesiam suam gubernatione & de actu nostro judicandi. Cypr. *in Conc.* Carth.

3. Even the community of Bishops did not otherwise take notice of, or intermeddle with the proceedings of any Bishop in his precinct and charge; except when his demeanour did concern the general state of the Church, intrenching upon the common faith, or publick order and peace.

In other cases for one or more Bishops to meddle with the proceedings of their brother, was taken for an ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία, a pragmatical intrusion upon anothers business; and an invasion of that Liberty which did belong to each Bishop, by the grant of our Lord, and the nature of his Office.

As by those passages of St *Cyprian*, and the declaration of the *Synod* with him doth appear.

4. In cases needing decision for the publick good of the Church, the Law and Custom of the Church, confirmed by the *Nicene* Synod, did order, that jurisdiction should be exercised, and all causes finally determined in each *Province*; so that no regard is had to the Pope, no exception in favour of him being expressed or implyed.

Can. 5.

The which Constitution, if we believe Pope *Leo* himself, cannot in any case by any power be revoked or infringed.

In venerabilis Concilii Niceni contumelia sæpe versatus, alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerariè rapuisti. P. Felix Acacio. *apud* Baron. *Ann.* 484 *sect.* 17.

That is most expresly confirmed by the Synod of *Antioch*, in the Code of the Universal Church, *If any Bishop accused of certain crimes shall be condemned by all the Bishops in the province, and all shall unanimously vote against him, he shall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous sentence of the Bishops of the Province shall remain valid.*

Εἴτις Ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορηθεὶς κριθείη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ Ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξενέγκοιεν ψῆφον, τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἠτέρεις δικάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν σύμφωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν. *Syn.* Ant. *Ca.* 16.

Here is no consideration or exception from the Pope.

5. Accordingly in practice, Synods without regard or recourse to the Pope, did judge Bishops upon offences charged against them.

6. The execution of those judgments was entrusted to *Metropolitan* Bishops; or had effect by the peoples consent; for it being declared that any Bishop had incurred condemnation, the people did presently desert him.

Every Bishop was obliged to confer his part to the execution; as Pope *Gelasius* affirmeth.

Quod non solùm præsuli Apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque Pontifici, ut quoslibet & quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, à Catholica communione discernant. P. Gelas. I. *Ep.* 4.

7. If the Pope had such judicial power, seeing there were from the beginning so many occasions of exercising it, there would have been extant in History many clear instances of it, but few can be alledged; and those (as we shall see) impertinent, or insufficient.

8. Divers Synods (great and smaller) did make Sanctions contrary to this pretence of the Pope; appointing the decision of Causes to be terminated in each *Diocese*; and prohibiting appeals to him; which

which they would not have done if the Pope had originally, or according to common law and custom, a supreme judicial power.

9. The most favourable of ancient Synods to Papal interest, that of *Sardica*, did confer on the Pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of causing Episcopal causes to be revised; which sheweth that before he had no right in such cases; nor then had an absolute power.

10. The Pope's power of judging Bishops hath been of old disclaimed as an illegal and upstart encroachment.

When the Pope first nibbled at this bait of ambition, St. *Cyprian* and his Bishops did reprehend him for it.

The Bishop of *Constantinople* denied that Pope *Gelasius* alone might condemn him; according to the Canons—— The Pope ranteth at it, and reasoneth against it; but hath no material argument or example for it, (concerning the Papal authority peculiarly) beside the *Sardican* Canon.

Euphemium verò miror, si ignorantiam suam ipse non perspicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non posse damnari— P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 4.
Nobis opponunt Canones——*Ib.*

11. The Popes themselves have been judged for Misdemeanour, Heresie, Schism; as hereafter we shall shew.

12. The Popes did execute some judgments, onely by a right common to all Bishops; as Executours of Synodical Decrees.

Quod non solùm præsuli Apostolico facere licet, &c. P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 4. (*supr. in arg.* 6.) *Vid. Epist.* 13.

13. Other Bishops did pretend to judicature, by Privilege: as *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* did pretend that to him did belong the judgment of the Bishop of *Antioch*.

Ἐχρὴν Ἰωάννην—— τῷ Ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ τιμήσα παρ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἔθος αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰδύνεσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι. *Syn.* Eph. *Act.* 4. (*p.* 040.)

14. The Popes were subject to the Emperours; who when they pleased did interpose to direct or qualifie all jurisdiction; commanding the Popes themselves---- wherefore the Popes were not judges Sovereign, but subordinate.

Justin. *Nov.* 123. *cap.* 3.
Jubemus Episc. Rom.

Pope *Gregory* I. did refer the great Question about the title of *Oecumenical Bishop* to the judgment of the Emperour *Mauricius*,

——*ut possimus Dominus Mauritius ipsum illud negotium judicare dignaretur.* Greg. *Ep.* 4. 22.

These things will more fully appear in the discussion of the particulars concerning the chief Branches of jurisdiction; more especially under the Tenth *Branch* of Sovereignty.

They alledge that passage of *Valentinian* in his Epistle to *Theodosius*, *That the most blessed Bishop of Rome, to whom Antiquity hath given a Priesthood over all, hath a See and Power to judge both of Faith and Priests.*

Ἵνα μακαριώτατος Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἱερωσύνην κατὰ πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης παρέσχε, χώραν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἔχειν περί τε πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων κρίνειν—*Act. Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 25.

This was suggested by Pope *Leo* and his adherents to the young Emperour--- but it signifieth no more, but that in the judgment of Priests (as of Faith) he was to have his share; or at most to be a leading person therein.

Theodosius (a mature, grave, pious Prince) did not regard that pretence of *Leo*, nor the appeal of *Flavianus*:

Ἵνα ὁ προλεχθεὶς συναχθέντων ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων—*Ibid p.* 28.

Upon a Sovereign all Inferiour Magistrates depend.

VI. To the Sovereign of any State belongeth the Choice, Constitution, Confirmation, Commissionating of all inferiour Magistrates; that none uncapable, unworthy, or unfit for Offices, or disaffected to the State, be entrusted with the management of affairs.

Wherefore the Pope doth claim and exercise these Prerogatives so far as he can; pretending at least that no Bishop can be constituted without his designation, or his licence, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation or election.

Bell. 4. 24. And these privileges by the great Advocates are upon highest terms asserted to him.

In this matter may be distinguished,

1. The Designation of the Person by Election or otherwise.

2. The Confirmation of that.

3. The Ordination or Consecration of him to his Office; the which conferreth on him his Character and authority.

4. The Authority by which he acteth.

Into all these the Pope hath intruded himself, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himself the collation and disposal of all Benefices, challenging a general right to dispose of all at his pleasure; but not having been able wholly to deprive Princes and Patrons of their Nominations, and Corporations of their Election; yet he hath by Reservations, Provisions, Collations of Vacancies *apud Sedem*, *Resignations, Devolutions, and other such tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage and mischief of Christendom.

Licet Ecclesiarum, Personatuum, Dignitatum, aliorumque Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur Pontificem pertinere, &c. Clem. *IV. in* Sexto *lib.* 3. *tit.* 4 *cap.* 2. *Vid. ib. c.* 4. 10. 12. 20. * *Ib. c.* 14, *&c.*

Although the plenary disposal of all Churches, Parsonages, Dignities and other Ecclesiastical Benefices be known to belong to the Pope of Rome, *&c.*

2. He pretendeth that no Bishop shall be ordained without his Licence.

3. He obligeth the Person Ordained to swear obedience to him.

4. He pretendeth that all Bishops are his Ministers and Deputies.

But no such Privileges have any foundation or warrant in Holy Scripture, in Ancient Doctrine, or in Primitive Usage: they are all Encroachments upon the original Rights and Liberties of the Church derived from Ambition and Avarice; subsisting upon Usurpation, upheld by Violence.

This will appear from a Survey of Ancient Rules and Practices concerning this matter.

The first constitution after our Lord's decease of an Ecclesiastical person was that of *Matthias* into the vacant Apostolate, or *Bishoprick* of *Judas*; wherein (upon Saint *Peter*'s motion) *all the disciples* present did by consent *present two*; *out of whom God himself did elect one*, by determining the lot to fall upon *Matthias*; so that this designation being partly humane, partly divine; so far as it was humane, it went by free election of the whole fraternity; and Saint *Peter*, beside generally suggesting the matter to be done, did assume nothing peculiar to himself.

Act. 1.
Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. V. 20.
Vers. 15.
Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο. Vers. 23.
Ἀνάδειξον ἓν τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξαντο. Vers. 5.

The next constitution we meet with is that of *Deacons* to assist the Apostles and Elders in discharge of inferiour Offices; wherein the Apo-

Apostles did commit the designation of the persons to the *multitude of the disciples*, who *elected them*; and *presented* them to the Apostles, who *by prayer and laying on of hands did ordain them.* Nor had Saint *Peter* in this action any particular stroke.

Act. 6. 2. τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐξελέξαντο. Vers. 5.

As to the Constitution of Bishops, in the first Apostolical times the course was this; The Apostles, and Apostolical persons (who were authorized by the Apostles to act with their power, and in their stead) did in Churches founded by them constitute Bishops, such as divine inspiration, or their grace of discretion did guide them to; So did Saint *John* in *Asia*, *setting those apart for the Clergy whom the Spirit had markt out.*

Καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγὼ σοὶ διεταξάμην. Tit. 2. 5.
Διάκρισις πνευμάτων. 1. Cor. 12. 10.
Κλήρῳ ἕνα γε κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων. Eus. 3. 23.

This was not done without the consent of the Christian people, as *Clemens Romanus* telleth us in his excellent *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*: But he doth not acquaint us (although he were himself Bishop of *Rome*) that the Pope had any thing to doe in such Constitutions, or in Confirmations of them; *the whole Church* (saith he) *consenting*; why doth he not add, for his own sake, *and the Pope confirming*?

Τοὺς οὖν καταστασθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης Ἐκκλησίας πάσης. Clem. *Epist. p.* 57.

In the next times, when those extraordinary persons and faculties had expired, when usually the Churches planted were in situation somewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the Clergy and people of each Church did elect its Bishop; in which action commonly the Clergy did propound and recommend a person, or persons, and the people by their consent approve, or by their suffrages elect one; a strict examination of his Life and Doctrine intervening: the which Order *Tertullian* briefly doth intimate in those words, *The Presidents of the Church are certain Elders well approved, who have obtained that honour not by price, but by proof.*

Καὶ οὗτοι δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν, ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες. 1 Tim. 3. 10.
Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti. Tertul. *Apol.* 39.
Plenâ diligentiâ, exploratione sincerâ. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

It may be enquired, how a Bishop then was Ordained, in case his City was very remote from any other Churches?

Did they send for Bishops from distant places to Ordain him; Or did the Presbyters of the place lay their hands on him? Or did he receive no other Ordination than that he had before of Presbyter? Or did he abide no Bishop till opportunity did yield Bishops to Ordain him? Or did providence order, that there should be no such solitary Churches? The ancient *Commentatour*, contemporary to St. *Ambrose*, and bearing his name, did conceive, that upon decease of a Bishop the elder of the Presbyters did succeed into his place. * Whence had he this, out of his invention and conjecture, or from some Tradition and History?

Primùm Presbyteri Episcopi appellabantur ut recedente uno sequens ei succederet, &c. Vid. Dist. 66. cap. 2.
At first Presbyters were called Bishops that one departing the next might succeed him.
* In *Eph.* 4. 11.

Afterward, when the Faith was diffused through many Provinces, that Churches grew thick and close, the general practice was this: The neighbour Bishops (being advertised of a vacancy or want of a Bishop) did convene at the place; then in the Congregation the Clergy of the place did propound a person, yielding their attestation to his fitness for the charge; which the people hearing did give their suffrages, accepting him, if no weighty cause was objected

against him; or refusing him, if such cause did appear: Then upon such recommendation and acceptance; the Bishops present did adjoin their approbation and consent; then by their devotions, and solemn laying on of their hands, they did Ordain or Consecrate him to the Function.

Of this course most commonly practiced in his time we have divers plain Testimonies in St. *Cyprian*, the best Author extant concerning these matters of ancient Discipline: *For which reason*, saith he, *that from divine tradition and Apostolical observation is to be observed and held: which also is with us, and almost through all Provinces, kept; that for duely celebrating ordinations unto that people, for whom a Bishop is ordained, all the neighbour Bishops of the same* (Province or people) *should resort; and a Bishop should be chosen the people being present, which most fully knoweth the life of each one, and hath from his conversation a thorough insight into his practice; the which we see done with you in the ordination of our Collegue Sabinus, that by the suffrage of all the fraternity, and by the judgment of all the Bishops, which had assembled in the presence, and had sent letters to you about him, the Bishoprick should be deferr'd to him.*

Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina & Apostolica observatione observandum est & tenendum, quod apud nos quoque & ferè per Provincias universas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod & apud vos factum videmus in Sabini Collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum, qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio Episcopatus ei deferretur. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

Again, *A people obedient to the Lord's commands, and fearing God, ought to separate it self from a wicked Bishop* (such a notoriously wicked Bishop as those were of whom he treateth, who had renounced the Faith) *and not to mingle it self with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; seeing especially that it hath a power either to chuse worthy Priests, or to refuse those who are unworthy; the which also we see to descend from divine authority that a Bishop should be chosen the people being present, before the eyes of all; and that he who is worthy and fit should be approved by publick judgment and testimony.*

Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens à peccatore præposito sepa-rare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi Sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipse maximè habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi; quod & ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere; ut Sacerdos plebe præsente sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur— Cypr. *Ep.*

Again, when (saith he concerning himself) *a Bishop is substituted in the place of one deceased, when he is peaceably chosen by the suffrage of all the people*—and *whom if according to the divine instructions the whole fraternity would obey, no man would move any thing against the College of Priests; none after the divine judgment; after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-Bishop, would make himself judge not indeed of the Bishop, but of God.*

Suffragio totius populi Cyprianus eligitur. Optat. 1.

Cæterùm quando Episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur, quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur — Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum Sacerdotum Collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non Episcopi sed Dei faceret— Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

Again, *Cornelius was made Bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the Clergy, by the suffrage of the people being then present, and by the College of Priests, ancient and good men*—and *Cornelius being in the Catholick Church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the suffrage of the Clergy and people.*

Factus est autem Cornelius Episcopus de Dei, & Christi ejus judicio, de Clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, & de Sacerdotum antiquorum & bonorum virorum Collegio—Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

Cornelio in Catholica Ecclesia de Dei judicio, & Cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato— Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Again, *When a Bishop is once made, and is approved by the testimony and the judgment of his Collegues, and of the people*—

Episcopo semel facto, & Collegarum ac plebis testimonio & judicio comprobato— *Ep.* 41. (*ad* Cornel.)

The

The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions thus in the person of Saint *Peter* very fully and clearly describeth the manner of Ordination of Bishops in his times: *After one of the chief Bishops present has thus prayed, the rest of the Priests with all the people shall say, Amen; and after the prayer, one of the Bishops shall deliver the Eucharist into the hands of the person ordained, and that morning he shall be placed by the rest of the Bishops in his Throne, all of them saluting him with a kiss in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epistles, the Acts and Gospel, he who is ordained shall salute the Church with these words, The grace of our Lord Jesus Chaist, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen. And let all answer, And with thy spirit. After which words let him exhort the people.*

Const. Apost. 8 4. *Postquam hæc erit precatus, &c.*

Thus it was then, in a practice so obvious and observable, that a *Pagan* Emperour took good notice of it, and chose to imitate it in constituting the Governours of Provinces, and other Officers; *When* (saith *Lampridius* of *Alexander Severus*) *he would either give rulers to Provinces or make presidents, or ordain procuratours, he set up their names, exhorting the people if they had any thing against them, to prove it by manifest evidence, if they could not make their accusation good they were to die for it, and he said 'twould be hard not to doe that in the choice of Governours of Provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were entrusted, which the Christians and Jews did in setting up those who were to be ordained Priests.*

Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores Provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores id est rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans, populum, ut siquid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probâsset, subiret pœnam capitis; dicebátque grave esse, quum id Christiani & Judæi facerent in prædicandis Sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in Provinciarum Rectoribus, quibus & fortunæ hominum committerentur & capita. Lamprid. *in* Alex. Sev. *cap.* 45.

Afterward in process of time, when (the gaps of distance being filled up, and Christendom becoming one continued Body) Ecclesiastical Discipline was improved into a more complete shape, for Constitution of a Bishop, all the *Bishops* of a *Province* did convene, (or such as could with convenience, the others signifying their mind by writing) and having approved him who was recommended by the Clergy, and allowed by the people, they did ordain him; the *Metropolitan* of the *Province* ratifying what was done.

Παλαιὸς θεσμός. *Syn.* Constantinop. Theod. 5. 9

So the *Nicene* Synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, did appoint with a qualification to be generally observed: *It is most fit* (say they) *that a Bishop be constituted by all Bishops in the Province; but if this be hard, either because of urgent necessity, or for the length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together (those also who are absent conspiring in opinion, and yielding their consent in writing) let the Ordination be performed, but let the ratification of what is done be assigned to the Metropolite in each Province.*

Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει Μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι — τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διδόσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ —— *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 4.

Vid. Can. Apost. 1.
Conc. Antioch. *Can.* 19.
Conc. Laod. *Can.* 12. —
Conc. Afr. *Can.* 13.

In this Canon (the which is followed by divers Canons of other Synods) there is no express mention concerning the interest of the Clergy and people in election of the Bishops; but these things are onely passed over, as precedaneous to the Constitution or Ordination, about which onely the Fathers did intend to prescribe; supposing the election to proceed according to former usual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the Canon, so that the Fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, doth appear from their *Synodical Epistle*; wherein they decree concerning Bishops

Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τυμικαῦτα προσαναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευκότος τοῦ ἄρτι προσληφθέντος, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἐπισκόπου. Socr. 1. 9. Theod. 1. 9.

Bishops constituted by *Meletius*, who returning to communion with the Church did live in any City, that, *If any Catholick Bishop should happen to die, then should those who were already received ascend into the honour of him deceased; in case they should appear worthy, and the people should chuse, the Bishop of Alexandria withall adding his suffrage to him, and his confirmation*; the which words with sufficient evidence do interpret the Canon not to concern the Election, but the Ordination of Bishops.

Theod. 5. 9.

Thus the *Fathers* of the *second General Synod* plainly did interpret this Canon by their proceeding; for they in their *Synodical Epistle* to Pope *Damasus* and the *Western Bishops*, did assure him, that they in the Constitution of Bishops for the principal *Eastern* Sees, had followed this Order of the Synod of *Nice*, together with *the ancient law of the Church*; in agreement whereto they had ordained *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*; *with common consent, under the eyes of the most religious Emperour Theodosius, and of all the Clergy, the whole City adjoining also its suffrage*; and that for *Antioch, the Bishops of the Province, and of the Eastern Diocese concurring had canonically ordained Flavianus Bishop, the whole Church consenting as with one voice to honour the person.*

Παλαιός τε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὅρος —— Οἷς ἀκολούθως ——

—— μετὰ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας, ὑπ' ὄψεσι καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.

—— Ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

Ath. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 726.

Indeed the practice generally doth confirm this, the People every where continuing to elect their Bishop: So did the People of *Alexandria* demand *Athanasius* for their Bishop. So Pope *Julius* did complain that *Gregory* was intruded into the place of *Athanasius*; *not being required by the Presbyters, not by the Bishops, not by the People.* So *Gregory Nazianzene* describeth the Elections of Bishops in his times to be carried by the power of wealthy men, and impetuousness of the people. So *Austin* intimateth the same in his Speech about designation of a Successour to himself, *I know*, says he, *that after the decease of Bishops the Churches are wont to be disturbed by ambitious and contentious men.* So the tumults at *Antioch*, in chusing a Bishop after *Eustathius*; at *Rome* after *Liberius*; at *Constantinople* after *Alexander*; at *Milain* when St. *Ambrose* was chosen.

Μὴ αἰτηθέντα τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' Ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν. Ath. *ibid. p.* 749.
Orat. 19. *p.* 310.
Epist. 21.

Scio post obitus Episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere Ecclesias perturbari —— Aug. *Ep.* 110.

Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. 3. 59, 60.
Socr. 1. 24.
Μεριθέντος τοῦ πλήθους ——
Sozom. 6. 23. Marcell. *lib.* 27.
Διχῇ διακριθὲν τὸ πλῆθος ——
Socr. 1. 24. Soz. 3. 4. Theod. 4. 6.

So *Stephanus* Bishop of *Ephesus* in justification of himself saith, *Me forty Bishops of Asia by the suffrage of the most noble and of the substantial Citizens, and of all the most reverend Clergy, and of all the rest of the whole City, did Ordain*; and his Competitour *Bassianus*, *Me, with great constraint and violence, the people and the Clergy, and the Bishops did install.*

Ἐμὲ τεσσαράκοντα Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου παντὸς κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν. *Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 11. *p.* 404.

Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐνθρονίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν ἔφεσον ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, καὶ οἱ Ἐπίσκοποι. *Ibid.*

In the Synod of *Chalcedon*, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Ancyra*, saith, that *the whole City of Gangra did come to him bringing their suffrages, Posidius* telleth

Ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν καὶ ἐκόμισαν τὰ ψηφίσματα. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 16. *p.* 462.

leth us of St. *Austin*, that *in ordaining Priests and Clergymen he deemed the greater consent of Christians, and the custom of the Church was to be followed.*

So *Celestine* the First: *Let no Bishop be given them against their wills; let the consent and request of the Clergy, the people and the order be expected*; and Pope *Leo* the First, *When there shall be an election of a Bishop, let him be preferr'd who has the unanimous consent of the Clergy and people; so that if the votes be divided and part for another person, let him, by the judgment of the Metropolitan, be preferr'd whose merits and interest are greatest, onely that none may be ordained against their wills or without their desire, lest the unwilling people contemn or hate a Bishop whom they never desired, and become less religious than they ought, because they could not have such a Bishop as they would.* And in other of his Epistles, *There is no reason that they should be accounted Bishops, who were neither chosen by the Clergy, nor desired by the people, nor with the Metropolitan's order consecrated by the Provincial Bishops.*----

Certainly the desires of the Citizens, and the testimonies of the people should have been expected, with the judgment of the honourable and the choice of the Clergy, which in the Ordinations of Priests use to be observ'd by those who knew the rules of the Fathers-- When peaceably and with such concord as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by the agreement of all---- Let Priests who are to be ordained be required peaceably and quietly: let the subscription of the Clergy, the testimony of the honourable, the consent of the order and people be observed; let him who is to preside over all be chosen by all. And Pope *Nicholas I. Because we know the custom of your Royal City, that none can arrive at the top of the highest Priestly power without the assent of the Ecclesiastical people and the Emperour's suffrage.*

In ordinandis verò Sacerdotibus & Clericis consensum majorem Christianorum, & consuetudinem Ecclesiæ quandam ipse arbitrabatur. Posid. *in* Aug. *Vit. cap.* 20.

Nullus invitis detur Episcopus; Cleri; plebis, & ordinis consensum ac desiderium requiratur—— Celest. *I. Ep.* 2.

Cùm ergò de summi Sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem Cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postulârint; ità ut si in aliam fortè personam partium se vota diviserint Metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus & studiis juvatur & meritis, tantùm ut nullus invitis, & non petentibus ordinetur; nè Civitas Episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, & fiat minùs religiosa quàm convenit, cui non licuit habere quem voluit. P. Leo. *I. Ep.* 84. *ad.* Anastas.

Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter Episcopos habeantur, qui nec à Clericis sunt electi, nec à plebibus expetiti, nec à Provincialibus Episcopis cum Metropolitani judicio consecrati. P. Leo. *I. Ep.* 92.

Expectarentur certè vota Civium, testimonio populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio Clericorum, quæ in Sacerdotum solent ordinationibus ab his qui nôrunt Patrum regulas custodiri. P. Leo. *Ep.* 89. *Dist. cap.* 27.

Quum per pacem, & Deo placitam concordiam consonis omnium studiis qui doctor pacis futurus est ordinatur. Ibid.

Per pacem & quietem Sacerdotes qui præfuturi sunt postulentur; teneatur subscriptio Clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus & plebis; qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur. Ibid.

P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 5. *Quia consuetudinem vestram novimus in Regia Urbe, minimò apicem Archieraticæ potestatis aliquem posse habere sine Ecclesiasticæ plebis assensu, atque Imperiali suffragio.*——
P. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 70. *Dist.* 62.

Now in all these proceedings it is most apparent that there was no regard had to the Pope, or any thought of him, out of his particular Territory; which he had as *Metropolitan*, (or afterwards as *Primate* in some parts of the *West*.) No where else had he the least finger in the Constitution of a Bishop any where through the whole Church; no not of the least Clergy-man.

When by Saint *Cyprian* so largely and punctually the manner of Constituting Bishops is declared; when the *Nicene* Canons and those of other Synods do so carefully prescribe about the Ordination of them; when so many reports concerning the Election of Bishops do occur in History, why is there not a tittle of mention concerning any special interest of the *Roman* Bishops about them?

Vid. P. Leo *Ep.* 84. 101. 107.

So true is that of *Alb. Crantzius: There was no need then of Apostolical confirmation, it was sufficient if the Election were approv'd by the Archbishop: now the Church of Rome has assum'd to her self the rights of all Churches.*

Nihil tum opus erat Apostolicâ confirmatione; satis erat electionem ab Archiepiscopo comprobari; nunc ad se omnium Ecclesiarum jura traxit Romana Ecclesia. Crantz. *Metrop.* 7. 45.

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We may by the way observe, that in the first times they had not so much as an absolute power of ordaining a *Presbyter* in the Church of his own City without leave of the Clergy and People; as may be inferred from that passage in *Eusebius*, where Pope *Cornelius* relateth that the Bishop who ordained *Novatus, being hindred from doing it by all the Clergy and by many of the Laity, did request that it might be granted to him to ordain that one person*; and he that so hardly could ordain one Priest in his own Church, what authority could he have to constitute Bishops in all other Churches?

Δεκωλυόμενος ὑπὸ μαντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαικῶν πολλῶν, ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. P. Cornel. *apud* Eus. 6. 43.

To all these Evidences of Fact our Adversaries do oppose some Instances of Popes medling in the Constitution of Bishops; as, Pope *Leo I.* saith, that *Anatolius* did *by the favour of his assent obtain the Bishoprick of Constantinople.* The same Pope is alledged as having confirmed *Maximus* of *Antioch.* The same doth write to the Bishop of *Thessalonica* (his Vicar) that he should *confirm the Elections of Bishops by his authority.* He also confirmed *Donatus* an *African* Bishop, ----*we will that Donatus preside over the Lord's flock upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his Faith.* Also *Gregory I.* doth complain of it as of an inordinate Act, that a Bishop of *Salonæ* was *ordained without his knowledge.* Pope *Damasus* did confirm the Ordination of *Peter Alexandrinus*; *The Alexandrians* (saith *Sozomen*) *did render the Churches to Peter being returned from Rome, with the Letters of Damasus, which confirmed both the Nicene Decrees, and his Ordination*: but what, I pray, doth Confirmation here signifie but approbation; for did he otherwise confirm the *Nicene* Decrees? did they need other Confirmation?

Bell. 2. 18. 20.

Satis est quòd vestræ pietatis auxilio, & mei favoris assensu Episcopatum tantæ Urbis obtinuit. P. Leo. *Ep.* 54.
De Marc. 3. 14. *sect.* 1.

Ut ordinationem rite celebrandum tua quoque firmet authoritas. P. Leo. *Ep.* 84. (*ad* Anastas.)

Donatum--- ità Dominico volumus gregi præsidere, ut libellum fidei suæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum --- P. Leo. *Ep.* 87.

Salonitanæ Civitatis Episcopus ne ac responsali meo nesciente ordinatus est, & facta res est, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principibus evenit. Greg. *Ep.* 4. 34.

Ἀλεξανδρεῖς· ἐπανελθόντι δὲ τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τότε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν κυρούντων, παρέδωκαν τὰς Ἐκκλησίας. Sozom 6. 39.

To the former Instances we answer, that being well considered they do much strengthen our Argument; in that they are so few, so late, so lame, so impertinent; for if the Pope had enjoyed a power of constituting Bishops, more instances of its exercise would have been producible; indeed it could not be but that History would have been full of them; the constitutions of Bishops being a matter of continual use, and very remarkable. At least they might have found one instance or other to alledge before the time of that busie Pope *Leo*; in whose time and by whose means Papal authority began to overflow its banks. And those which they produce do no-wise reach home to the point; *Anatolius* did obtain the Bishoprick of *Constantinople by the help of the Emperour, and by the assent of the Pope's favour:* what then? *Anatolius* being put into that *See* in the room of *Flavianus*, by the influence of *Dioscorus* (whose Responsal he had been) and having favoured the *Eutychian* Faction, Pope *Leo* might thence have had a fair colour to disavow him as uncapable of that Function and Dignity, he being so obnoxious; both having such a flaw in his Ordination, and having been guilty of great faults, adherence to the party of *Dioscorus*, and irregularly ordaining the Bishop of *Antioch*; but he *out of regard to the Emperour's intervention* did acknow-

Nos enim vestræ fidei & interventionis habentes intuitum, cùm secundum suæ consecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipsum quàm justiores esse volumus—— P. Leo *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Martianum.)

Decessore enim tuo B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defensionem Catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immeritò credebatur quòd ordinatores tui contra Sanctorum Canonum Constituta viderentur sui similem consecràsse —— *Post illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia*--P. Leo *Ep.* 53. *ad* Anatol.
Lib. cap. 12.

knowledge *Anatolius* for Bishop; this was the *favourable assent*, with which he upbraideth *Anatolius*, having displeased him: and what doth this signifie?

Again Pope *Leo* did not reject *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch* from communion, nor disclaimed his Ordination, although liable to exception: what then; is this a confirmation of him? No such matter; it was onely, which in such a vixonely Pope was a great favour, a forbearance to quarrel with him, as not duely ordained; which any other Bishop might have done. If a Pope had a flaw in his Ordination, another Bishop might refuse him.

Quod nos amore parandæ fidei, & pacis studio retractare cessavimus. P. Leo *Ep.* 54. (*ad* Martian.) *Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 10.

Again Pope *Leo* did enjoin the Bishop of *Thessalonica* to confirm Ordinations: what is that to the purpose? It belonged to that Bishop, as a *Metropolitan*, by the Canons to confirm those in his *Province*, or as a *Primate*, to confirm those in his *Diocese*; It belonged to him as the Pope's Vicar in those Territories, to which the Pope had stretched his Jurisdiction, to execute the Pope's Orders; but what is this to Universal Authority? It is certain, that *Illyricum* was then in a more special manner subjected to the Pope's Jurisdiction, than any of the other *Eastern* Churches; what therefore he did there, cannot be drawn into consequence as to other places.

The same may be said in answer to the complaint of Pope *Gregory*, and to any the like Instances.

Moreover, surreptitious, presumptuous, pragmatical intrusions, or usurpations of power do not suffice to found a right in this or any other case; to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such pleas, these Observations may be considered.

1. There do occur divers Instances of Bishops, who did meddle in Ordinations of other Bishops so as to bear great stroke in constituting them; who did not thereby pretend to Universal Jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence to infer they had any reasonable claim thereto.

Thus it was objected to *Athanasius*, *that he presum'd to ordain in Cities which did not belong to him.* *Eusebius* of *Constantinople* did obtrude *Eusebius Emissenus* to be Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Eustathius* of *Antioch* did ordain *Evagrius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Euzoius* delivered unto *Lucius* the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*. *Lucifer*, a *Sardinian* Bishop, did ordain *Paulinus* Bishop of *Antioch*; they for a *Salvo* say, as the Pope's Legate, but upon what ground or testimony? why did not Historians tell us so much; the Pope had then been hissed at, if he had sent Legates about such errands; it was indeed out of presumption and pragmatical zeal to serve a party, then ordinary in persons addicted to all parties, right and wrong; it not being then so expresly forbidden by the Canons as afterward.

Ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπῆγον, ὡς ἐν πόλεσι μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαις χειροτονεῖν ἐτόλμησεν. Soz. 3. 21.

Ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείας προεβλήθη θρόνον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐπισκόπου. Soz. 2. 5.

Socr. 4. 14.

Ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι Λουκίῳ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ τὰς ἐκεῖ Ἐκκλησίας. Socr. 4. 21.

Ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Παυλῖνον Ἐπίσκοπον. Socr. 3. 6. Socr. 6. 2.

Theognis and *Theodorus* did make *Macedonius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* did ordain St. *Chrysostome*. The *Egyptian* Bishops surreptitiously did constitute *Maximus*, the *Cynick* Philosopher, Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Acacius*, (who had as little to do there as the Pope) did thrust *Eudoxius* into the throne of *Con-*

Soz. 2. 6.

Θεόφιλος Ἰωάννην ἐχειροτόνησε. Socr. 6. 2.

Τούτου κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν Ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέστεσαν οἵ τοτὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου συνεληλυθότες. Soz. 7. 9.

Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἐνθρονισάν των αὐτόν. Socr. 2. 13.

Ἦλθε παρ' αὐτῶν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας καταπλεύσαντος. Soz. 7. 2, 3.

Ἀκακιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πατροφιλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξωθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν. Socr. 2. 238.

Post consecrationem Antiocheni Episcopi, quam tibimet contra Canonicam regulam vendicâsti——P. Leo. *I. Epist.* 53. (*ad* Anatol.)

stantinople. Meletius of *Antioch* did constitute St. *Gregory Nazianzene* to the charge of *Constantinople. Acacius* and *Patrophilus*, extruding *Maximus did in his room constitute Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem.* Pope *Leo* doth complain of *Anatolius*, that *against the Canonical rule he had assumed to himself the Ordination of the Bishop of Antioch.*

2. To obviate these irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the dissensions in Faith and especially upon occasion of *Gregory Nazianzene* being constituted Bishop of *Constantinople* by *Meletius*, and *Maximus* being thrust into the same *See* by the *Egyptians* (whose Party for a time the *Roman* Church did countenance) the second General *Synod* did ordain that no Bishop should intermeddle about Ordinations without the bounds of his own *Diocese.*

3. In pursuance of this Law, or upon the ground of it, the Pope was sometimes checked, when he presumed to make a sally beyond his bounds in this or the like cases.

As when Pope *Innocent I.* did send some Bishops to *Constantinople* for procuring a Synod to examine the cause of St. *Chrysostome*; *those of Constantinople*-----*did cause them to be dismissed with disgrace as molesting a government beyond their bounds.*

Τὰς μὲν ἐφορείας ἀρχὰς ἐνοχλήσαντας ἀτίμως ἐκπεμφθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. Sozom. 8. 28.

4. Even in the *Western* parts, after that the Pope had wrigled himself into most Countries there, so as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in Ordinations;—*we do not*, says Pope *Leo I. arrogate to our selves a power of ordaining in your Provinces.*

Non enim nobis ordinationes vestrarum Provinciarum defendimus. P. Leo *Ep.* 89.

Even in some parts of *Italy* it self the Pope did not confirm Bishops till the times of Pope *Nicholas I.* as may be collected from the submission then of the Bishop of *Ravenna* to that condition, *that he should have no power to consecrate Bishops canonically elected in the Regio Flaminia, unless it were granted him by letters from the Apostolical See.*

— & ne electos etiam Canonicè in Flaminia Episcopus consecrandi facultatem haberet, nisi id sibi à Sede Apostolica literis concederetur. Plat. *in P.* Nichol. I.

And it was not without great opposition and struggling that he got that power other-where than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things did afford him special advantage.

5. If Examples would avail to determine Right, there are more, and more clear Instances of Emperours interposing in the Constitution of Bishops, than of Popes. As they had ground in Reason, and authority in Holy Scripture. *And Zadock the Priest did the King put in the room of Abiathar. Constantine* did interpose at the designation of a Bishop at *Antioch* in the room of *Eustathius.* Upon *Gregory Nazianzene*'s recess from *Constantinople*, *Theodosius* (that excellent Emperour, who would not have infringed right) *did command the Bishops present to write in paper the names of those whom each did approve worthy to be ordained, and reserved to himself the choice of one*; and accordingly they obeying, he out of all that were nominated *did elect Nectarius.* **Constantius did deliver the See of Constantinople to Eusebius Nicomedienses*, ‖ *Constantius* was angry with *Macedonius* because he was ordain'd *without his licence.* † He re-

1 King. 2. 35.

Euseb. *de Vit.* Const. 3. 59. 60.

Περοσέταξε τῷ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγγράψαι χάρτῃ τὰς πρεσβυτερίας ὧν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξίων, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυλάξαι τῷ ἑνὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν---ὁ Νεκτάριος αἱρεῖται. Sozom. 7. 8.

* Εὐσεβίῳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρέδωκεν. Sozom. 3. 4.

‖ Ὅτι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπῆλθε, ἐχειροτονήθη. Soz. 3. 6.

† Τὰς μὲν ἐξάλασε τῆς Ἑλλησπόντου, ἕως ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς κηλασῶσι πρεσβεύσας. Sozomodor. 2. 27.

The

rejecting Eleusius and Sylvanus did order other to be substituted in their places. * When, before St. *Ambrose*, the *See* of *Milain* was vacant, a Synod of Bishops *there did intreat the Emperour to declare one.* || *Flavianus* said to the Emperor *Theodosius*, *Give forsooth, O King, the See of Antioch to whom you shall think good.* † The Emperour did call *Nestorius* from *Antioch* to the *See* of *Constantinople*; and he was (saith *Vincentius Lir.*) *elected by the Emperour's judgment.* The favour of *Justinian* did advance *Menas* to the *See* of *Constantinople*: and the same did prefer *Eutychius* thereto. He did put in Pope *Vigilius*.---

In *Spain* the Kings had the Election of Bishops by the Decrees of the Council of *Toledo*.

That the Emperour *Charles* did use to confirm Bishops Pope *John* VIII. doth testifie, reproving the Archbishop of *Virdun*, for rejecting a Bishop, *whom the Clergy and people of the City had chosen, and the Emperour Charles had confirmed by his consent.*

When *Macarius* Bishop of *Antioch* for *Monothelitism* was deposed in the sixth Synod, the Bishops under that throne did request the Presidents of the Synod to suggest another to the Emperour to be substituted in his room.

In *Gratian* there are divers passages wherein Popes declared, that they could not ordain Bishops to Churches, even in *Italy*, without the Emperour's leave and licence. As * indeed there are also in later times other Decrees (made by Popes of another kidney, or in other junctures of affairs) which forbid Princes to meddle in the elections of Bishops; as in the seventh Synod, and in the eighth Synod as they call it, upon occasion of *Photius* being placed in the See of *Constantinople* by the power of the Court. † And that of Pope *Nicholas* I. By which Discordance in practice we may see the consistence and stability of Doctrine and practice in the *Roman* Church.

The Emperours for a long time did enjoy the privilege of constituting or confirming the Popes: for, says *Platina*, in the Life of *Pelagius* II. || *nothing was then done by the Clergy in electing a Pope unless the Emperour approv'd the election.* He did confirm P. *Gregory* I. and P. *Agatho*.

Pope Adrian with his whole Synod did deliver to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the Pope and ordaining the Apostolick See--- He moreover defined that Archbishops and Bishops in every Province should receive investiture from him; and that if a Bishop were not commended and invested by the King, he should be consecrated by none; and whoever should act against this Decree, him he did noose in the band of anathema.

* Αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἠξίου ψηφίσασθαι —— Theod. 4. 7.

|| Τοι γάρ τοι δὸς ὦ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον ὦ βασιλεῦ —— Theod. 5. 23.

† *Visum est Imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Constantinopolitana Ecclesia Pontificem* ——

Nestorium quasi utilem ad docendum Constantinopolin Principes evocaverunt. Lib. Brev. 6. Socr. 7. 29.

Quem tanto Imperii judicio electum, tanto Sacerdotum studio prosecutum —— Vinc. Lir. *p.* 330.

Tunc Papa principis favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit Antistitem Lib. cap. 21.

—— ἀνεβίβασε τὸν Εὐτύχιον. Evag. 4. 38.

Conc. Tolet. 12. *cap.* 6. *apud.* Gr. *Dist.* 63. *cap.* 25.

Quem Clerus & populus Civitatis eligerat piæque memoriæ Carolus Imperator suo consensu firmaverat —— P. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 70.

Ἀιτοῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξότητα τοῦ ἀναγάγαι τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ —— ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἕτερον ἀντὶ Μακαρίου διὰ τὸ μὴ χηρεύειν τὸν τοιοῦτον θρόνον. *Syn. VI. Act.* 12. (*p.* 208.)

* *Dist.* 63. *cap.* 9. Greg. *I. Ep.* 4. 15.
cap. 15.
cap. 16, 17, 18.
P Leo. *IV.* & Steph.
Distinc. 63. *c.* 6, 7. *Distinc.* 63. *c.* 1, 2.
† *Ibid cap.* 4.

[It is a notorious thing, that most Princes in the West, in *Germany*, *France*, *England*, did invest Bishops, till the time of Pope *Gregory* VII. when that boisterous man did raise so much stir in Christendom to dispossess them of that right; which they enjoyed not onely as Princes, but as Founders, Patrons, Benefactours, Protectours of Churches.]

|| *Nihil à Clero in eligendo Pontifice actum erat nisi ejus electionem Imperator approbâsset.* Plat. *in* Pelagio *II.* (*p.* 154.)
Distinct. 63. Plat. *p.* 155.
Vid. Joh. Diac. & Anastas.
Dist. 63. *cap*, 21.
Hadrianus autem Papa eum universâ Synodo tradiderunt jus & potestatem eligendi Pontificem, & ordinandi Apostolicam Sedem —— Insuper Archiepiscopos & Episcopos per singulas Provincias ab eo investituram accipere definivit; & nisi à Rege laudetur & investiatur Episcopus, à nemine consecretur; & quicunque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit. Distinct. 63. *cap.* 22.

Largimur in perpetuum facultatem successorem, atque summæ Sedis Apostolicæ Pontificem ordinandi, ac per hoc Archiepiscopos seu Episcopos, &c. Distinc. 63. cap. 23.

Qui statim Romanorum inconstantiæ pertæsus authoritatem omnem eligendi Pontificis à Clero populòque Romano ad Imperatorem transtulit —— Plat. *in* Leo *VIII. p.* 291.

The like privilege did Pope *Leo* VIII. attribute to the Emperour *Otho* I. *We give him*, says he, *forever power to ordain a successour and Bishop of the chief Apostolick. See, and change Archbishops*, &c. And *Platina*, in his Life, says, *That being weary of the inconstancy of the Romans, he transferr'd all authority to chuse a Pope from the Clergy and people of Rome to the Emperour.*

Now I pray if this power of confirming Bishops do by Divine Institution belong to the Pope, how could he part with it, or transfer it on others; Is not this a plain renunciation in Popes of their Divine pretence?

Conc. Const. *Sess.* 40.
Conc. Bas. *Sess.* 37. (*p.* 98.)

Ἥνπερ ἔνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν — Theod. 5. 9.

6. General Synods by an authority paramount have assumed to themselves the constitution and confirmation of Bishops. So the Second General Synod did confirm the Ordination of *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, (*this Ordination*, say they, *the Synod generally have admitted*) although the *Roman* Church did not approve the Ordination of *Nectarius*, and for a long time after did oppose that of *Flavianus*. So the Fifth Synod it seemeth did confirm the Ordination of *Theophanius* Bishop of *Antioch*. So the Synod of *Pisa* did constitute Pope *Alexander* V. that of *Constance* Pope *Martin* V. that of *Basil* Pope *Felix* V.

7. All Catholick Bishops in old times might and commonly did confirm the Elections and Ordinations of Bishops, to the same effect as Popes may be pretended to have done; that is by signifying their approbation, or satisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their Faith, the attestation of their Manners, the legality of their Ordination, no canonical Impediment; and consequently by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and correspondence in all good Offices, which they express by returning κοινονικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ in answer to their Synodical---communicatory Letters.

Cùm locus Petri & gradus Cathedræ Sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Anton.)

Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam factam auctoritate majore —— *Ep.* 45. *ad* Corn.

Thus did St. *Cyprian* and all the Bishops of that Age confirm the Ordination of Pope *Cornelius*, being contested by *Novatian*; as St. *Cyprian* in terms doth affirm, *When the See of Saint Peter the Sacerdotal Chair was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied and by all our consents confirm'd*, &c.--- *to confirm thy Ordination with a greater authority.*

To which purpose, each Bishop did write Epistles to other Bishops (or at least to those of highest rank) acquainting them with his Ordination and enstallment, making a profession of his Faith, so as to satisfie them of his capacity of the Function.

8. But Bishops were complete Bishops before they did give such an account of themselves; so that it was not in the power of the Pope, or of any others to reverse their Ordination; or dispossess them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any such matter: this is plain; and one instance will serve to shew it; that of Pope *Honorius*, and of *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who speak of *Sophronius Patriarch* of *Jerusalem*; that he was constituted Bishop before their knowledge, and receipt of his Synodical Letters.

Ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθεὶς προέδρου· οὔπω γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῦ συνοδικαὶ μεχριτοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα. *Syn. VI. Act.* 12. 198.

Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν Ἐπισκόπου καθεστῶτος τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν — P. Honor. *Ib. p.* 198.

9. If

9. If the designation of any Bishop should belong to the Pope, then especially that of *Metropolitans*, who are the chief Princes of the Church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In *Africk* the most ancient Bishop of the *Province* (without election) did succeed into that dignity. Where the *Metropoles* were fixed, all the Bishops of the *Province* did convene, and with the consent of the Clergy, persons of quality, and the commonalty did elect him*. So was St. *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* elected. So *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, and *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, as the Fathers of *Constantinople* tell us. So *Stephanus* and *Bassianus* rival Bishops of *Ephesus* did pretend to have been chosen, as we saw before.

* *Metropolitano defuncto, cùm in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, Provinciales Episcopi ad Civitatem Metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium Clericorum atque omnium Civium voluntate discussâ ex Presbyteris ejusdem Ecclesiæ, vel ex Diaconibus optimus eligatur.* P. Leo *Ep.* 88.

The Metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the Provincial Bishops ought to meet in the Metropolitan City, that by the Votes of the whole Clergy and Citizens, out of the Priests or Deacons of the same Church, the fittest person may be chosen.

And for Confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any; except that Confirmation of which we spake, a consequent approbation of them from all their Fellow Bishops, as having no exception against them, rendring them unworthy of communion. In the Synod of *Chalcedon* it was defined that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should have equal Privileges with the Bishop of *Rome*; yet it is expresly cautioned there, that he shall not meddle in Ordination of Bishops in any *Province*, that being left to the *Metropolitan*—— For a good time, even in the *Western* parts the Pope did not meddle with the Constitution of *Metropolitans*; leaving the Churches to enjoy their Liberties. Afterwards with all other Rights he snatched the *Collation*, *Confirmation*, &c. of *Metropolitans*.

Μηδὲν ἐπικοινωνεῖν δὲ τὸν ἐκείνων χειροτονίας τῆς ὁσιοτάτης Ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος—— *Act.* 16. *p.* 464.

Vid Concil. Aur. *Can.* 7. *Apud de* Marc. *VI.* 4. *sect.* 8.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to Censure and Correct all inferiour Magistrates in proportion to their Offences: and in case of great misdemeanour or of incapacity they can wholly discharge and remove them from their Office.

This Prerogative therefore *He* of *Rome* doth claim as most proper to himself, by Divine Sanction. *Vid.* Gelas. *Ep.* 13. (p. 640.)

God Almighty alone can dissolve the spiritual marriage between a Bishop and his Church---Therefore those three things premised (the Confirmation, Translation and Deposition of Bishops) *are reserved to the Roman Bishop, not so much by Canonical Constitution, as by Divine Institution.*

Id ideò tria hæc quæ præmisimus non tam Constitutione Canonica, quàm Institutione Divinâ soli sunt Romano Pontifici reservata. P. Innoc. *III.* in Gregor. *Decret. Lib. I. Tit. 7. cap.* 2

This power the Convention of *Trent* doth allow him; thwarting the ancient Laws, and betraying the Liberties of the Church thereby, and endangering the Christian Doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of Papal Interest.

Causæ criminales graviores contra Episcopos, etiam hæresis quod absit, quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantùm summo Romano Pontifice cognoscantur, & terminentur. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 24. *cap.* 5.

But such a power anciently did not by any Rule, or Custom in a peculiar manner belong to the *Roman* Bishop.

Ἐπίσκοπον καθαιρεῖ πάντα κληρικὸν ἄξιον ὄντα καθαιρέσεως, πλὴν Ἐπισκόπου, μόνου γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τε. Const. *Ap.* 8. 28.

A Bishop may depose any Clerk who deserves it, except he be a Bishop, whom to deprive, one Bishop alone is not sufficient.

Pre-

Premising what was generally touched about Jurisdiction: in reference to this Branch we remark.

1. The exercising of Judgment and Censure upon Bishops (when it was needful for general good) was prescribed to be done by Synods; Provincial, or Patriarchal (Diocesan.) In them Causes were to be discussed, and Sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from faith, or committed misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the Synod of *Nice*; as the *African* Synod (wherein St. *Austin* was one Bishop) did observe, and urge in their *Epistle* to Pope *Celestine*; in those notable words, *Whether they be Clergy of an inferiour degree, or whether they be Bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed them to the Metropolitans charge, for they have most prudently and justly discerned that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they do first begin; and that the grace of the holy spirit would not be wanting to every particular Province.* The same Law was enacted by the Synod of *Antioch*, by the Synods of *Constantinople*, *Chalcedon*, &c.

Syn. Nic. *Can.* 5.

Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus Clericos, sive ipsos Episcopos suis Metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt: prudentissimè enim justissimèque viderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuique Provinciæ gratiam S Spiritus defuturam. Syn. Afr. *Ep. ad P.* Celest. *I.*

Syn. Ant. *Can.* 15.

Thus was *Paulus Samosatenus* for his errour against the Divinity of our Lord, and for his scandalous demeanour deposed by the Synod of *Antioch*. Thus was *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* (being accused of *Sabellianism* and of other faults) removed by a Synod of the same place; the which Sentence he quietly did bear. Thus another *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* (for his uncouth garb, and fond conceits against marriage) was discarded by the Synod of *Gangra*. Thus did a Synod of *Constantinople* abdicate *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, for heterodoxy in the point concerning our Lord's Divinity. For the like cause was *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium* deposed by a Synod there, *gathered by the Emperour's command.* So was *Athanasius* tryed, and condemned (although unjustly as to the matter and cause) by the Synod of *Tyre*. So was St. *Chrysostome* (although most injuriously) deposed by a Synod at *Constantinople*. So the Bishops at *Antioch* (according to the Emperour's order) deposed *Stephanus* Bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of *Euphrates* and *Vincentius*.

(*Ann.* 296.) Euseb. 7. 30.

Socr. 1. 24. Ἡσυχῇ τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἤνεγκε. Soz. 2. 9.

Socr. 2. 43. Soz. 3. 14. Socr. 1. 36. Socr. 2. 29. Socr. 1. 28.

Theod. 2. 10.

In all these Condemnations, Censures and Depositions of Bishops (whereof each was of high rank and great interest in the Church) the Bishop of *Rome* had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. All the proceedings did go on supposition of the Rule, and Laws, that such Judgments were to be passed by Synods.

St. *Chrysostome* δεκαπέντε Ἐπισκόπους, καθεῖλεν--- *Deposed fifteen Bishops.*

Act. 11. *Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 411. *Hæc* § *cum.* 4. *jungenda.*

2. In some case a kind of deposing of Bishops was assumed by particular Bishops, as defenders of the Faith, and executours of Canons; their Deposition consisting in not allowing those to be Bishops, whom for erroneous Doctrine, or disorderly Behaviour (notoriously incurred) they deemed incapable of the Office, presuming their places, *ipso facto* void.

Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνενέργητον πρὸς πᾶν ὅτιν τῶν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἱερατικῆς. *P.* Celest. *in* Nest. *Scnt.* Eph. *Act. p.* 195.

This Pope *Gelasius* I. proposed for a Rule, *That not onely a Metropolitan, but every other Bishop hath a Right to separate any persons or any place from the Catholick Communion, according to the rule by which his*

Quod non solùm præsuli Apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque Pontifici, ut quoslibet & quemlibet locum secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, à Catholica communione discernant. Ep, 4.

his heresy is already condemned. And upon this account did the Popes for so long time quarrel with the See of *Constantinople*, because they did not expunge *Acasius* from the roll of Bishops, who had communicated with Hereticks. So did Saint *Cyprian* reject *Marcianus* Bishop of *Arles* for adhering to the *Novatians*. So *Athanasius* was said to have deposed *Arian* Bishops, and substituted others in their places. So *Acasius* and his Complices deposed *Macedonius* and divers other Bishops. And the Bishops of those times καθαίρειν ἀλλήλους, factiously applying a Rule taken for granted then, *deposed one another*: So *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* deposed *Athanasius*. So *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* threatned to depose *Alexander* of *Constantinople*, if he would not admit *Arius* to communion. * *Acacius* and his Complices did *extrude Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. † He also deposed and *expelled Cyril* of *Jerusalem*: * and deposed many other Bishops at *Constantinople*. ‖ *Cyril* deposed *Nestorius*, and *Nestorius* deposed *Cyril*, and *Memnon*. *Cyril* and *Juvenalis* deposed *John* of *Antioch*. * *John* of *Antioch* with his Bishops deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon*. † Yea after the Synod of *Ephesus*; *John* of *Antioch, gathering together many Bishops did depose Cyril*. *Stephanus* concerning *Bassianus*; *Because he had entered into the Church with Swords--therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy Fathers, both by Leo of Rome the Imperial City, and by Flavianus; by the Bishop of Alexandria, and also by the Bishop of Anoioch*. *Anatolius* of *Constantinople* did reject *Timotheus* of *Alexandria*. *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* did reject *Petrus Fullo*.

Ἐπεὶ ἂν ἐχρὴν τὴν ὅλην καταδίκην φορεσθέντα μητ' ἑτέρας ἀρχὴν Ἐκκλησίας, ἢ διδασκάλου ὄνομα περιέρειν. Conc. sub Men. (*p* 10.)

Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Soz. 3. 21.

Socr. 2. 42.

Πρότερον καθελών. Socr. 2. 24.

Εὐσέβιος πολλὰ δι' ἐπιστολῶν, λέγων ὅσον οὐδέπω καθαιρήσειν αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται τὸν Ἄρειον. Socr. 1. 37.

* Ἐξώσαντες. Socr. 2. 38.

† Theod. 2. 26.

* Sozom. 4. 24.

‖ Socr. 7. 34.

Κύριλλος ὃν ἅμα καὶ Ἰουβεναλίου ἀμυνόμενος ὁ Ἰωάννου καθαιρεῖ καὶ αὐτόν. *Ibid.*

* Ἡ ἁγία συνοδος —— τοῦτον μὲν καθαιρεῖ διὰ τὰ περιειργασμένα πάντα, Μέμνονα δὲ ὡς συνεργὸν αὐτῷ. *Act. Syn.* Eph. *p.* 380.

Ὡς ἤδη νεκρὸν ἡγεμόνα καθελεῖν ἀναγκάσθημεν. *Ibid. p.* 320.

† Ἰωάννης ὁ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν Ἐπισκόπους καθαιρεῖ Κύριλλον, ἤδη καθυποβεβλημένον τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. Socr. 7. 34.

Ἐπεδήμει αὐτὸς ἐπισκοπῇ τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ μὲν ξιφῶν —— ἐξεβλήθη διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων, ὑπό τε τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου καὶ βασιλεύοντος Ῥώμης Λέοντος, καὶ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Φλαυιανοῦ —— καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 11. *p.* 405.

Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίοις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξεβάλετο αὐτόν. *Ibid. p.* 406.

Baron. *Ann.* 457. *Sect.* 34.

P. Felix III. *Ep.* 4.

3. St. *Cyprian* doth assert the power of Censuring Bishops, upon needful and just occasion, to belong to all Bishops, for maintenance of common Faith, Discipline and Peace.

Therefore, (saith he, writing to Pope *Stephanus* himself) *dear Brother, the body of Bishops is copious, being coupled by the glue of concord, and the band of unity, that if any of our College shall attempt to frame a heresie, to to tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the rest may succour, and like usefull and mercifull shepherds may gather together the sheep of our Lord into the flock.*

Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex Collegio nostro hæresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare, & vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, & quasi pastores utiles & misericordes oves Dominicas in gregem colligant. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. (*ad* Steph.)

The like Doctrine is that of Pope *Celestine* I. in his Epistle to the *Ephesine* Synod.

Ἀκόλουθα τοίνυν τοῖς πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ —— ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φρονήσει σφιγγόμεθα οἱ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην τῇ ἐκείνου διδαχῇ τὸ ἓν μὰ χωεῖς κηρύττοντες —— &c. Conc. Eph. *Act.* 2. *p* 324.

Τοιγαροῦν φειδόμεθα ὅτι, καὶ παρακλέον ὅπως καμάτῳ κοινῷ τὰ ἐμπεσόντα διαλύεται, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἕως τῶν νῦν συγκρατεῖται φυλάξωμεν. *Ibid. p.* 325.

In matter of Faith any Bishop might interpose Judgment --- *Theophilus* did proceed to condemn the *Origenists* without regard to the Pope.

Vid. Hier. 67. & 78.

Epiphanius did demand satisfaction of *John* of *Jerusalem*.

4. This

4. This common right of Bishops in some cases is confirmed by the nature of such Censures, which consisted in disclaiming persons notoriously guilty of Heresie, Schism or Scandal; and in refusing to entertain communion with them; which every Bishop, as entitled to the common Interests of Faith and Peace, might do

Cypr. Ep. 67. Ὅσοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν πίστιν Πατέρων τύπους διαπρεσβεύσαντες ἐωσπῆς ἐπ' ἔσχατα τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ὑπόμνησιν. Thalass. *in Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 191.

Ἐγκλῆσιν δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀγάπῃ μεμηνύκεναι τῆς παλαιῶν ἔθη δόξαντων μηδένα συγχωρεῖν τὰ κεκαλυμένα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ τις τολμηρὸς φανείη πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναντιοῦσθαι. P. Agapet. *ad* Petr. Hier. (*p.* 24.)

Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ὑποπτεύομεν τὸν τῆς θεσμῶν κανόνων ἐκδικησιν ἀφαιρεθῆναι μόνον ἐξ μόπτην, τήνδε τ' ὀρθῆς πίστεως ὑ μόνον ἱεροψυλάκους ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ χειραγωγούς. Menas (*Tom.* 4. *p.* 10.)

Plebs, &c. Deum metuens —— } Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

Vid. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 8. (*p.* 506.)

* *Cunctis monachis ab eodem Epiphanio scripta venerunt, ut absque satisfactione fidei nullus ei temerè communicaret.* Hier. *Ep.* 61. (*ad* Pammach.) *cap.* 15.

Alicubine dictum; aut tibi alicubi mandatum est, quòd sine satisfactione fidei communionem tuam subiremus? Ibid.

Quòd tibi non communicemus, fidei est. Ibid. cap. 16.

5. Indeed in such a case every Christian had a right (yea an obligation) to desert his own Bishop: So *John* of *Hierusalem* having given suspicion of Errour in Faith, * St. *Epiphanius* did write Letters to the Monks of *Palestine* not to *communicate with him, till they were satisfied of his Orthodoxy.* Upon which account St. *Hierome* living in *Palestine* did decline communication with the *Patriarch* thereof; asking him if it *were any where said to him or commanded that without satisfaction concerning his faith, they were bound to maintain communion with him.* So every Bishop, yea every Christian hath a kind of Universal Jurisdiction.

6. If any Pope did assume more than was allowed in this case by the Canons, or was common to other Bishops of his rank, it was an irregularity and an usurpation. Nor would Examples, if any were producible, serve to justifie them; or to ground a right thereto, any more than the extravagant proceedings of other pragmatical and factious Bishops in the same kind (whereof so many instances can be alledged) can assert such a power to any Bishop.

Theophilus, John of Antioch, Dioscorus.

7. When the Pope hath attempted in this kind, his power hath been disavowed, as an illegal, upstart pretence.

Novam legem, &c. Vid. de Conc. Sard.

8. Other Bishops have taken upon them, when they apprehended cause, to discard and depose Popes. So did the *Oriental* Faction at *Sardica* depose Pope *Julius* for transgressing, as they supposed, the Laws of the Church, in fostering hereticks, and criminal persons condemned by Synods. So did the Synod of *Antioch* threaten Deposition to the same Pope. So did the Patriarch *Dioscorus* make shew to reject Pope *Leo* from communion. So did St. *Hilary* anathematize Pope *Liberius.*

Soz. 3. 11.

Soz. 3. 8.

Evag. 2. 4.

Hilar. *fragm.*

9. Popes, when there was great occasion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmost power, have not yet presumed by themselves, *without joint authority of Synods,* to condemn Bishops; so Pope *Julius* did not presume to depose *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia,* his great Adversary, and so much obnoxious by his patronizing *Arianism.*

An qui in hominem Imperatorem peccâsse dicebatur, nullâ interveniente Synodo dejici debuerunt? P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 18.

Pope *Innocent* did not censure *Theophilus* and his Complices, who so irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St. *Chrysostome,* although much displeased with them; but endeavoured to get a General Synod to doe the business. Pope *Leo I.* (although a man of spirit and animosity sufficient) would not, without assistance of a Synod attempt to judge *Dioscorus,* who had so highly provoked him, and given so much advantage against him, by favouring *Eutyches,* and persecuting the Orthodox.

Indeed often we may presume that Popes would have deposed Bishops, if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, so that they could have expected success in their attempting it.

But

But they many times were angry when their horns were short, and shewed their teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by Popes jointly with others, or in Synods, (especially upon advantage, when the cause was just and plausible) is not to be ascribed to the authority of Popes as such. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority: so the Synod of *Sardica* (not Pope *Julius*) cashiered the enemies of *Athanasius*; so the Synod of *Chalcedon* (not Pope *Leo*) deposed *Dioscorus*; so the *Roman* Synod (not Pope *Celestine*) checked *Nestorius*; and that of *Ephesus* deposed him. The whole *Western* Synod (whereof he was President) had a great sway.

Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τυπώσει Cyril. *ad* Joh. Ant. *Conc.* Eph.— *p* 197. 332. *Syn. p.* 11, 60.

Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, καὶ ἡ σύνοδος αὕτη. Const. *Sacra. in Syn VI. p.* 11.
Ἀγάλλων Ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πάσαις ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῷ συνόδῳ τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου —— *Ibid p.* 60.
Ἅπασις καὶ δι' ἡμῶν συνόδου. *Act.* Eph. *p.* 332.
Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio à me, & ab his qui sub me constituti Episcopales Sedes gubernare noscuntur —— P. Felix. *ad* Petrum Antioch. *apud* Baron. *Anno* 483. Sect. 68.

11. If Instances were arguments of Right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power. Particular Bishops would have it, as we before shewed.

12. The People would have the power; for they have sometimes deposed Popes themselves, with effect.

So of Pope *Constantine Platina* telleth us, *at length he is deposed by the people of Rome, being very much provoked by the indignity of the matter.* *Tandem à Sede dejicitur à populo Romano irâ & indignitate rei percito.* Plat. *p.* 223. P. Leo *VIII. p.* 291. Anastasius Plat. *p.* 131.

13. There are many Instances of Bishops being removed or deposed by the *Imperial* authority. This power was indeed necessarily annexed to the *Imperial* dignity; for all Bishops being Subjects of the Emperour, he could dispose of their persons, so as not to suffer them to continue in a place, or to put them from it, as they demeaned themselves, to his satisfaction or otherwise, in reference to publick utility. It is reasonable, if they were disloyal or disobedient to him, that he should not suffer them to be in places of such influence, whereby they might pervert the people to disaffection. It is fit that he should deprive them of temporalties.

The example of *Solomon* deposing *Abiathar*. 1 Kings 2. 35.

Constantine M. * *commanded Eusebius and Theogonius to depart out of the Cities over which they presided as Bishops.* Εὐσέβιον καὶ Θεογόνιον φεύγειν ἐκέλευσε τῶν ὑπὲρ σφῶν πόλεων. Soz. 1. 21. Τότε μὲν ἐπὶ καθηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐξηλάθησαν. Theodor. 1. 20.

* He threatned *Athanasius* to depose him— ἐὰν γάρ σε ὡς κεκώλυκάς τινας αὐτῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μεταστήσω ἢ ἀπείρξας τῆς εἰσόδου, ἔσται σοι παρηγόρημα τῆς καθαιρέσεώς σε ἐξ ἐμοῦ κελεύσεως, καὶ τῶν τόπων μεταστήσαντα. Socr. 1. 27. Athanas. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 778.

Constantius deposed *Paulus* of *Constantinople*. Τὸν Παῦλον σχολάζειν ἐποίησεν. Socr. 2. 7.

Constantius ejected all that would not subscribe to the Creed of *Ariminum*. Τὴν δ' ἔκδοσιν τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ἐποιήσατο Ἑλευσίνιος ὁ πίστεως ἐκβαλὼν εἰς τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ἐκκλησίας ἐκπέμπειν, προσάξας πολλὰ βιαίως κατεπείγειν αὐτῇ, ἐξωθοῦντας τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ εἰς τοὺ τόπους αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἀντικαθιστάντας. Socr. 2. 37.

The Emperour *Leo* deposed *Timotheus Ælurus*, for which Pope *Leo* did highly commend and thank him. Evag. 2. 11. *Lib. cap.* 15. P. Leo *I. Epist.* 99.

The Emperours discarded divers Popes.

Constantius banished Pope *Liberius*, and caused another to be put in his room.

Lib. cap. 22. *Otho* put out *John* the Twelfth.

Evag. 4. 41. *Justinian* deposed Pope *Silverius*, and banished Pope *Vigilius*.

Evag 4. 11. *Justinian* banished *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, extruded *Anthimus* of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius* of *Alexandria*.

Neither indeed was any great Patriarch effectually deposed without their power or leave.

Flavianus was supported by *Theodosius* against the Pope.

Dioscorus subsisted by the power of *Theodosius Junior*.

Εἰ φίλον τῷ θειοτάτῳ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ. *Act.* 2. *p.* 202.

The Deposition of *Dioscorus* in the Synod of *Chalcedon* was voted with a reserve of, *If it shall please our most sacred and pious Lord.*

In effect the Emperours deposed all Bishops which were ordained beside their general Laws: as *Justinian* having prescribed conditions and qualifications concerning the Ordinations of Bishops, subjoineth,

Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem Episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis Episcopatu depelli. Justin. *Novell.* 123. *cap.* 1.

But if any Bishop be ordained without using our formentioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his Bishoprick.

14. The Instances alledged to prove the Pope's Authority in this case, are inconcludent and invalid.

They alledge the case of *Marcianus* Bishop of *Arles*; concerning whom (for abetting *Novatianism*) St. *Cyprian* doth exhort Pope *Stephanus*, that he would direct Letters to the Bishops of *Gaul*, and the people of *Arles*, that he being for his schismatical behaviour removed from communion, another should be substituted in his room.

Cypr. *Ep.* 67. *Dirigantur in Provinciam & ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstento Marciano alius in ejus locum substituatur* ——

The *Epistle*, grounding this Argument, is questioned by a great Critick; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, seeing it hath the style and spirit of St. *Cyprian*, and suteth his Age, and I see no cause why it should be forged; wherefore omitting that defence, I answer, that the whole matter being seriously weighed, doth make rather against the Pope's cause than for it; for if the Pope had the sole or Sovereign authority of rejecting Bishops, why did the *Gallish* Bishops refer the matter to St. *Cyprian?* why had *Marcianus* himself a recourse to him?

St. *Cyprian* doth not ascribe to the Pope any peculiar authority of Judgment or Censure, but a common one, which himself could exercise, which all Bishops might exercise, *It is* (saith he) *our part to provide and succour in such a case*; for *therefore is the body of Priests so numerous*, that ----*by joint endeavour they may suppress heresies and schisms.*

Cui rei nostrum est consulere, & subvenire ——
Idcirco copiosum est corpus Sacerdotum —— *Quando ipse est ab universis Sacerdotibus judicatus* ——

The case being such, St. *Cyprian* earnestly doth move Pope *Stephanus* to concur in exercise of Discipline on that Schismatick; and to prosecute effectually the business by his Letters; persuading his fellow-Bishops in *France*, *that they would not suffer Marcianus to insult over the College of Bishops*; (for to them it seemeth the transaction did immediately belong.)

Facere te oportet plenissimas literas ad co-Episcopos nostros in Gallis constitutos, nè ultra Marcianum Collegio nostro insultare patiantur. ——

To doe thus St. *Cyprian* implieth and prescribeth to be the Pope's special duty, not onely out of regard to the common Interest, but for his particular concernment in the case; that schism having been first advanced against his Predecessors.

Multo magis tu ——

St.

St. *Cyprian* also (if we mark it) covertly doth tax the Pope of negligence, in not having soon enough joined with himself and the community of Bishops in censuring that Delinquent. *Quod nedum vindicare à nobis abstinuisse.*

We may add, that the Church of *Arles* and *Gaul*, being near *Italy*, the Pope may be allowed to have some greater sway there, than otherwhere in more distant places; so that St. *Cyprian* thought his Letters to quicken Discipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

These things being duly considered, what advantage can they draw from this Instance? doth it not rather prejudice their cause, and afford a considerable objection against it?

We may observe, that the strength of their argumentation mainly consisteth in the words *quibus abstento*, the which (as the drift of the whole *Epistle*, and parallel expressions therein do shew) do signifie no more, than *quibus efficiatur ut abstento*, which may procure him to be excommunicated, not *quæ contineant abstentionem*, which *contain excommunication*, as *P. de Marca* glosseth; although admitting that sense, it would not import much, seeing only thereby the Pope would have signified his consent with other Bishops; wherefore *de Merca* hath no great cause to blame us, that we do *not deprehend any magnificent thing in this place for the dignity of the Papal See*; indeed he hath, I must confess, better eyes than I, who can see any such mighty things there for that purpose. Marc. 7. 1. 6.

As for the substitution of another in the room of *Marcianus*, that was a consequent of the excommunication; and was to be the work of the Clergy and people of the place; for when by common judgment of Catholick Bishops any Bishop was rejected, the people did apply themselves to chuse another.

I adjoin the Resolution of a very learned writer of their communion, in these words,

In this case of Marcianus Bishop of Arles, if the right of excommunication did belong solely to the Bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus Bishop of Lyons advertise Cyprian Bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcianus, which both Faustinus himself, and other Bishops of the same Province, had before sent word of to Stephen (Bishop of Rome) who lived nearest, being moreover of all Bishops the chief? It must either be said that this was done because of Stephen's negligence; or what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the Church, that all Bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent Cities, should join their Counsels for the welfare of the Church, and that Christian Religion might not receive the least damage in any of its affairs whatsoever: Hence it was that in the case of Marcianus Bishop of Arles, the Bishop of Lyons writ Letters to the Bishop of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the Bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, did write to the Bishop of Rome as being his brother and Collegue, who by reason of his propinquity might more easily know and judge of the whole matter.

In hac Marciani Episcopi Arelatensis causa si jus abstinendi sive excommunicandi competebat soli Episcopo Romano, cur Faustinus Episcopus Lugdunensis Cypriano Episcopo Carthaginiensi longe dissito semel atque iterum significat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipse Faustinus & alii ejusdem Provinciæ Episcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, & omnium Episcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuisse aut per negligentiam Stephani; aut quod magis videtur, per disciplinam quæ tunc in Ecclesia vigebat, ut omnes quidem in circumpositis locis, sed præsertim Urbium clarissimarum Episcopi in commune consulerent Ecclesiæ, viderentque ne quid detrimenti res Christiana Catholica caperet. itaque super isto Marciani Arelatensis facinore, Lugdunensem Episcopum ad Romanum & Carthaginiensem dedisse literas, istum verò ut remotissimum dedisse vicissim suas ad Romanum, ut fratrem & Collegam, qui in propinquo facilius posset de negotio & cognoscere & statuere. Rigalt. *in* Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

The other Instances are of a later date (after the Synod of *Nice*) and therefore of not so great weight; yea their having none more an-

cient to produce, doth ſtrongly make againſt the antiquity of this right; it being ſtrange, that no memory ſhould be of any depoſed thereby for above three hundred years, but however ſuch as they are, they do not reach home to the purpoſe.

They alledge *Flavianus* Biſhop of *Antioch* depoſed by Pope *Damaſus*, as they affirm. But it is wonderful they ſhould have the face to mention that Inſtance; the ſtory in ſhort being this, *The Great Flavianus* (a moſt worthy and Orthodox Prelate, whom St. *Chryſoſtome* in his Statuary Orations doth ſo highly commend and celebrate) being ſubſtituted in the place of *Meletius by the Quire of Biſhops*; a party did adhere to *Paulinus*; and after his deceaſe they ſet up *Evagrius*, ordaining him (as *Theodoret*, who was beſt acquainted with paſſages on that ſide of Chriſtendom, reporteth) againſt many Canons of the Church.

Τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνοντες —— Theod.

Theod. 5. 23. Socr. 5. 15. Soz. 8. 3.

Yet with this party, the *Roman* Biſhops, *not willing to know any of theſe things*, (three of them in order, *Damaſus*, *Siricius*, *Anaſtaſius*) did conſpire, inſtigating the Emperour againſt *Flavianus*, and reproaching him as *ſupporter of a Tyrant againſt the Laws of Chriſt.*

Ἀλλ' ὅμως τότων ἐδὲν εἰδέναι θέλοντες τὴν Εὐαγρίου μὲν κοινωνίαν ἠσπάζοντο, τῷ Φλαβιανῷ δὲ τὰς βασιλικὰς ἐνίπησαν ἀκοάς. Theod. *Ib.*

But the Emperour having called *Flavianus* to him, and received much ſatisfaction in his demeanour and diſcourſe, did demand and ſettle him in his place; *The Emperour* (ſaith *Theodoret*) *wondring at his courage and his wiſdom, did command him to return home, and to feed the Church committed to him*; at which proceeding when the *Romans* afterward did grumble, the Emperour gave them ſuch reaſons and advices that they complyed and did entertain communion with *Flavianus.*

Αὐτῷ τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐνεχθεῖσαν κατηλάκησεν, καὶ τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν ποιμαίνειν Ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν. Theod. *Ib.*

It is true, that upon their ſuggeſtions and clamours, the Emperour was moved at firſt to order that *Flavianus* ſhould go to *Rome*, and give the Weſtern Biſhops ſatisfaction: but after that he underſtood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance ſettled him in his *See.*

Here is nothing of the Pope's depoſing *Flavianus*; but of his embracing in a Schiſm the ſide of a Competitour, it being in ſuch a caſe needful that the Pope or any other Biſhop ſhould chuſe with whom he muſt communicate, and conſequently muſt diſclaim the other; in which choice the Pope had no good ſucceſs; not depoſing *Flavinus*, but vainly oppoſing him; wherefore this allegation is ſtrangely impertinent, and well may be turned againſt them.

Indeed in this Inſtance, we may ſee how fallible that *See* was in their judgment of things, how raſh in taking parties and fomenting diſcords; how pertinacious in a bad cauſe, how peeviſh againſt the common ſenſe of their brethren; (eſpecially conſidering, that before this oppoſition of *Flavianus* the Fathers of *Conſtantinople* had in their Letter to Pope *Damaſus* and the *Occidental* Biſhops approved, and commended him to them; highly aſſerting the legitimateneſs of his Ordination;) In fine, how little their authority did avail with wiſe and conſiderate Perſons, ſuch as *Theodoſius M.* was.

Theod. 5. 9. —— οὔτε τὴν ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τὴν ἀναπολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδεομένης κατηγορικῶς ἐκίνησεν —— ἅπερ ἔνδικον κίνησιν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν.

Socr. 5. 15. Marc. 3. 14. Sect. 1.

De Merca repreſenteth the matter ſomewhat otherwiſe out of *Socrates*; but take the matter as *Socrates* hath it and it ſignifieth no more, than that both *Theophilus* and *Damaſus* would not entertain communion

with

with *Flavianus*, as being uncapable of the Episcopal Order, for having violated his Oath and caused a division in the Church of *Antioch*: what is this to judicial Deposition? and how did *Damasus* more depose him than *Theophilus*, who upon the same dissatisfaction did in like manner forbear communion? whenas indeed a wiser and better man than either of them, St. *Chrysostome*, did hold communion with him, and did at length (saith *Socrates*, not agreeing with *Theodoret*) reconcile him to them both.

They alledge the Deposition of *Nestorius*. But who knoweth not, that he was for heretical Doctrine deposed in and by a General Synod? *Pope *Celestine* did indeed threaten to withdraw his communion, if he did not renounce his errour. But had not any other Bishop sufficient authority to desert a perverter of the faith? †Did not his own Clergy doe the same, being commended by Pope *Celestine* for it? ||Did not *Cyril* in writing to Pope *Celestine* himself affirm, that he might before have declared, that he could not communicate with him? Did *Nestorius* admit the Pope's judgment? no, as the Papal Legates did complain, * *He did not admit the constitution of the Apostolical Chair.* Did the Pope's Sentence obtain effect? No, not any; for notwithstanding his threats, *Nestorius* did hold his place till the Synod; the Emperour did severely rebuke *Cyril* for his fierceness, (and implicitly the Pope) and did order that no change should be made, till the Synod should determine in the case; not regarding the Pope's judgment: So that this instance may well be retorted, or used to prove the insignificancy of Papal authority then.

* Γινωσκέτω, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν οὐ δυνήσεται, ἢν μὴ —— P. Celest. *ad* Cyril. *in Conc.* Eph. *Act.* p. 281.

Παντελῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν συνόδου ἀπεκλείσθης, ἐὰν μὴ εὐθέως τὰ κακῶς εἰρημένα ὑπὸ σοῦ διορθωθῇ. *Ibid. Epist. ad* Nest. p. 186.

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζομεν. (*ad* Joh. Ant. p. 196.)

† Μακαρία δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη, ἣ παρέσχεν ὁ κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς. P. Celest. *ad Clerum, &c. Const. Act.* Eph. p. 190.

|| Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ καί τοι βουληθεῖς συνοδικῶ γράμματι φανερὸν αὐτῷ κατάστησαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντι καὶ φρονοῦντι κοινωνεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. Cyril. *Ep. and* Celest. *Act.* Eph. p. 177.

* Τὸν τύπον τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο. *Conc.* Eph. *Act.* 3. p. 331. *Vid.* Theodos. 2. *Epist. in Conc.* Eph. p. 224, & 225.

They alledge also *Dioscorus* of *Alexandria* deposed by Pope *Leo*: but the case is very like to that of *Nestorius*, and argueth the contrary to what they intend; He was, for his misdemeanours, and violent countenancing of heresie, solemnly in a General Synod accused, tried, condemned and deposed; the which had long before been done, if in the Pope, his professed and provoked Adversary, there had been sufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmine also alledgeth Pope *Sixtus* III. deposing *Polycronius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*: But no such *Polycronius* is to be found in the Registers of Bishops then, or in the Histories of that busie time, between the two great Synods of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*; and the *Acts* of *Sixtus*, upon which this allegation is grounded, have so many inconsistences, and smell so rank of forgery, that no conscionable nose could endure them; and any *prudent man* (as *Binius* himself confesseth) *would assert them to be spurious*. Wherefore *Baronius* himself doth reject and despise them; who gladly would lose no advantage for his Master. Yet Pope *Nicholas* I. doth precede *Bellarmine* in citing this trash; no wonder, that being the Pope, who did avouch the wares of *Isidore Mercator*.

Baron. *Ann.* 433. Sect. 38, 39. P. Nich. *I. Epist.* 8. (*ad* Mich.)

They alledge *Timotheus* the Usurper of *Alexandria* deposed by Pope *Damasus*; and they have indeed the sound of words attesting to them; *These are Heads upon which the B. Damasus deposed the Hereticks Apolinarius, Vitalius and Timotheus.*

Fac. Herm. p. 150.

Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τρισμακάριος Δάμασος καθεῖλεν Ἀπολινάριον, καὶ Βιτάλιον, καὶ Τιμόθεον τοὺς αἱρετικούς. *Orient. ad* Rutum. *apud* Bin. p. 396.

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The truth is, that *Apolinarius*, with divers of his Disciples, in a great Synod at *Rome*, at which *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria* together with *Damasus* was present, was condemned and disavowed for heretical Doctrine; whence *Sozomen* saith that *the Apolinarian Heresie was by Damasus and Peter, at a Synod in Rome, voted to be excluded from the Catholick Church.*

Μαθὼν ἓν ταύτῳ τῳ αἱρέσιαρχῃ πολλὰς ἑρμηνεῖας ἐφοίτα Δάμασος ὁ Ρωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδῳ ἁγίᾳ ἐν Ρώμῃ ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο. Soz. 6. 25.

On which account if we conclude that the Pope had an authority to depose Bishops, we may by like reason infer that every Patriarch and Metropolitan had a power to doe the like; there being so many Instances of their having condemned and disclaimed Bishops supposedly guilty of heresie; as particularly *John* of *Antioch*, with his convention of *Oriental* Bishops, did pretend to depose *Cyril* and *Memnon* as guilty of the same *Apolinarian* heresie; alledging that to *rescind them was the same thing as to settle Orthodoxy.* The which Deposition was at first admitted by the Emperour.

Τὸ καθελεῖν τούτους ἴσον ἦν καὶ τὸ ὀρθοδοξίαν στῆσαι. Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act. Eph. p. 380. Ὅσον καὶ νῦν τῶν γνωσθέντων ἕνεκα τῆς Εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νεστορίου καὶ Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεμνόνος καθαίρεσιν ἐδέξασθε. Act. p. 385.

Ann. 536. Vict. Tun.

The next Instance is of Pope *Agapetus* (in *Justinian*'s time, for so deep into time is *Bellarmine* fain to dive for it) deposing *Anthimus* Bishop of *Constantinople.* But this Instance being scanned will also prove slender and lame. The case was this: *Anthimus* having deserted his charge at *Trabisonde* did creep into the See of *Constantinople* (a course then held irregular and repugnant to the Canons) and withall he had imbibed the *Eutychian* heresie. Yet for his support he had wound himself into the favour of the Empress *Theodora*, * a countenancer of the *Eutychian* Sect. Things standing thus, Pope *Agapetus* (as an Agent from *Rome* to crave succour against the *Goths* pressing and menacing the City) did arrive at *Constantinople.* Whereupon the Empress desired of him to salute and consort with *Anthimus.* But he, by petitions of the Monks, &c. understanding how things stood, did refuse to doe so, except *Anthimus would return to his own charge, and profess the Orthodox doctrine.* Thereupon the Emperour joined with him to extrude *Anthimus* from *Constantinople*, and to substitute *Menas.* He (say the Monks in their Libel of request to the Emperour) *did justly thrust this Anthimus from the Episcopal Chair of this City; your Grace affording aid and force both to the Catholick faith, and the divine Canons.* The act of *Agapetus* was (according to his share in the common Interest) to declare *Anthimus* in his judgment uncapable of Catholick communion and of Episcopal Function by reason of his heretical Opinions, and his transgression of Ecclesiastical Orders; which moved *Justinian* effectually to depose, and extrude him; *You* (say they) *fulfilling that which he justly and canonically did judge, and by your general edict confirming it; and forbidding that hereafter such things should be attempted* —. And *Agapetus* himself saith * that it was done by *the Apostolical authority and the assistance of the most faithfull Emperours.* The which proceeding was completed by Decree of the Synod under *Menas*, and that again was confirmed

* Evag. 4. 10.

Denique petentibus Principibus, ut Anthimum Papa in salutatione & communicatione susciperet; ille fieri inquit posse, si se libello probaret orthodoxum, & ad Cathedram suam reverteretur. Lib. c. 21.

Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίας ἀθέσμως τολμώμενα μαθὼν —— *Libell. Monach. p. 7.*

Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον δικαίως ἐξωθήσας τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκοπικοῦ θρόνου, συνεπαμυνόσης, καὶ συνεπομένης τῇ καθολικῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς θείοις κανόσι τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας —— *Ib.*

Et. Syn. decr. p. 43.
Imper. Sanct. p. 128.

Ἀπεφήνατο —— μήτε καθολικὸν μήτε ἐπισκόπου οἰκεῖον ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα. Synodi Dec. p. 43.

Τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς κεκριμένα πληροῦντες, καὶ διὰ γενικῆς ὑμῶν νομοθεσίας κυροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ λοιποῦ τολμᾶσθαι ἀπαγορεύοντες —

* Τῆς γὰρ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καθέδρας τὸν ὑβρισμὸν βοηθείᾳ καὶ τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ Ἀποστολικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ, καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν βοηθείᾳ διορθώσαμεν. p. 24.

firmed by the Imperial Sanction. Whence *Evagrius* reporting the story, doth say concerning *Anthimus* and *Theodosius* of *Alexandria*, that *because they did cross the Emperour's commands, and did not admit the decrees of Chalcedon, they both were expelled from their Sees.*

Ὅμως δ' οὖν ὡς ἀντικρυ τῶν (l. ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῦ) βασιλέως κελεύσματων ἰόντες καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τα ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συντεθειμένα ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐξελαθέτην θρόνων. Evag. 4. 11.

It seemeth by some passages in the *Acts*, that before *Agapetus* his intermedling, * the Monks and † Orthodox Bishops had condemned and rejected *Anthimus*; according to the common Interest, which they assert all Christians to have in regard to the common Faith.

* p. 10. † p. 16.

As for the substitution of *Menas* it was performed *by the choice and suffrage of the Emperour, the Clergy, Nobles, and People conspiring*; the Pope onely (which another Bishop might have done) ordaining or consecrating him; Then (saith *Liberatus*) *the Pope by the Emperour's favour did ordain Menas Bishop, consecrating him with his hand.*

Κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ ψῆφον τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς τῆς δὲ τῆς ἁγιοτάτης Ἐκκλησίας κλήρου——

Tunc Papa Principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit Antistitem, consecrans eum manu suâ—— Lib. cap. 21.

And *Agapetus* did glory in this, as being the first Ordination made of an *Eastern* Bishop by the hands of a *Pope: And this* (said the Pope) *we conceive doth add to his dignity, because the Eastern Church never since the time of the Apostle Peter did receive any Bishop besides him by the imposition of hands of those who sate in this our Chair.*

Ὥπνι τῶν γαλληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπεγέλασεν ἡ ἐπιλογὴ—— *Act. p. 24.*

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀξίᾳ προστιθέναι, ὅτι περ ἐκ τῶν κρόνων τοῦ Ἀπιστόλη Πέτρου οὐδένα ἄλλον οἱαδείποτε Ἐκκλησία Ἀνατολικὴ ἐδέξατο Ἐπίσκοπον τῶν χερσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθέδρας χειροτονηθέντα—— *p. 24.*

If we compare the Proceedings of *Agapetus* against *Anthimus* with those of *Theophilus* against St. *Chrysostome*; they are (except the cause and qualities of persons) in all main respects and circumstances so like, that the same reason, which would ground a pretence of Universal Jurisdiction to one, would infer the same to the other.

Baronius alledgeth *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* deposed by Pope *Felix* III. But Pope *Gelasius* asserteth, that any Bishop might, in execution of the Canons, have disclaimed *Acacius*, as a favourer of Hereticks. And *Acacius* did not onely refuse to submit to the Pope's Jurisdiction, but slighted it. And the Pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual; for *Acacius* dyed in possession of his *See*.

Baron. *Ann.* 484. Sect. 19. *Vid. P* Felic. *III. Ep.* 6. *P.* Gelas. *Ep.* 4.

Ad cujus præcipuè vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit. Gelas. *Ep.* 13.

VIII. If Popes were Sovereigns of the Church, they could effectually, whenever they should see it just and fit, * absolve--- restore any Bishop excommunicated from the Church, or deposed from his Office by Ecclesiastical Censure; for Relief of the Oppressed, or Clemency to the Distressed, are noble Flowers in every Sovereign Crown.

* When a Bishop was unjustly censured upon malice or mistake--—— when he did repent of his errour or miscarriage—— when the case would upon any account bear favour or Pity——

Wherefore the Pope doth assume this power, and reserveth it to himself as his special Prerogative; *'Tis*, says *Baronius, a privilege of the Church of Rome onely, that a Bishop deposed by a Synod, may without another Synod of a greater number be restor'd by the Pope*; and Pope *Gelasius* I. says, *That the See of Saint Peter the Apostle has a right of loosing whatever the Sen-*

Privilegium quidem solius Ecclesiæ Romanæ esse reperitur, ut depositus à Synodo Episcopus absque alia Synodo majoris numeri restitui possit per Romanum Pontificem. Baron. *Ann.* 449. Sect. 127.

Quorumlibet Sententiis ligata Pontificum Sedes B. Petri Apostoli jus habet resolvendi. P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 13.

tences

Sedes Apostolica frequenter more majorum, etiam sine ulla Synodo præcedente & absolvendi quos Synodus iniquè damnaverat, & damnandi nullâ existente Synodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem—— Ibid.

tences of other Bishops have bound---- That the Apostolick See, according to frequent ancient custome, had a power, no Synod preceding, to absolve those whom a Synod had unjustly condemned, and without a Council to condemn those who deserv'd it.

It was an old pretence of Popes, that Bishops were not condemned, except the Pope did consent, renouncing communion with them. So Pope *Vigilius* saith of St. *Chrysostome* and *Flavianus*, that *although they were violently excluded, yet were they not look'd upon as condemned, because the Bishops of Rome always inviolably kept communion with them.*

— Qui licèt violenter excluſi ſunt, non tamen pro damnatis ſunt habiti, eò quòd ſemper inviolatam eorum communionem Rom. Pontifices ſervaverant. P. Vigilius *in Conſtit.* Athan. *&c.*

Quem (Johannem Chryſ.) Sedes Apoſtolica etiam ſola, quia non conſenſit, abſolvit. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 3.

And before him Pope *Gelasius* saith, that *the Pope by not consenting to the condemnation of Athanasius, Chrysostome, Flavianus, did absolve them.*

But such a power of old did not belong to him. For,

1. There is not extant any ancient Canon of the Church, nor apparent footsteps of custome allowing such a power to him.

2. Decrees of Synods (*Provincial* in the former times, and *Diocesan* afterwards) were inconsistent with, or repugnant to such a power, for judgments concerning Episcopal Causes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be so by Decrees of divers Synods; and consequently no power was reserved to the Pope of thwarting them by Restitution of any Bishop condemned in them.

Can. Apost. 10, 11, 12, 13. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 5. Sard. 16, 17. *Cod.* Afr. 9. *Conc.* Antioch. 6, 15. Evag. 2. 4.

3. The *Apostolical* Canons (which at least serve to prove or illustrate ancient Custome) and divers *Synodical* Decrees did prohibit entertaining communion with any person condemned or rejected by canonical Judgment; without exception, or reservation of power of infringing or relaxing that Prohibition; and Pope *Gelasius* himself says, *That he who had polluted himself by holding communion with a condemned person, did partake of his condemnation.*

Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus eſt particeps. P. Gelaſ. *Ep.* 13. (*p.* 640.)

4. Whence in elder times Popes were opposed and checked when they offered to receive Bishops rejected in particular Synods. So St. *Cyprian* declared the Restitution of *Basilides* by Pope *Stephanus* to be null. So the Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod did reprehend Pope *Julius* for admitting *Athanasius* and *Marcellus* to communion, or avowing them for Bishops, after their condemnation by Synods. And the *Oriental* Bishops of *Sardica* did excommunicate the same Pope for communicating with the same persons. Which Instances do shew, that the Pope was not then undoubtedly, or according to common opinion endowed with such a power.

Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

But whereas they do alledge some Instances of such a power, I shall premise some general Considerations apt to clear the business, and then apply answers to the particular Allegations.

1. Restitution commonly doth signifie no more, than acknowledging a person (although rejected by undue Sentence) to be *de jure* worthy of communion, and capable of the Episcopal Office; upon which may be consequent an Obligation to communicate with him, and to allow him his due Character; according to the Precept of Saint *Paul, follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.*

2 Tim. 2. 22.

This

This may be done, when any man notoriously is persecuted for the Truth and Righteousness. Or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppression of Innocence. Or when the Process is extremely irregular: as in the cases of *Athanasius*, of St. *Chrysostome*,---And this is not an act of Jurisdiction, but of Equity and Charity; incumbent on all Bishops: and there are promiscuous Instances of Bishops practising it. Thus *Socrates* saith, that *Maximus* Bishop of *Jerusalem did restore communion and dignity to Athanasius.* And so *Cyril* of *Alexandria* and *John* of *Antioch*, being reconciled and reduced to a good understanding of each other, *did restore to each other their Sees*; rescinding the Censures, which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which sheweth that Restitution is not always taken for an act of Jurisdiction; wherein one is Superiour to another; for those persons were in rank and power co-ordinate.

Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν. Socr. 2. 24.

Ἀλλήλοις τοὺς θρόνους ἀπέδοσαν. Socr. 7. 33.

2. Restitution sometime doth import no more than a considerable influence toward the effects of restoring a person to communion or Office; no judicial act being exercised about the case---- *The Emperour writing that Paulus and Athanasius should be restor'd to their Sees, availed nothing*---- That was a Restitution without effect.

Γράψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀποδοθῆναι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους οὐδὲν πλέον ἠνύετο. Socr. 2. 20.

Thus a Popes avowing the Orthodxy, or Innocence, or Worth of a person, after a due information about them, (by reason of the Pope's eminent rank in the Church, and the regard duly had to him) might sometimes much conduce to restore a person; and might obtain the name of Restitution, by an ordinary scheme of speech.

3. Sometimes persons said to be restored by Popes are also said to be restored by Synods, with regard to such instance or testimony of Popes in their behalf. In which case the Judicial Restitution, giving right of Recovery and completion thereto, was the act of the Synod.

Note, It is an ordinary style of Votes in Synods for the Restitution of a Bishop, *I restore*: *Vid. Conc.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 165. That is, I give my Vote for his Restitution.

4. When Cases were driven to a legal debate, Popes could not effectually resolve without a Synod, their single acts not being held sufficiently valid. So notwithstanding the Declarations of Pope *Julius* in favour of *Athanasius*, for the effectual resolution of his case the great Synod of *Sardica* was convened. So whatever Pope *Innocent* I. did endeavour, he could not restore St. *Chrysostome* without a General Synod.

Nor could Pope *Leo* restore *Flavianus*, deposed in the Second *Ephesine* Synod, without convocation of a General Synod, the which he did so often sue for to the Emperour *Theodosius*, for that purpose. Pope *Simplicius* affirmed, that *Petrus Moggus having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer* (or Usurper of the *Alexandrian* See) *could not without a common Council be freed from condemnation.*

Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum communi concilio damnatione liberari. Lib. c. 18.

5. Particular instances do not ascertain right to the Person who assumeth any power; for busie-bodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperours did sometimes restore Bishops. *Constantine* as he did banish *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and others, so he did revoke and restore them; so says *Socrates*, *They were recall'd from banishment by the Emperor's command and receiv'd their Churches.* *Theodosius* did assert to *Flavianus* his right, whereof the Popes did pretend to deprive him; which did amount to a Restitution (at

Ἀνεκλήθησάν τε τῆς ἐξορίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος, καὶ τὰς Ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτοῦ ἀπέλαβον. Socr. 1. 14. Theod. 5. 23.

leaſt to the *Romaniſts* who do aſſert *Flavianus* to be depoſed by the Popes.) *Inſtantius* and *Priſcillianus* were by the *reſcript of the Emperour Gratianus reſtored to their Churches. Juſtinian* did order Pope *Silverius* to be reſtored, in caſe he could prove his Innocence.

Reſcriptum eliciunt, quâ calcatis quæ priùs decreta erant, reſtitui Eccleſiis jubebantur: hac freti Inſtantius & Priſcillianus repetivere Hiſpanias. Sulp. Sev. 2. 63.

Revocari Romam Silverium juſſit, & de literis illis judicium fieri,— ut ſi falſe fuiſſent probatæ, reſtitueretur ſedi ſuæ Liberat. *Breviar. cap.* 22.

7. Commonly Reſtitution was not effectual without the Emperour's conſent; whence *Theodoret*, although allowed by the great Synod, did acknowledge his Reſtitution eſpecially due to the Emperour; as we ſhall ſee in reflecting on his caſe.

Now to the particular Inſtances produced for the Pope, we anſwer.

1. They pretend, that Pope *Stephanus* did reſtore *Baſilides* and *Martialis Spaniſh* Biſhops, who had been depoſed; for which they quote St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtle, where he ſays, *Baſilides going to Rome impoſed upon our Collegue Stephen, who lived a great way off and was ignorant of the truth of the matter; ſeeking unjuſtly to be reſtored to his Biſhoprick from which he had juſtly been depoſed.*

Romam pergens Stephanum Collegam noſtrum longè poſitum, & geſtæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi ſe injuſtè in Epiſcopatum, de quo fuerat juſtè depoſitus. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

But we anſwer; The Pope did attempt ſuch a Reſtitution by way of Influence and teſtimony, not of Juriſdiction; wherefore the reſult of his act in St. *Cyprian*'s judgment was null, and blameable; which could not be ſo deemed, if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable Sentence, paſſed by juſt Athority, is valid, and hardly liable to Cenſure. The Clergy of thoſe places, notwithſtanding that pretended Reſtitution did conceive thoſe Biſhops uncapable; and did requeſt the judgment of St. *Cyprian* about it; which argueth the Pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in ſuch caſes. St. *Cyprian* denieth the Pope or any other perſon to have power of reſtoring in ſuch a caſe; and exhorteth the Clergy to perſiſt *in declining the communion of thoſe Biſhops.* Well doth *Rigaltius* ask, why they ſhould write to St. *Cyprian* if the judgment of *Stephanus* was deciſive; and he addeth that indeed, *the Spaniards did appeal from the Roman Biſhop to him of Carthage.* No wonder, ſeeing the Pope had no greater authority, and probably St. *Cyprian* had the fairer reputation for wiſdom and goodneſs. Conſidering which things, what can they gain by this Inſtance? which indeed doth conſiderably make againſt them.

—quare etſi aliqui de Collegis noſtris extiterunt, qui Deificam diſciplinam negligendam putant—

(Nec cenſuræ congruit Sacerdotum mobilis atque inconſtantis animi levitate reprehendi. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

—Epiſcopatum gerere, & Sacerdotium Dei adminiſtrare non oportere.

Deſiderâſtis ſolitudinem veſtram vel ſolatio vel auxilio ſententiæ noſtræ ſublevari.

Nec perſonam in ejuſmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri poteſt humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit & legem tribuit divina præſcriptio.

—quantum poſſumus adhortamur, nè vos cum profanis & maculatis Sacerdotibus communicatione ſacrilegâ misceatis.

Sed cur ad Cyprianum ſi poteſtas infinita penes Romanum? Rigalt. *ibid.*

—datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginienſem adverſus Romanum. Id.

2. They alledge the Reſtitution of *Athanaſius*, and of others linked in cauſe with him, by Pope *Julius. He*, ſays *Sozomen*, *as having the care of all by reaſon of the dignity of his See, reſtored to each his own Church.*

Οἷα ὢν πάντων κηδεμονίας ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρου διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἁρχῆς, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε. Soz. 3. 8.

I anſwer, the Pope did not reſtore them judicially, but declaratively; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. *Julius* in his own Defence did alledge, that *Athanaſius* was not legally rejected; ſo that without any prejudice to the Canons he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account, plainly did not require any Act of Judgment.

Ὡς ὁμοδόξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήνατο. Soz. 3. 8.

Julii *Epiſt. apud* Ath. *in Apol.* 2.

Nay

Nay it was necessary to avow those Bishops, as suffering in the cause of the common Faith. Besides, the Pope's proceeding was taxed, and protested against as irregular; nor did he Defend it by virtue of a general power that he had judicially to rescind the Acts of Synods. And lastly, the Restitution of *Athanasius* and the other Bishops, had no complete effect, till it was confirmed by the Synod of *Sardica*, backed by the Imperal authority; which in effect did restore them. This instance therefore is in many respects deficient as to their purpose.

3. They produce *Marcellus* being restored by the same Pope *Julius*. Scor. 1. 36.

But that instance, beside the forementioned defects, hath this, that the Pope was grievously mistaken in the case; whence St. *Basil* much blameth him for his proceeding therein. Bas. *Ep.* 10.

4. They cite the Restitution of *Eustathius* (Bishop of *Sebastia*) by Pope *Liberius* out of an Epistle of St. *Bazil* where he says, *What the most blessed Bishop Liberius proposed to him, and to what he consented we know not; onely that he brought a Letter to be restored, and upon shewing to the Synod at Tyana was restored to his See.*

Τίνα μὲν οὖν ἂν προέτεθη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου, οὐκ οἴδαμεν· μόνον ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκατασταθῆναι αὐτὸν, ὃν ἀποδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ ἀποκατάστη τῷ τόπῳ —— Bas. *Ep.* 74.

I answer, that Restitution was onely from an invalid Deposition by a Synod of *Arians* at *Melitine*; importing onely an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his Faith professed by him at *Rome*; the which had such influence to the satisfaction of the *Diocesan* Synod at *Tyana*, that he was restored. Although indeed the *Romans* were abused by him, he not being found in faith; for *He now* (saith Saint *Basil*) *doth destroy that faith for which he was received*----

Soz. 4. 24.

Οὗτος νῦν προθεὶς τὴν πίστιν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη. Basil. *ibid.*

5. They adjoin, that *Thodoret* was restored by Pope *Leo* I. for in the Acts of the Synod of *Chalcedon* it is said, that *he did receive his place from the Bishop of Rome.*

Τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον ἀπέλαβε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλωνύμου Ῥώμης—— *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

I answer, The act of *Leo* did consist in an approbation of the Faith, which *Theodoret* did professe to hold; and a reception of him to communion thereupon; which he might well doe, seeing the ground of *Theodoret*'s being disclaimed was a misprision, that he (having opposed *Cyril*'s Writings, judged Orthodox) did err in Faith, consenting with *Nestorius*.

Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο—— *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 8. *p.* 368.

Theodoret's state before the Second *Ephesine* Synod, is thus represented in the words of the Emperour, *Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before commanded to mind onely his own Church, we charge not to come to the Holy Synod, before the whole Synod being met, it shall seem good to them that he come and bear his part in it.*

Θεοδώρητος μέν τι ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, ὃν ἤδη ἐνετειλάμεθα τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτὸν μόνῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέχειν, διατιθέμεθα μὴ πρότερον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ἐὰν μὴ πάσῃ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ συνελθόντων δόξῃ καὶ αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι, καὶ κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου. *Imp.* Theod. *Episc. ad* Dios. *in Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

He was not Perfectly deposed; as other were who had others substituted in their places. He was deposed by the *Ephesine* Synod.

Pro Theodoreto autem & Eusebio nullus ordinatus est. Liberat. 12.

Vid. Conc. Chalc. *part.* 2. *p.* 490. *Exsuli verò ab Episcopatu, &c. in Imperatoris* Theod. *rescripto.*

The Pope was indeeed ready enough to assume the Patronage of so very learned and worthy a man, who in so very suppliant and respectful a way had redressed to him for succour; for whom doth not courtship mollifie? And the majority of the Synod, (being

inflamed against *Dioscorus* and the *Eutychian* Party) was ready enough to allow what the Pope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the Synod (the Bishops of *Egypt*, of *Palestine* of *Illyricum* notwithstanding the Pope's Restitution (that is, his approbation in order thereto) did stickle against his admission into the Synod; *crying out, have pity on us, the faith is destroyed, the Canons proscribe this man, cast out, cast out Nestorius his Master.* So that the *Imperial* Agents were fain to compromise the business, permitting him to sit in the Synod, as one whose case was dependent, but not in the notion of one absolutely restored: *Theodoret's presence shall prejudice no man, each one's right of impleading being reserved both to you and him.*

Ἐξεβόησαν, ἐλεήσατε, ἡ πίστις ἀπόλλυται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσιν, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίῳ ἔξω βάλε. *Ibid. p.* 54.

Πρόκριμα οὐδὲ τοῦ παρεῖναι Θεοδώρητον οὐδενὶ γενήσεται, φυλαττομένου δηλονότι μετὰ ταῦτα παντὸς λόγου καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ— *Ibid.*

He therefore was not entirely restored, till upon a clear and satisfactory profession of his Faith he was acquitted by the judgment of the Synod. The effectual Restitution of him proceeded from the Emperour, who repealed the proceedings against him: as himself doth acknowledge; *All these things*, says he, *has the most just Emperour evacuated---- to these things he premised the redressing my injuries*; and the Imperial Judges in the Synod of *Chalcedon* join the Emperour in the Restitution---- *Let the most reverend Theodoret enter and bear his part in the Synod, since the most holy Archbishop Leo, and sacred Emperour have restored his Bishoprick to him.* Hence it may appear that the Pope's Restitution of *Theodoretus* was onely opinionative, dough-baked, incomplete; so that it is but a slimm advantage, which their pretence can receive from it.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέλυκεν ὁ δικαιότατος βασιλεύς —— Theod. *Ep.* 139. (*ad* Asperam.)

Προτεθείκε τούτοις τὴν ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τὴν ἴασιν—— *Ep.* 138. (*ad* Anatol.)

Εἰσίτω καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος Θεοδώρητος κοινωνήσων τῇ συνόδῳ, ἐπειδὰν καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ ἁγιώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, καὶ θειότατος βασιλεύς—— *Act.* 1. *p.* 53.

IX. It belongeth to Sovereigns to receive *Appeals* from all lower Judicatures, for the final determination of Causes; so that no part of his Subjects can obstruct resort to him, or prohibit his revision of any Judgment.

This Power therefore the Pope doth most stifly assert to himself. At the Synod of *Florence*, this was the first and great Branch of Authority, which he did demand of the *Greeks* explicitely to avow: ---- *he will* (said his three Cardinals to the Emperour) *have all the Privileges of his Church, and that Appeals be made to him.* When Pope *Alexander* III. was advised not to receive an Appeal in *Becket*'s Case, he replied in that profane allusion, *This is my glory, which I will not give to another.* He hath been wont to encourage all People, even upon the slightest occasions, *iter arripere* (as the phrase is obvious in their Canon Law) to run with all haste to his audience; *Concerning Appeals for the smallest causes we would have you hold, that the same deference is to be given them for how slight a matter soever they be made as if they were for a greater.* See, if you please in *Gratian*'s Decree, *Caus.* 2. *quæst.* 6. where many Papal Decrees (most indeed drawn out of the spurious *Epistles* of ancient Popes, but ratified by

Θέλει τὰ προνόμια πάντα τῆς Ἑλκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον—— *Syn.* Flor. *Sess.* 25. *p.* 846.

Hæc est gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

De appellationibus pro minimis causis volumus te tenere, quòd eis pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quàm si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum. Alex. *III. Ep. ad* Vigorn. *Episc. in decret.* Greg. *lib.* 2. *tit.* 28. *cap.* 11.

Caus. 2. *qu.* 6. *Caus.* 3. *qu.* 6. *Caus.* 9. *qu* 3. *cap.* 16.

by their Succeſſours, and obtaining for current Law) are made for Appeals to the See of *Rome.*

It was indeed one of the moſt ancient encroachments, and that which did ſerve moſt to introduce the reſt; inferring hence a title to an univerſal Juriſdiction: *They are the Cannos*, ſays Pope *Nicholas* I. *which will that all Appeals of the whole Church be brought to the examination of this See, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it, and that thus ſhe judge of the whole Church, but her ſelf goes to be judged by none other*; and the ſame Pope, in another of his *Epiſtles*, ſays, *The holy ſtatutes and venerable decrees have committed the cauſes of Biſhops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us--- As the Synod has appointed and uſage requires, let greater and difficult caſes be always referred to the Apoſtolick See*, ſays Pope *Pelagius* II. *They are the canons which will have the appeals of the whole Church tryed by this See*, ſaith Pope *Gelaſius* I.

Ipſi ſunt Canones, qui appellationes totius Eccleſiæ ad hujus Sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipſa verò nuſquam prorſus appellari debere ſanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota Eccleſia judicare ipſam ad nullius commeare judicium. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 8.

Sacra ſtatuta, & veneranda decreta Epiſcoporum cauſas, utpote majora negotia noſtræ diſiniendas cenſuræ mandârunt. P. Nich. *I Ep.* 38.

Majores verò & difficiles queſtiones (ut ſancta Synodus ſtatuit, & beata conſuetudo exigit) ad Sedem Apoſtolicam ſemper referantur. P. Pelaga. II. *Epiſt.* 8.

Ipſi ſunt canones qui appellationes totius Eccleſiæ ad hujus Sedis examen voluere deferri. P. Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 4.

But this power is upon various accounts unreaſonable, grievous and vexatious to the Church; as hath been deemed and upon divers occaſions declared by the ancient Fathers, and grave perſons in all times; upon accounts not only blaming the horrible abuſe of Appeals, but implying the great miſcheifs inſeparably adherent to them

The Synod of *Baſil* thus excellently declared concerning them: *Hitherto many abuſes of intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilſt many have too often been called and cited from the moſt remote parts to the Court of Rome, and that ſometimes for ſmall and trifling matters, and with charges and trouble to be ſo wearied, that they ſometime think it their beſt way to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loſs, rather than be at the coſt of ſuing in ſo remote a Countrey.*

Concil. Baſil. *Seſſ.* 31. (*p.* 86.)
Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abuſus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotiſſimis etiam partibus ad Romanam Curiam, & interdum pro parvis & minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, & evocari conſueverunt, atque ità expenſis & laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur juri ſuo cedere, aut vexationem ſuam grave damno redimere, quàm in tam longinqua regione litium ſubire diſpendia; &c. Vid. Opt.

Saint *Bernard* complaineth of the miſchiefs of Appeals in his times in theſe words, *How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole World, or make as if you were ſo? why ſleep you? when will the conſideration of ſo great confuſion and abuſe in appeals awake in you? they are made without right or equity, without due order and againſt cuſtome. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cauſe, nor perſon are conſidered: they are every where made lightly and for the moſt part unjuſtly:* with much more paſſionate language to the ſame purpoſe.

Bern. *de Conſid. lib.* 3. *cap.* 2.
Quouſque murmur univerſæ terræ aut diſſimulas, aut non advertis? ---&c.

But in the Primitive Church the Pope had no ſuch power.

1. Whereas in the firſt times many cauſes and differences did ariſe, wherein they who were condemned and worſted, would readily have reſorted thither where they might have hoped for remedy, if *Rome* had been ſuch a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it; and we ſhould find Hiſtory full of examples; whereas it is very ſilent about them.

2. The moſt ancient Cuſtoms and Canons of the Church are flatly repugnant to ſuch a power, for they did order cauſes finally to be decided in each Province.

So

So the Synod of *Nice* did Decree; as the *African* Fathers did alledge, in defence of their refusal to allow appeals to the Pope: *The Nicene decrees* (said they) *most evidently did commit both Clergymen of inferiour degrees and Bishops to their Metropolitans.*

Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus Clericos sive Episcopos suis Metropolitanis apertissimè commiserunt. Syn. Afr. *in Ep. ad P.* Celest.

So *Theoph.*--- in his *Epistle*, *I suppose you are not ignorant what the Canons of the Nicene Council command, ordaining that a Bishop should judge no cause out of his own district.*

Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni Concilii Canones, sancientes Episcopum non judicare causam citra terminos suos——nam—— Pallad. *cap.* 7.

3. Afterward when the *Diocesan* administration was introduced, the last resort was decreed to the *Synods* of them (or to the *Primates* in them) all other appeals being prohibited; *as dishonourable to the Bishops of the Diocese; reproaching the Canons, and subverting Ecclesiastical Order*; To which Canon the Emperour *Justinian* referred; *For it is decreed by our Ancestours that against the Sentence of these Prelates there should be no Appeal.* So *Constantius* told Pope *Liberius---that those things which had a form of Judgement past on them could not be rescinded.* This was the practice (at least in the *Eastern* parts of the Church) in the time of *Justinian:* as is evident by the *Constitutions* extant in the *Code* and in the *Novels.*

Note, That the Synod of *Constantinople* (*Can.* 6.) mentioning Appeals to the Emperour, secular Judicatories, a General Synod, saith,

Ἀτιμάσας τοὺς τῆς διοικήσεως Ἐπισκόπους, &c. *Syn.* Const. *Can.* 6.

Concil. Constantinop. *Can.* 2, 6.

Concil. Chalced. *Can.* 2, 17.

Nam contra horum Antistitum Sententias non esse locum Apellationi à majoribus nostris constitutum est. Cod. Lib. 1. *tit.* 4. *cap.* 29.

Τὰ ἤδη τύπον ἐρρηκότα ἀναλύεσθαι οὐ δύναται. Theod. 11. 16.

Nov. 123. *cap.* 22.

Cod. Lib. 1. *tit.* 4. *Sect.* 29. *Vid.* Græc.

4. In derogation to this pretence divers *Provincial* Synods expresly did prohibit all *Appeals* from their decisions.

Can. 12. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* 15. *Conc.* Carth. *Can.* 31.

That of *Milevis*, --- *Let them appeal onely to African Councils or the Primates of Provinces; and he who shall think of appealing beyond Sea, let him be admitted into communion by none in Africk.*

Non provocent nisi ad Africana Concilia, vel ad Primates Provinciarum; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, à nullo infra Africam in communionem suscipiatur. Conc. Milev. *cap.* 22. *Conc.* Afr. *Can.* 72.

For if the Nicene Council took this care of the inferiour Clergy, how much more did they intend it should relate to Bishops also?

Nam si de inferioribus Clericis in Concilio Niceno hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de Episcopis voluit observari? Conc. Afr. *Can.* 105. (*vel Epist.*)

5. All persons were forbidden to entertain communion with Bishops condemned by any one Church, which is inconsistent with their being allowed relief at *Rome.*

6. This is evident in the case of *Marcion*, by the assertion of the *Roman* Church at that time.

7. When the Pope hath offered to receive Appeals, or to meddle in cases before decided, he hath found opposition and reproof. Thus when *Felicissimus* and *Fortunatus*, having been censured and rejected from communion in *Africk*, did apply themselves to Pope *Cornelius*, with supplication to be admitted by him; Saint *Cyprian* maintaineth that fact to be irregular and unjust, and not to be countenanced, for divers reasons. Likewise, when *Basilides* and *Martialis*, being for their crimes deposed in *Spain*, had recourse to Pope *Stephanus* for Restitution, the Clergy and People there had no regard to the judgment of the Pope; the which their resolution Saint *Cyprian* did commend and encourage.

Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad* Cornelium.)

Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

When

When *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, *Paulus*, &c. having been condemned by *Synods*, did apply themselves for relief to Pope *Julius*; the *Oriental* Bishops did highly tax this course as irregular; disclaiming any power in him to receive them, or meddle in their cause. Nor could Pope *Julius* by any Law or Instance disprove their plea; Nor did the Pope assert to himself any peculiar authority to revise the Cause, or otherwise justifie his proceeding than by right common to all Bishops of vindicating Right and Innocence, which were oppressed; and of asserting the Faith, for which they were persecuted. Indeed at first the Oriental Bishops were contented to refer the cause to Pope *Julius* as Arbitratour; which signifieth that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their Cause or his Prejudice, they started, and stood to the canonicalness of the former decision.

The contest of the *African* Church with Pope *Celestine*, in the Cause of *Apiarius* is famous; and the Reasons which they assign for repelling that Appeal, are very notable peremptory.

8. Divers of the Fathers alledge like reasons Appeals. Saint *Cyprian* alledgeth these: *Refer: ad* Sect. 7. *Vid. Supr.*

Oportet utique eos iquibus præsumus non circumcurſare, nec Episcoporum concordiam cohærentem suâ subdolâ & fallaci temeritate colliderе, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi & accusatores habere, & testes sui criminis possint. Cypr. *Ep.* 55.

1. Because there was an Ecclesiastical Law against them.

2. Because they contain iniquity; as prejudicing the right of each Bishop granted by Christ, in governing his flock.

3. Because the Clergy and People should not be engaged to run gadding about.

4. Because Causes might better be decided there, where witnesses of fact might easily be had.

5. Because there is every where a competent authority, equal to any that might be had otherwhere.

6. Because it did derogate from the gravity of Bishops to alter their Censure----

7. Pope *Liberius* desired of *Constantius* that the Judgment of *Athanasius* might be made in *Alexandria* for such reasons, *because there the accused, the accusers, and their defender were.*

——Ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀπολογούμενος αὐτῶν —— Theod. 11. 16.

8. St. *Chrysostome*'s Agument against *Theophilus* meddling in his case may be set against *Rome* as well as *Alexandria*.

9. St. *Austin* in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid Arbitration (more proper for Ecclesiastical causes) doth conjoin other Appostolical Churches whith that of *Rome*; *For the business*, says he, *was not about Priests and Deacons or the inferiour Clergy, but the Collegues* [*Bishops*,] *who may reserve their cause entire for the judgment of their Collegues, especially those of the Apostolical Churches.* He would not have said so, if he had apprehended that the Pope had a peculiar right of revising Judgments.

Neque enim de Presbyteris aut Diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis Clericis, sed de Collegis agebatur qui possunt aliorum Collegarum judicio, præsertim Apostolicarum Ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare. Aug. *Ep.* 162.

10. Pope *Damasus* (or rather Pope *Siricius*) doth affirm himself incompetent to judge in a case, which had been afore determined by the Synod of *Capua*; ---*but*, says he, *since the Synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it.*

Sed cùm hujusmodi fuerit Concilii Capuensis judicium——advertimus quòd à nobis judicandi forma competere non possit.

11. Anciently there were no Appeals (properly so called or jurisdictional) in the Church; they were, as *Socrates* telleth us, introduced

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τὸ συνηθες τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόν: Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν, ἐκκλήτοις ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος. Socr. 2. 40. Καθαιρεθεὶς δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐκκλήτου βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μεῖζον ἐπικαλέσατο δικαστήριον. Ibid.

ced by *Cyril of Hierusalem*; who *first did appeal to a greater Judicature, against Ecclesiastical rule and custome.* This is an Argument, that about that time (a little before the great Synod of *Constantinople*) greater Judicatories, or *Diocesan* Synods were established; whenas before *Provincial* Synods were the last resorts.

Being deposed he sent a libel of Appeal to them who deposed him, appealing to a greater Judicature.

12. Upon many occasions Appeals were not made to the Pope as in all likelihood they would have been, if it had been supposed that a power of receiving them did belong to him. *Paulus Samosatenus* did appeal to the Emperour. The *Donatists* did not appeal to the Pope, but to the Emperour. Their Cause was by the Emperour referred not to the Pope singly (as it ought to have been, and would have been by so just a Prince if it had been his right) but to him and other judges as the Emperour's Commisioners. *Athanasius* did first appeal to the Emperour. St *Chrysostome* did request the Pope's Succour, but he did not appeal to him as judge; altho' he knew him favourably disposed, and the Cause sure in his hand; but he appealed to a General Council; the which *Innocent* hinself did conceive *necessary* for decision of that Cause.

Illos verò ab Ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, &c. Aug. Ep.

Ad Imperatorem appellaverunt. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap* 16.

Quid quod nec ipse Usurpavit; rogatus Imperator judices misit Episcopos qui cum ipso sederent, & de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent. Aug. Ep. 162.

Ἀναγκαία ἐστὶ διάγνωσις συνοδική. Sozom. 8. 26.

[There are in History innumerable Instances of Bishops being condemned and expelled from their Sees, but few of appeals; which is a sign that was no approved remedy in common opinion.]

Eutyches did appeal to all the *Patriarchs*. *Theodoret* did intend to appeal to all the *Western* Bishops.

Infrà.
Infrà.

13. Those very Canons of *Sardica* (the most unhappy that ever were made to the Church) which did introduce appeals to the Pope, do yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and do upon no account favour that use of them, to which (to the overthrow of all Ecclesiastical liberty and good discipline) they have been perverted. For,

1. They do pretend to confer a Privilege on the Pope; which argueth that he before had no claim thereto.

2. They do qualifie and restrain that Privilege to certain Cases and Forms; which is a sign, that he had no power therein flowing from absolute Sovereignty; for it is strange, that they who did Pretend and intend so much to favour him should clip his power.

3. It is not really a power which they grant of receiving Appeals in all causes; but a power of constituting Judges, qualified according to certain conditions, to revise a special sort of causes concerning the Judgment and Deposition of Bishops. Which considerations do subvert his pretence to original and universal Jurisdiction upon Appeals.

14. Some Popes did challenge Jurisdiction upon Appeals, as given them by the *Nicene* Canons, meaning thereby those of *Sardica*; which sheweth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right. And otherwere we shall consider, what validity those Canons may be allowed to have.

15. The General Synod of *Chalcedon* (of higher authority than that af *Sardica*) derived Appeals, at least in the *Eastern* Churches, into another chanel; namely to the *Primate* of each *Diocese*, or to the *Patriarch*

arch of *Constantinople.* That this was the last resort doth appear, from that otherwise they would have mentioned the Pope. *Can.* 9, 17.

16. Appeals in cases of Faith, or general Discipline were indeed sometimes made to the consideration of the Pope; but not onely to him, but to all other *Patriarchs* and *Primates*, as concerned in the common maintenance of the common Faith, or Discipline. So did *Eutyches* appeal to the *Patriarchs.*

17. The Pope even in later times, even in the *Western* parts hath found rubs in his Trade of Appeals. Consider the scuffle between Pope *Nicholas* I. and *Hincmarus* Bishop of *Rhemes.* Baron. *Anno* 865 — *P.* Nic. *I. Ep.* 37, *&c. Vid:* Matt. Paris, *Ann.* 1094.

18. Christian States, to prevent the intolerable vexations and mischiefs arising from this practice, have been constrained to make Laws against them. Particularly *England.* Statutes of *Provisors, Premunire, &c.*

In the Twelfth Age Pope *Paschal* II. complained of King *Henry* I. *That he deprived the oppressed of the benefit of appealing to the Apostolick See.* It was one of King *Henry* I. Laws, ---*none is permitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to the Apostolick See. Foreign judgments we utterly remove,* ----*there let the cause be tried where the crime was committed.* It was one of the Grievances sent to Pope *Innocent* IV. *That Englishmen were drawn out of the Kingdom by the Pope's Authority, to have their causes heard.*

Vos oppressis Apostolicæ Sedis appellationem subtrahitis. Eadm. *p.* 113.

Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad Sedem Apostolicam destinantur. Eadm. *p.* 113.

Peregrina judicia modis omnibus submovemus. Hen. I. *Leg. cap.* 31.

Ibi semper causa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur. Ibid.

Quòd Anglici extra regnum in causis auctoritate Apostolicâ trahuntur. Matt. Paris, *p.* 699. 10.

Nor in after-times were Appeals by Law in any case permitted without the King's leave; although sometimes by the facility of Princes, or difficulty of times, the *Roman* Court (ever importunate and vigilant for its profits) did obtain a relaxation or neglect of Laws inhibiting Appeals.

19. There were Appeals from Popes to General Councils very frequently. *Vid.* The Senate of *Paris* after the *Concordats* between *Lewis* XI. and Pope *Leo* X.

20. By many Laws and instances it appeareth, that Appellations have been made to the Emperours in the greatest Causes; and that without Popes reclaiming or taking it in bad part. St. *Paul* did **appeal to Cæsar.* *Paulus Samosatenus* did appeal to *Aurelianus.* So the *Donatists* did appeal to *Constantine.* † *Athanasius* to *Constantine.* The|| *Egyptian* Bishops to *Constantine.* * *Priscillianus* to *Maximus.* *Idacius* to *Gracian.* So that Canons were made to restrain Bishops from recourse *ad Comitatum.* Πᾶσα ψυχὴ Rom. 13. 1.

* Act. 25.

Ad Imperatorem appellaverunt. Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap* 16.

† *Apol.* 2. *p.* 804.

|| Ath. *Apol.* 2. *p.* 797, 798.

* *Ad Principem provocavit.* Sulp. Sev. 2. 64. Sulp. Sev. 2. 63. *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* *P. de* Marca. 4. 4. —

21. Whereas they do alledge Instances for Appeal, those well considered do prejudice their Cause; for they are few, in comparison to the occasions of them, that ever did arise; they are near all of them late, when Papal encroachments had grown; some of them are very impertinent to the cause; some of them may strongly be retorted against them; all of them are invalid.

If the Pope originally had such a right (known, unquestionable, prevalent) there might have been producible many, ancient, clear, proper, concluding Instances.

All that *Bellarmine* (after his own search, and that of his Predecessours in Controversie) could muster, are these following; upon which we shall briefly reflect: (adding a few others, which may be alledged by them.) Bell. 2. 21.

Ann. 142. He alledgeth *Marcion*, as appealing to the Pope.

Epiph. *hær* 41.
Ἐξεῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.
Ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου Πατρὸς σοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γὰρ ἐστὶ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ Πατρὶ τῷ σῷ.

The truth was, that *Marcion* for having corrupted a Maid was by his own Father, Bishop of *Sinope*, *driven from the Church*; whereupon he did thence *fly to Rome*, there *begging admittance to communion, but none did grant it*; at which he expostulating, they replied, *We cannot without the permission of thy honourable Father doe this*; *for there is one faith, and one concord*; *and we cannot cross thy Father our good fellow-Minister:* This was the case and issue; and is it not strange this should be produced for an Appeal, which was only a supplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion; and wherein is utterly disclaimed any power to thwart the Judgment of a particular Bishop or Judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? should the Pope return the same answer to every Appellant, what would become of his Privilege? So that they must give us leave to retort this as a pregnant Instance against their pretence.

Cypr. *Ep.* 55. *Ann.* 252. He alledgeth the forementioned address of *Felicissimus* and *Fortunatus* to Pope *Cornelius*; the which was but a factious *circumcursation* of desperate wretches; the which, or any like it, St. *Cyprian* argueth the Pope in law and equity obliged not to regard; because a definitive Sentence was already passed on them by their proper Judges in *Africk*, from whom in conscience and reason there could be no Appeal. So *Bellarmine* would filtch from us one of our invincible Arguments against him.

Cypr. *Ep.* 68. He also alledgeth the case of *Basilides*; which also we before did shew to make against him; his application to the Pope being disavowed by St. *Cyprian*, and proving ineffectual.

These are all the Instances which the first three hundred years did afford; so that all that time this great Privilege lay dormant.

Ann. 350. He alledgeth the recourse of *Athanasius* to Pope *Julius*; but this was not properly to him as to a Judge, but as to a fellow-Bishop, a friend of truth and right, for his succour and countenance against persecutours of him, chiefly for his Orthodoxy. The Pope did undertake to examine his Plea, partly as Arbitratour upon reference of both Parties; partly for his own concern to satisfie himself whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the Pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent Judges; and that therefore the pretended Sentence was null; and consequently he did not undertake the cause as upon Appeal. But whereas his proceeding did look like an exercise of Jurisdiction, derogatory to a Synodical resolution of the case, he was opposed by the *Oriental* Bishops, as usurping an undue power. Unto which charge he doth not answer directly by asserting to himself any such authority by Law or Custome; but otherwise excusing himself. In the issue, the Pope's Sentence was not peremptory; untill upon examining the merits of the cause it was approved for just as to matter by the Synod of *Sardica*. These things otherwhere we have largely shewed; and consequently this Instance is deficient.

Διδοσκόντες ἐπὶ καταλύσεως τῆς πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέσεις γενέσθαι. Socr. 2. 20.

Socr. 2. 20.

Ὥστε (*Athanasius & Paulus*) τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ Οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου τέλος λαβεῖν. Socr. 2. 20.

He

He alledgeth St. *Chrysostome*, as appealing to Pope *Innocent* I. but if you read his *Epistles* to that Pope, you will find no such matter; he doth onely complain, and declare to him the iniquity of the process against him, not as to a Judge, but as to a friend and fellow-Bishop concerned, that such injurious and mischievous dealings should be stopped; requesting from him not judgment of his cause, but succour in procuring it by a General Synod; to which indeed he did appeal, as *Sozomen* expresly telleth us; and as indeed he doth himself affirm. Accordingly Pope *Innocent* did not assume to himself the judgment of his cause, but did endeavour to procure a Synod for it, affirming it to be *needfull*; why so, if his own Judgment, according to his Privilege did suffice? why indeed did not Pope *Innocent*, (being well satisfied in the case, yea passionately touched with it) presently summon *Theophilus* and his adherents, undertaking the Trial? did Pope *Nicholas* I. proceed so in the case of *Rhotaldus*? why was he content onely *to write Consolatory Letters to him, and to his people*; not pretending to undertake the decision of his cause? if the Pope had been endowed with such a Privilege, it is morally impossible that it should not have shone forth clearly upon this occasion; it could hardly be that St. *Chrysostome* himself should not in plain terms avow it; that he should not formally apply to it as the most certain and easie way of finding relief? that he should not earnestly mind and urge the Pope to use his Privilege: why should he speak of that tedious and difficult way of a *General Synod*, when so short and easie a way was at hand? but the truth is, he did not know any such power the Pope had by himself. St. *Chrysostome* rather did conceive all such foreign Judicatures to be unreasonable and unjust; for the Argument which he darteth at *Theophilus* doth as well reach the *Papal* Jurisdiction upon appeals; for *It was* (saith he) *not congruous, that an Egyptian should judge those in Thrace*; why not an Egyptian as well as an Italian? and *If* (saith he) *this custome should prevail, and it become lawfull for those who will to go into the Parishes of others, even from such distances, and to cast out whom any one pleaseth, doing by their own authority what they please, know that all things will go to wreck*----Why may not this be said of a *Roman* as well as of an *Alexandrian*? St. *Chrysostome* also (we may observe) did not onely apply himself to the *Pope*, but to other *Western Bishops*; particularly to the Bishops of *Milain* and *Aquileia*; whom he called *Beatissimi Domini*: did appeal to them?

He alledgeth *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople* appealing to Pope *Leo*: but let us consider the story. *Flavianus* for his Orthodoxy (or upon other accounts) very injuriously treated and oppressed by *Dioscorus*, who was supported by the favour of the Imperial Court; having in his case no other remedy did appeal to the *Pope*; who alone among

Tom. 7. Epist. 122, 123.

Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

Παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην διαναστῆναι, καὶ συναλγῆσαι καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε στῆναι ταῦτα τὰ κακά.

Οἰκουμενικὴν ἀπεκαλεῖ τὸ σύνοδον. Soz. 8. 17.

Ἀλλ' ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σύνοδον ἐπικαλουμένων. Theod. 5. 34.

Οἰκουμενικὴν δὲ σύνοδον συναγεῖραι σπουδάζων. Soz. 8. 26.

Ἀναγκαία ἔστι διάγνωσις συνοδική. *Ibid.*

Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης, καὶ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πόλεως τὸν κλῆρον παρεμύθησαν, καὶ ἐδυσχέραινον τοῖς τολμήμασι. Theoph. Soz 8. 26.

Οὐ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θρᾴκῃ δικάζειν.

Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας, καὶ ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίαν πραττόντας ἅπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται. —— *Epist.* 122.

Scripsimus ista & ad Venerium Mediolanensem, & ad Chromatium Aquilegiensem Episcopum. Pallad. *cap.* 2.

Flavianus autem contra se prolatâ sententiâ per ejus legatos Sedem Apostolicam appellavit libello. Liber. *cap.* 12.

Necessitate coactus fuit ità agere, eò quòd reliqui Patriarchæ adessent. —— Marc. 7. 7.

the *Patriarchs* had dissented from those Proceedings. The Pope was himself involved in the cause, being of the same persuasion; having been no less affronted and hardly treated (considering their power, and that he was out of their reach) and condemned by the same Adversaries.

To him therefore as to the leading Bishop of *Christendom*, in the first place interested in defence of the common Faith, together with a Synod, not to him as sole Judge, did *Flavianus* appeal. He (saith *Placidia* in her Letter to *Theodosius*) *did appeal to the Apostolick See, and to all the Bishops of these parts*; that is to the rest of *Christendom*, which were not engaged in the Party of *Dioscorus*; and to whom else could he have appealed?

Ὡς προηγήμενον —— Placidia. Πρὸς τὸν Ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων. Syn. Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 26.

Valentinian in his *Epistle* to *Theodosius* in behalf of Pope *Leo* saith, that he did appeal *according to the manner of Synods*; and whatever those words signifie, that could not be to the Pope as a single Judge; for before that time in whatever Synod was such an appeal made? what custome could there be favourable to such a pretence?

Κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν συνόδων. *p* 25.

But what his Appeal did import is best interpretable by the proceeding consequent; which was not the Pope's assuming to himself the Judicature either immediately or by delegation of Judges, but endeavouring to procure a *General* Synod for it; the which endeavour doth appear in many *Epistles* to *Theodosius* and to his Sister *Pulcheria*, soliciting that such a Synod might be indicted by his order: *All the Bishops* (saith Pope *Leo*) *with sighs and tears do supplicate your Grace, that because our Agents did faithfully reclaim, and Bishop Flavianus did present them a libel of appeal, you would command a General Synod to be celebrated in Italy.*

Omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus & lachrymis supplicant Sacerdotes, ut quia & nostri fideliter reclamârunt, & ejusdem libellum appellationis Flavianus Episcopus dedit, generalem Synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari —— P. Leo *Epist.* 25.

Dioscorus and his Party would scarce have been so silly as to condemn *Flavianus*, if they had known, (which, if it had been a case clear in law or obvious in practice, they could not but have known) that the *Pope*, who was deeply engaged in the same cause, had a power to reverse (and revenge) there proceedings. Nor would the good Emperour *Theodosius* so pertinaciously have maintained the proceedings of that *Ephesine* Synod, if he had deemed the Pope duly Sovereign Governour and Judge; or that a right of ultimate Decision upon Appeal did appertain to him. Nor had the Pope needed to have taken so much pains in procuring a Synod, if he could have judged without it. Nor would Pope *Leo* (a man of so much spirit and zeal for the dignity of his *See*) have been so wanting to the maintenance of his right, as not immediately to have proceeded unto Trial of the Cause, without precarious attendance for a Synod, if he thought his pretence to such Appeals as we now speak of, to have been good or plausible in the world at that time.

The next case is that of *Theodoret*. His words indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of Pope *Leo*, being then high in reputation, do sound favourably; but we abstracting from the sound of words must regard the reason of things. His words are these, *I expect the suffrage of your Apostolick See, and beseech and earnestly entreat your holiness to succour me who appeal to your right and just Judicature.*

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ ὑμῶν θρόνου περιμένω τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν σὴν ἁγιότητα ἐπαμύναι μοι τὸ ὀρθῶν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλουμένῳ κριτήριον. Theod. *Ep.* 113. (*ad P.* Leonem.)

He never had been particularly or personally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal as to a Judge; nor therefore is his application

plication to the Pope to be interpreted for such; but rather as to a charitable succourer of him in his distress, by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him.

Vid. Ep. 112. *ad* Domnum.

Ἀλλὰ κἀμὲ τὰ ὑπόντα ὁμοίως καλάμῳ κατέσφαξεν, οὔτε καλέσας εἰς δικαστήριον, οὔτε παρόντα κρίνας —— μετὰ τοσούτους ἱδρῶτας καὶ πόνους μὴ δικασάμενος κατεκρίθην.

Οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι δικασταὶ τὰ ὑπόντα κατεκρίναν οὐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπαινέσαντες τὰ δῆθεν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντα συγγράμματα. *Epist.* 138.

He onely was supposed erroneous in Faith, and a perillous abettour of *Nestorianism*, because he had smartly contradicted *Cyril*; which prejudice did cause him to be prohibited from coming to the Synod of *Ephesus*; and there in his absence to be denounced Heterodox.

Βασιλικοῖς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇ Κύρκρῳ προσδήσαντες γράμμασιν —— *Epist.* 145. *Vid.* Theod.

Epist. supr. & Ep. 127, 129. καί με νόμος ἐνθάδε καθείργει βασιλικός. Βασιλικοῖς γράμμασι κωλυθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἔφεσον —— *Ep.* 138, 136.

Μαθεῖν ἀντιβολῶ παρ' ὑμῶν εἴτε γρή με στέρξαι τὰ ἄδικον ταύτην καθαίρεσιν, ἢ μή. *Ep.* 113.

Ὥστε καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπολαῦσαι κηδεμονίας. *Ep.* 118.

His Appeal then to the Pope (having no other recourse in whom he did confide, finding him to concur with himself in opinion against *Eutychianism*) was no other than (as the word is often used in common speech, when we say, I appeal to your judgment in this or that case) a referring it to the Pope's consideration, whether his Faith was sound and Orthodox; capacitating him to retain his Office: the which upon his explication and profession thereof (presented in terms of extraordinary respect and deference) the Pope did approve; thereby as a good Divine rather than as a formal Judge) acquitting him of Heterodoxy: the which approbation (in regard to the great opinion they had of the Pope's skill in those points, and to the favour he had obtained by contesting against the *Eutychians*) did bear great sway in the Synod; so that, (although not without opposition of many, and not upon absolute terms) he was permitted to sit among the Fathers of *Chalcedon*.

Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν κριθησόμενα στέρξομεν ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ.

Observations.

1. We do not reade of any formal Trial the Pope made of *Theodoret*'s case; that he was cited, that his Accusers did appear, that his Cause was discussed: but onely a simple approbation of him.

2. We may observe that *Theodoret* did write to *Flavianus* in like terms: *We entreat your holiness to fight in behalf of the faith which is assaulted, and to defend the Canons which are trampled under foot.*

Τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην παρακαλοῦμεν τῆς πολεμουμένης πίστεως ὑπεμαχῆσαι, καὶ τῶν κατηθέντων ὑπαγωνίσασθαι κανόνων. Theod. *Epist.* 86.

3. We may observe, that *Theodoret* expecting this favour of Pope *Leo*; and thence being moved to commend the *Roman* See to the height, and to reckon its special advantages, doth not yet mention his Supremacy of power, or Universality of Jurisdiction: For those words, *it besitteth you to be prime in all things*, are onely general words relating to the advantages which he subjoineth; of which he saith, *for your throne is adorned with many advantages*, in a florid enumeration whereof he passeth over that of peculiar Jurisdiction; he nameth the magnitude, splendour, majesty and populousness of the City; the early faith praised by St. *Paul*, the Sepulchres of the two great Apostles, and their decease their;

Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει. Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται προσεκτήμασι.

Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ παναδίος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι αἱρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἀμύητος, καὶ οὐδεὶς τἀναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀποστολικὴν χάριν· ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε. Theod. *Ep.* 116. (*ad* Renatum. *Presb*)

but

That holy See has the principality over the Churches in all the world for many reasons; but especially because she continued free from the taint of heresie, and none otherwise minded ever sate in her, she having kept the Apostolick state always unmixt.

but the Pope's being Universal Sovereign and Judge (which was the main advantage whereof that *See* could be capable) he doth not mention; why? because he was not aware thereof, else surely he would not have passed it in silence.

4. We may also observe, that whatever the opinion of *Theodoret* was now concerning the Pope's power, he not long before did hardly take him for such a Judge, when he did oppose Pope *Celestine*, concurring with *Cyril*, at the first *Ephesine* Synod. He then indeed looking on Pope *Celestine* as a prejudiced Adversary, did not write to him but to the other Bishops of the *West*, as we see by those words in his Epistle to *Domnus*; *And we have written to the Bishops of the West about these things, to him of Milain, I say, to him of Aquileia and him of Ravenna, testifying, &c.*

Καὶ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις δὲ τῆς δύσεως Ἐπισκόποις, τῷ Μεδιολάνῳ φημὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἀκυλείας καὶ τῷ Ῥαβέννης περὶ τούτων ἐγράψαμεν, διαμαρτυρόμενοι ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου ταῦτα καινοτομίας πεπλήρωται. Theod. *Epist.* 112.

5. Yea we may observe, that *Theodoret* did intend with the Emperour's leave to appeal or refer his cause to the whole body of *Western* Bishops, as himself doth express in those words to *Anatolius*, *I do pray your magnificence, that you would request this favour of our dread Sovereign, that I may have recourse to the West, and may be judged by the most religious and holy Bishops there.*

Ἀντιβολῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν. ταύτην αἰτῆσαι τὴν χάριν τὴν καλλινικὸν κορυφὴν, ὥστε με τὴν ἑσπερὰν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις Ἐπισκόποις δικάσασθαι. Theod. *Ep.* 119. (*ad* Anatol.)

Bellarmine farther doth alledge the appeal of *Hadrianus* Bishop of *Thebes* to Pope *Gregory* I. the which he received and asserted by excommunicating the Arbishop of *Justiniana Prima*, for deposing *Hadrianus* without regard to that appeal. I answer,

Greg. *lib.* 2. *Indict.* 11. *Ep.* 6.

1. The example is late, when the Popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits: those *Maxims* had got in before the time of that worthy Pope; who thought he might use the power of which he found himself possessed.

2. It is impertinent, because the Bishop of *Justiniana* had then a special dependence upon the *Roman* See; from whence an Universal Jurisdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an Usurpation; nor doth the opinion or practice of Pope *Gregory* suffice to determine a question of right, for good men are liable to prejudice, and its consequences.

To these Instances produced by *Bellarmine*, some add the Appeal of *Eutyches* to Pope *Leo*; to which it may be excepted, that if he did appeal, it was not to the Pope solely, but to him with the other *Patriarchs*; so it is expresly said in the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon* Synod; *His deposition being read, he did appeal to the Holy Synod of the most Holy Bishop of Rome, and of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, and of Thessalonica*; the which is an argument, that he did not apprehend the right of receiving Appeals did solely or peculiarly belong to him of *Rome*.

Ἀναγινωσκομένης τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ἐπεκαλέσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης. *Syn.* Chalc. *Act.* 1.

Liberatus saith, that *Johannes Talaida went to Calendion Patriarch of Antioch, and taking of him intercessory Synodical Letters, appeal'd to Simplicius Bishop of Rome, as Saint Athanasius had done, and persuaded him to write in his behalf to Acacius Bishop of Constantinople.*

Ingressus est ad Calendionem Antiochenum Patriarcham, & sumptis ab eo intercessionis Synodicis Literis Romanum Pontificem Simplicium appellavit, sicut B. fecerat Athanasius, & suasit scribere pro se Acacio Constantinopolitano Episcopo——— Liber. *cap.* 18. Baron. *Anno* 483. Sect. 1.

In

In regard to any more Instances of this kind we might generally propose these following considerations.

1. It is no wonder, that any Bishop being condemned, especially in causes relating to Faith or common Interest, should have recourse to the *Roman* Bishop, or to any other Bishop of great authority for refuge or for relief; which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation, and their power among their dependents.

2. Bad men, being deservedly corrected, will absurdly resort any whither with mouths full of clamour and calumny; if not with hope of relief, yet with design of revenge; as did *Marcion*, as did *Felicissimus*, as did *Apiarius* to the Pope.

3. Good men being abused will express some resentment, and complain of their wrongs, where they may presume of a fair and favourable hearing: so did *Athanasius*, *Flavianus*, St. *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret* apply themselves to the same Bishops, flourishing in so great reputation and wealth.

So did the Monks of *Egypt* (*Ammonius* and *Isidorus*) from the persecutions of *Theophilus* fly to the protection and succour of St. *Chrysostome*; which gave occasion to the troubles of that incomparable Personage; the which is so illustrious an instance, that the words of the *Historian* relating it deserve setting down.

They jointly did endeavour, that the trains against them might be examined by the Emperour as Judge, and by the Bishop John; for they conceived that he having conscience of using a just freedom, would be able to succour them according to right: but he did receive the men applying to them courteously, and treated them respectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the Church—— He also writ to Theophilus to render communion to them, as being Orthodox; and if there were need of judging their case by law, that he would send whom they thought good to prosecute the cause.

Κοινῇ τε ἐπιτέδοζον παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβολάς· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐν δίκῃ παῤῥησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελούμενον δυνάσθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ δὲ προσελθόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἐκώλυσε—— ἔγραψε δὲ Θεοφίλῳ κοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς ὀρθοῖς περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν· εἰ δὲ δίκῃ δέοι κρίνεσθαι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀποστέλλειν ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικασόμενον. Soz. 8. 13.

If this had been to the Pope, it would have been alledged for an Appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any Instance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, do resort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder if they accost them in highest terms of respect, and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; so inducing them to regard and favour their cause.

5. Neither is it strange, that great persons favourably should entertain those, who make such addresses to them, they always coming crouching in a suppliant posture, and with fair pretences; it being also natural to men to delight in seeing their power acknowledged; and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted: for *Eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready good will to take part with those who are under.* So when *Basilides*, when *Marcellus*, when *Eustathius Sebastenus*, when *Maximus* the *Cynick*, when *Apiarius* were condemned the Pope was hasty to engage for them; more liking their application to him than weighing their cause.

Φιλεῖ μάλιστα κάμπτεσθαι τὸ προέχον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας ἑκούσιον τῷ ἐλαττωμένῳ προστίθησθαι. Greg. Naz. Orat. 23.

6. And when any person doth continue long in a flourishing estate, so that such addresses are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of lawfull power to receive them, doth arise both in him and in

in others; so that of a voluntary Friend he become an authorized Protectour, a Patron, a Judge of such persons in such cases.

X. The Sovereign is fountain of all Jurisdiction; and all inferiour Magistrates derive their Authority from his warrant and Commission, acting as his Deputies or Ministers, according to that intimation in St. *Peter*,--*whether to the King as Supreme, or to Governours as sent by him.* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

Accordingly the Pope doth challenge this advantage to himself that he is the fountain of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; pretending all Episcopal power to be derived from him.

Regimen Ecclesiæ est, Monarchicum, ergo omnis auctoritas est in uno, & ab illo in alios derivatur. Bell. 4. 24. Epiph. *hær.* 42.

The rule of the Church (saith *Bellarmine*) *is Monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others*; the which Aphorism he well proveth from the form of creating Bishops, as they call it, *We do provide such a Church with such a person; and we do prefer him to be Father and Pastour and Bishop of the said Church; committing to him the administration in temporals and spirituals in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.*

Providemus Ecclesiæ tali de tali Persona, & præficimus eum in Patrem, & Pastorem & Episcopum ejusdem Ecclesiæ, committentes ei administrationem in temporalibus & spiritualibus; in nomine, &c. Ibid.

Pope *Pius* II. in his *Bull* of *Retractation*, thus expresseth the sense of his *See*, *In the militant Church, which resembleth the triumphant, there is one moderatour and Judge of all, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, from whom, as from the Head, all power and authority is derived to the subject members; the which doth immediately flow into it from the Lord Christ.*

In Ecclesia militanti, quæ instar triumphantis habet, unus est omnium moderator & arbiter Jesu Christi vicarius, à quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas & authoritas derivatur, quæ à Christo Domino sine medio in ipsum influit. P. Pius II. *in Bull. Retract.*

A Congregation of *Cardinals* appointed by Pope *Paulus* III. speaking after the style and sentiments of that *See*, did say to him, *Your Holiness doth so bear the care of Christ's Church, that you have very many Ministers, by which you manage that care, these are all the Clergy, on whom the service of God is charged; especially Priests, and more especially Curates, and above all Bishops.*

Sanctitas vestra ità gerit curam Ecclesiæ Christi, ut Ministros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem sunt Clerici omnes, quibus mandatus est cultus Dei; Presbyteri præsertim, & maximè Curati, & præ omnibus Episcopi—— *apud* Cham. *de Pont. Oecum.* 10, 13.

Durandus Bishop of *Mande*, according to the sense of his Age, saith, *The Pope is head of all Bishops, from whom they as members from an head descend, and of whose fulness all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulness of his power.*

Summus Pontifex caput est omnium Pontificum, à quo illi tanquam à capite membra descendunt, & de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt quos ipse vocat in partem solicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis. Durand. Mimat. *Offic.* 2. 1. 17.

This pretence is seen in the ordinary Titles of Bishops, who style themselves Bishops of such a Place, *By the Grace of God and of the Apostolick See.* O shame!

N Dei & Apostolicæ Sedis gratiâ Episcopus Colon.——

The men of the *Tridentine* Convention (those great betrayers of the Church to perpetual slavery, and Christian truth to the prevalency of falshood, till God pleaseth) do upon divers occasions, pretend to qualifie and empower Bishops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the Episcopal Function, as the Pope's Delegates.

This was an expedient. *Vid. Concil.*

But contrariwise according to the Doctrine of Holy Scripture, and the sense of the Primitive Church, the Bishops and Pastours of the Church do immediately receive their Authority and Commission from God; being onely his Ministers.

The

The Scripture calleth them *the Ministers of God, and of Christ* (so *Epaphras*, so *Timothy*, in regard to their Ecclesiastical function are named) *the Stewards of God, the Servants of God, Fellow-servants* of the Apostles.

Col. 1. 7. 4. 7. 1 Thess. 3. 2. 1 Tim. 4. 6. Tit. 1. 7.

The Scripture saith, that *the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops to feed the Church of God*, that *God had given them*; and *constituted them in the Church*; *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ*; that is, to all effects and purposes concerning their Office: for *the work of the Ministery* comprizeth all the duty charged on them whether in way of order or of governance; as they now do precariously and groundlesly in reference to this case distinguish. And *edifying the body* doth import all the designed effects of their Office; particularly those which are consequent on the use of Jurisdiction; the which Saint *Paul* doth affirm was appointed for edification; * *according* (saith he) *to the Authority which God hath Given me for edification, and not for destruction.* They do † *preside in the Lord.* They allow no other Head but our Lord, ‖ *from whom all the body*, &c.

2 Tim. 2 24. Act 20. 28. Naz. Or. 30. Eph. 4. 11. 1 Cor. 12. 29.

Ordo confertur à Deo immediatè, jurisdictio mediatè. Bell. 4. 25.

2 Cor. 10. 8. 13. 10.

† Προϊστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ.

1 Thess. 5 12.

‖ Eph. 4. 16.

The Fathers clearly do express their Sentiments to be the same.

St. *Ignatius* saith, that the Bishop *doth preside in the place of God*; and that *we must look upon him as our Lord himself* (or as our Lord's Representative) that therefore *we must be subject to him as unto Jesus Christ.*

Προκαθημένῳ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ. Ign. *ad* Magnes.

Τὸν οὖν Ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι οἷς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος δεῖ προσβλέπειν Ign. *ad* Eph. Ὅλῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. Ign. *ad* Trall.

St. *Cyprian* affirmeth *each Bishop to be constituted by the judgment of God, and of Christ*; and *that in his Church he is for the present a Judge in the place of Christ*: ---and *that our Lord Jesus Christ, one and alone hath a power both to prefer us to the Government of his Church and to judge of our acting.*

De Dei & Christi ejus judicio. Cypr. Ep. 52. & *alibi sæpe. Unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex, vice Christi.* Cypr. Ep. 55. *Sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus & solus habet potestatem & præponendi nos in Ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, & de actu nostro judicandi* Cypr. *in Conc.* Carthag.

St. *Basil, A Prelate is nothing else but one that sustaineth the person of Christ.*

Ὁ δὲ προηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ὁ τὸ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον. Bas. *Const.* Mon. *cap.* 22.

St. *Chrysostome, We have received the Commission of Ambassadours and come from God, for this is the dignity of the Episcopal Office.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πρεσβείας ἀνεδεξάμεθα λόγον δὲ ἤκομεν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα. Chrys. *in* Coloss. Orat. 3.

It behoveth us all who by divine authority are constituted in the Priesthood to prevent, &c.

Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore sumus in Sacerdotio constituti illius certaminibus obviare, &c. Anatol. *in Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 512.

Wherefore the ancient Bishops did all of them take themselves to be Vicars of Christ, not of the Pope, and no less than the proudest Pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addresses and compellations to the Bishop of *Rome*, and in their speech about him to call him their *Brother*, their *Collegue*, their *Fellow minister*; which had not been modest, or just, if they had been his Ministers or Shadows. Yea the Popes themselves, even the highest and haughtiest of them, who of any in old times did most stand on

Leo *Ep.* 84.

their presumed preeminence, did yet vouchsafe to call other Bishops their Fellow-Bishops and Fellow-ministers.

Sciésque nos non tuos esse ut te jactas & extollis Clericos, quos ut fratres & Coepiscopos recognoscere si elatio permitteret, debueras, Ann. Pith.

Those Bishops of *France* with good reason did complain of Pope *Nicholas* I. *for calling them his Clerks; whenas, if his pride had suffered him, he should have acknowledged them for his Brethren and Fellow-Bishops.*

In fine the ancient Bishops did not alledge any Commission from the Pope to warrant their Jurisdiction, but from God; *If Moses his Chair were so venerable, that what was said out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Christ's Throne so? we succeed him, from that we speak, since Christ has committed to us the ministery of reconciliation.*

Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν—— S. Chrys. *sup.*

Εἰ ὁ Μωσέως θρόνος οὕτως ἦν ἀδέσιμος, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀκούσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος; ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς διεδεξάμεθα, ἀπὸ τούτου φθεγγόμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔθετο ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς. Chrys. *in* Coloss. *Orat.* 3.

That which is committed to the Priest, 'tis onely in God's power to give.

Ἃ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεύς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι, &c. Chrys. *in* Joh. *Orat.* 83.

Since we also by the mercy of Christ our King and God were made Ministers of the Gospel.

Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλέει τοῦ σωμβασιλέως (*l.* παμβασιλέως) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερουργοὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκληρώθημεν—— Flavian *in* Chalc. *Act.* 1. *p.* 4.

This is a modern dream born out of Ambition and Flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient Divine.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine, that *Cyprian*, *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Austin*, &c. did take themselves for the Vicegerents or Ministers of the Popes; if they did, why did they not, so frequent occasion being given them, in all their Volumes, ever acknowledge it? why cannot *Bellarmine* and his Complices after all their prolling shew any passage in them importing any such acknowledgment; but are fain to infer it by far-fetched Sophisms, from Allegations plainly impertinent, or frivolous?

The Popes indeed in the Fourth Century began to practise a fine trick, very serviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was to confer on certain Bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the title of their Vicar or Lieutenant; thereby pretending to impart Authority to them: whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise by their own Episcopal or Metropolitical power they could not perform. By which device they did engage such Bishops to such a dependence on them, whereby they did promote the Papal Authority in Provinces, to the oppression of the ancient Rights and Liberties of Bishops and Synods; doing what they pleased under pretence of this vast power communicated to them; and for fear of being displaced, or out of affection to their favourer doing what might serve to advance the Papacy.

Evagr. *Act.* Eph. *p.* 134.

Thus did Pope *Celestine* constitute *Cyril* in his room.

Pope *Leo* appointed *Anatolius* of *Constantinople.*

Act. Conc. sub. Menna. *p.* 70.

Pope *Felix Acacius* of *Constantinople.*

Pope *Hormisdas Epiphanius* of *Constantinople.*

Pope *Simplicius* to *Zeno* Bishop of *Seville*, *We thought it convenient that you should be held up by the vicariat authority of our See.*

Congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri. Baron. *Ann.* 482 *sect.* 46.

So did *Siricius* and his successours constitute the Bishops of *Thessalonica* to be their Vicars in the Diocese of *Illyricum*, wherein being then a member of the *Western* Empire they had caught a special Jurisdiction

riſdiction; to which Pope *Leo* did refer in thoſe words, which ſometimes are impertinently alledged with reference to all Biſhops, but concern onely *Anaſtaſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*; *We have entruſted thy Charity to be in our ſtead, ſo that thou art called into part of the ſolicitude, not into plenitude of the authority.*

Vices enim noſtras ità tuæ credidimus charitati ut in partem ſis vocatus ſolicitudinis, non in plenitudinem poteſtatis. P. Leo *Ep.* 84. (*ad* Anaſtaſ. Theſſal.)

So did Pope *Zozimus* beſtow a like pretence of Vicarious power upon the Biſhop of *Arles*, which City was the ſeat of the temporal *Exarch* in *Gaule*. P. Joh. *VIII. Ep.* 93.

So to the Biſhop of *Juſtiniana prima* in *Bulgaria* (or *Dardinia Europæa*) the like privilege was granted [by procurement of the Emperour *Juſtinian*, native of that place.]

Afterwards temporary or occaſional Vicars were appointed (ſuch as *Auſtin* in *England*, *Boniface* in *Germany*---) who in virtue of that conceſſion did uſurp a paramount authority; and by the exerciſe thereof did advance the Papal intereſt; depreſſing the authority of *Metropolitanes*, and *Provincial* Synods.

So at length Legates, upon occaſion diſpatched into all Countries of the *Weſt*, came to do there what they pleaſed, uſing that pretence to oppreſs and abuſe both Clergy and People very intolerably.

Whence divers Countries were forced to make legal proviſions for excluding ſuch Legates, finding by much experience that their buſineſs was to rant and to domineer in the Pope's name, to ſuck money from the People, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expence of the Countries where they came. P. Paſch. *II. Epiſt. apud* Eadm *p.* 113, *&c.*

* Of this *John* XXII. doth ſorely complain; and decrees that all people ſhould admit his Legates, under pain of interdicts.

* *Extrav. commun.* 1. 1. (*p.* 310.) *Occulti inimici regni.* Matt. Par. *p.* 524.

In *England* Pope *Paſchal* finds the ſame fault in his letter to King *Henry* I. *Nuncio's or letters from the Apoſtolick See, unleſs by your Majeſtie's command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your juriſdiction: none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the Apoſtolick See.*

Sedis Apoſtolicæ nuncii vel literæ præter juſſum Regiæ Majeſtatis nullam in poteſtate tua ſuſceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad ſedem Apoſtolicam deſtinantur——P. Paſch. *II.* Eadm. *p.* 113.

The Pope obſerving what authority and reverence the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* had in this Nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, did think good to conſtitute thoſe Archbiſhops his *Legates* of courſe, (*Legatos natos*) that ſo they might ſeem to exerciſe their Juriſdiction by authority derived from him, and owing to him that mark of favour, or honour, with inlargement of power, might pay him more devotion and ſerve his intereſts.

Bellarmine doth from this practice prove the Pope's Sovereign power, but he might from thence better have demonſtrated their great cunning. It might from ſuch extraordinary deſignation of Vicegerents with far more reaſon be inferred, that ordinarily Biſhops are not his Miniſters. Bell. 2. 29.

XI. It is the privilege of a Sovereign, that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or depoſed, or debarr'd communion, or any-wiſe cenſured and puniſhed; for this implieth a contradiction or confuſion in degrees, ſubjecting the ſuperiour to inferiours; this were making a river run backwards; this were to damm up the fountain of juſtice; to behead the State; to expoſe Majeſty to contempt.

Wherefore the Pope doth pretend to this privilege, according to those *Maxims* in the *Canon Law*, drawn from the sayings of Popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike) obtaining authority of their Court.

Bell. 2. 26. de Conc. 2 17. Grat. Dist. 40. cap 6. Dist 21. cap. 7. Caus. 9 qu. 3. cap 10. —— *Extrav. comm. lib. 1. tit. 8. cap 1. P* Leo *IX. Ep. 1 cap. 10.* —— *17. P.* Nich. *I. Ep. 8. (p. 504.) P.* Joh. *VIII. Ep 75. (p. 31.) P.* Gelas. *Ep. 4. (p. 625, 626.) Ep. 13. (p. 640.) P.* Greg. *VII. Ep. 8. Ep. 21.*

And according to what P. *Adrian* let the 8*th* Synod know, *because* says he, *the Apostolick Church of Rome stoops not to the judgment of lesser Churches.* They cite also three old Synods (of *Sinuessa*, of *Rome* under Pope *Silvester*, of *Rome* under *Sixtus* III.) but they are palpably spurious, and the learned amongst them confess it.

Διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης τῇ σῇ ἐλαττόνως μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κρίνει. P. Adrian. *in Syn. VIII. Act. 7. pag. 963.*

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it did suppose him no less obnoxious to judgment and correction than other Bishops, if he should notoriously deviate from the faith, or violate canonical discipline.

The Canons generally do oblige Bishops without exception to duty, and (upon defailance) to correction: why is not he excepted, if to be excused, or exempted?

It was not questioned of old, but that a Pope in case he should notoriously depart from the faith, or notably infringe discipline, might be excommunicated: the attempting it upon divers occasions do shew their opinion, although it often had not effect because the cause was not just and plausible; the truth and equity of the case appearing to be on the Pope's side.

St. *Isidore Pelusiota* denieth of any Bishop's office that is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος *an uncontrollable government.*

In the times of *Polycrates* and Pope *Victor* the whole *Eastern* Church did forbear communion with the Pope. *Firmilian* told Pope *Stephanus*, that by conceiting he might excommunicate all other Bishops, he had excommunicated himself. The Fathers of the *Antiochene* Synod did threaten to excommunicate and depose Pope *Julius*. *They did promise to Julius, peace and communion, if he did admit the deposition of those whom they had expelled, and the constitution of those whom they had ordained; but if he did resist their decrees, they denounced the contrary.* The *Oriental* Bishops at *Sardica* did excommunicate and depose him. St. *Hilary* did anathematize Pope *Liberius*, upon his defection to the *Arians*. * *Dioscorus* did attempt to excommunicate Pope *Leo*. † *Acacius* of *Constantinople* renounced the communion of Pope *Felix*. ‖ *Timotheus Ælurus* cursed the Pope. * The *African Bishops* did *Synodically excommunicate Pope Vigilius*. † Pope *Anastasius* was rejected by his own Clergy. ‖ Pope *Constantine* by the people, and so was * Pope *Leo* VIII. † Divers Bishops of *Italy* and *Illyricum* did abstain from the Pope's communion for a long time, because they did

Ἐν τε χρόνοις Πολυκράτης καὶ Βικτωρ ὡς ἡ ἀναπλὴ πρὸς τὴν δυσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηνικὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων ἐκ ἐδέχοντο. Epiph. *hær.* 70. *Audianorum.*

Deum enim putas omnes abs te abstinere posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti. Firm. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.*

Δεχομένου μὲν Ἰουλίου τὴν καθαιρεσιν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν καθίασιν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων, εἰρήνην, καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· ἀντιτιθεμένῳ δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις τἀναντία προσηγόρευσαν. Sozom. 3. 8.

Sozom. 3. 11.

Anathema tibi, Papa Liberi. Hil. *fragm.*

* Ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν ὑπαρρεῦσαι καὶ τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντι. Evag. 2. 4.

† *Niceph.* 16. 17. Baron. *Ann.* 484 §35.

‖ Baron. *A.* 457. *sect* 25.

* *Africani Antistites Vigilium Rom. Epis. damnatorem Capitulorum Synodaliter à Catholica communione, reservato ei pœnitentiæ loco, rejudunt. (l. excludunt)* Vict. Tun. *post Cons.* Basilii *V. C. Ann.* 10.

† Plat. *p* 131. *& Dist. 19. cap. 21, 22.*

‖ Plat. *p.* 223.

* Plat. *p.* 291.

† *P* Pelag. *II. Ep.* 3. 13.

did admit the fifth Synod. || *Photius* did excommunicate and depose Pope *Nicholas* I. * *Maurius* Bishop of *Ravenna* did anathematize Pope *Vitalianus*. † The Emperour *Otho* II. having with good advice laboured to reclaim Pope *John* XII. without effect did *indict a Council, calling together the Bishops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man should be judged*; and the issue was, that he was deposed. || Pope *Nicholas* I. desired to be judged by the *Emperour*. The fifth Synod did in general terms condemn Pope *Vigilius*, and the Emperour *Justinian* did banish him for not complying with the decrees of it. The sixth and seventh General Synods did anathematize *Honorius* by name; when he was dead, because his heresie was not before confuted; and they would have served him so, if he had been alive. Divers Synods (that of *Worms*, of *Papia*, of *Brescia*, of *Mentz*, of *Rome*, &c.) did reject Pope *Gregory* VII. Pope *Adrian* himself in the VIII. Synod (so called) did confess that a Pope being found deviating from the faith might be judged, as *Honorius* was. *Gerbertus* (afterward Pope *Sylvester* II.) did maintain that Popes might be held as *Ethnicks* and *Publicans*, if they *did not hear the Church*. The Synod of *Constance* did judge add depose three Popes.

|| Καθαίρεσιν ὡς ἐνόμιστε καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λόγῳ πρὸ εἶναι Νικολ. ε. *Vit.* Ignatii. *Patr. apud* Bin. *p.* 892. Baron. *Ann.* 863.——

* Baron. *Ann.* 669. *sect.* 2.

—— *Communi totius Sancti Concilii consensu depositus.* Luitprand. 6. 6.

† —— *Concilium indicit, convocatis Episcopis Italiæ, quorum judicio vita sceleratissimi hominis dijudicaretur.* Plat. *in* Joh. 13. (*pro. XII.*) *vid* Baron. *Ann.* 960. & Binium.

| Grat. *Caus.* 2. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 41.

Ann 1076. *Vid.* Baron. *Ann* 1033 *sect.* 3.

Baron. *Ann.* 992 *sect.* 44.— *Conc.* Bas. *Sess.* 38. (*p* 101.)

The Synod of *Basil* did depose Pope *Eugenius*; affirming that *The Catholick Church hath often corrected and judged Popes when they either err'd from the faith, or by their ill manners became notoriously scandalous to the Church.*

Ecclesia Catholica sæpenumerò summos Pontifices sive à fide delirantes, sive pravis moribus notoriè Ecclesiam scandalizantes correxit, & judicavit. —— *Conc.* Bas. *Sess.* 12.

The practice of Popes to give an account of their faith (when they entred upon their office) to the other Patriarchs and chief Bishops, approving themselves thereby worthy and capable of communion, doth imply them liable to judgment. Of the neglect of which practice *Euphemius* Bishop of *Constantinople* did complain.

Mos est Romanæ Ecclesiæ sacerdoti noviter constituto formam fidei suæ ad sanctas Ecclesias prærogare. P. Gelas. *Ep.* 1. *ad* Laur.

Gelas. *Ep* 9. Baron. *Ann.* 492. *sect.* 10.

Of this we have for example the *Synodical Epistles* of Pope *Gregory* I.

Vid. tract. de Unit. Eccl.

XII. To the Sovereign in Ecclesiastical affairs it would belong to define and decide controversies in faith, discipline, moral practice; so that all were bound to admit his definitions, decisions, interpretations. He would be the supreme Interpreter of the divine law, and Judge of controversies. No point or question of moment should be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore doth pretend to; taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all submission to his determinations. Nor doth he allow any Synods to decide questions.

But the ancients did know no such thing. In case of Contentions, they had no recourse to his judgment; they did not stand to his opinion, his authority did not avail to quash disputes. They had recourse to the Holy Scriptures, to Catholick Tradition, to reason, they disputed and discussed points by dint of argument.

Irenæus, *Tertullian*, *Vincentius Lirinensis* and others discoursing of the methods to resolve points of Controversie, did not reckon the

Pope's

Pope's authority for one. Divers of the Fathers did not scruple openly to dissent from the opinions of Popes; nor were they wondred at, or condemned for it.

Gall. 2. 11. ἀντέστην

So Saint *Paul* did withstand Saint Peter. So *Polycarpus* dissented from Pope *Elutherius*. So *Polycrates* from Pope *Victor*. So St. *Cyprian* from Pope *Stephen*. So *Dionysius Alex.* from Pope *Stephen*: all which persons were renowned for wisedom and piety in their times.

Highest Controversies were appeased by Synods out of the Holy Scripture, Catholick Tradition, the Analogy of faith, and common Reason, without regard to the Pope. Divers Synods in *Africk* and *Asia* defined the point about *rebaptization* without the Pope's leave, and against his opinion. The Synod of *Antioch* condemned the doctrine of *Paulus Samosatenus*, without intervention of the Pope; before they gave him notice. In the Synod of *Nice* the Pope had very small stroke. The General Synod of *Const.* declared the Point of the *Divinity* of the *H. Ghost* against *Macedonius*, without the Pope; who did no more than afterward consent: This the Synod of *Chalcedon* in their compellation to the Emperour *Marcian* did observe. *The Fathers met in Sardica to suppress the reliques of Arianism, communicated their decrees to the Eastern Bishops; and they who here discovered the pestilence of Apolinarius, made known theirs to the Western.*

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀρείου λειψανῶν ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν Ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνωρίζον. Conc. Chalced. *ad* Marc. *Orat. p.* 468.

The Synod of *Africk* defined against *Pelagius*, before their informing Pope *Innocentius* thereof; not seeking his judgment, but desiring his consent to that, which they were assured to be truth.

Divers Popes have been incapable of deciding Controversies, themselves having been erroneous in the questions controverted: as Pope *Stephanus* (in part,) Pope *Liberius*, P. *Felix*, P. *Vigilius*, P. *Honorius*, &c. And in our opinion all Popes for many ages.

It is observable how the Synod of *Chalcedon* in their allocution to the Emperour *Marcian* do excuse P. *Leo* for expounding the faith, in his *Epistle* (the which it seems some did reprehend as a novel method disagreeable to the Canons;) *Let not them* (say they) *object to us the Epistle of the marvellous Prelate of Rome, as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not consonant to the Scriptures, let them confute it; or if it be not consentaneous to the Fathers who have preceded; or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious*, &c.

Ὡς ξένην τινὰ καὶ τοῖς κανόσιν ἀνενομισμένην τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διαβάλλῃ τὴν συνταξίν. *Act. Syn.* Chalc. *p.* 465.

Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τῆς Ῥόμης προέδρου τὴν Ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς καινοτομίας ἔγκλημα, προσφερέτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ σύμφωνος τῆς γραφαῖς, ἐλεγχέτωσαν· εἰ μὴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι πατράσιν ὁμοδόξος· εἰ μὴ πρὸς δυσσεβῶν κατεγορίαν γεγένεται·——

It was not his judicial anthority, which they did insist upon, to maintain his Epistle, but the orthodoxie and intrinsick usefulness of it to confute errours; upon which account they did embrace and confirm it by their suffrage.

XIII. If the Pope were a Sovereign of the Church as they make him, it were at least expedient that he should be infallible; for why otherwise should he undertake confidently to pronounce in all cases, to define high and difficult Points, to impose his Dictates, and require assent from all; If he be fallible, it is very probable that often he doth obtrude errours upon us for matters of Faith and Practice.

Bell. *lib.* 4. Wherefore the true fast friends of Papal interest do assert him to be infallible, when he dictateth as Pope, and setting himself into his Chair doth

doth thence mean to instruct the whole Church. And the Pope therefore himself, who countenanceth them, may be presumed to be of that mind.

Pighius said bouncingly, *The judgment of the Apostolick See with a Council of domestick Priests, is far more certain than the judgment of an universal Council of the whole earth without the Pope.*

Longe certius est unius Apostolicæ Sedis cum Concilio domesticorum Sacerdotum judicium, quàm sine Pontifice judicium universalis Concilii totius Orbis terrarum. Pighius *de Hier. lib. 6.*

This is the *Syllogism* we propose:

The supreme Judge must be infallible,
The Pope is not infallible, Therefore.

The *Major* the *Jesuits*, *Canonists* and *Courtiers* are obliged to prove, it being their Assertion; and they do prove it very wisely and strongly.

The *Minor* is asserted by the *French* Doctours, and they do with clear evidence maintain it.

The *Conclusion* we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is in effect Pope *Gregory*'s Argumentation; *No* Bishop can be Universal Bishop, (or Universal Pastour and Judge of the Church) because no Bishop can be Infallible; for that the lapse of such a Pastour would throw down the Church into ruine, by errour and impiety. *Therefore the Universal Church, which God forbid, falls, when he falls who is call'd Universal. --The state and order of our Lord's family will decay when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head.*

Universa ergò Ecclesia, quod absit, à statu suo corruit, quando is qui vocatur Universalis cadit. Greg. M. *Epist.* 4. 32. *Totius familiæ Domini status & ordo nutabit, si quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite.* P Leo *Ep.* 87.

But that he is not infallible, much experience and History do abundantly shew.

The Ancients knew no such pretender to infallibility; otherwise they would have left disputing, and run to his Oracular Dictates for information. They would have onely asserted this point against Hereticks. We should have had Testimonies of it innumerable. It had been the most famous point of all.

In nullo aliter sapere quàm res se habet angelica perfectio est. Aug. *de Bapt. c. Don.* 2. 5. Not to think of a thing otherwise than 'tis, is an angelical perfection.

I will not mention Pope *Stephanus* universally approving the *Baptism* of *Hereticks* against the Decrees of the Synod of *Nice* and other Synods. Nor Pope *Liberius* complying with *Arianism*. Nor Pope *Innocent* I. and his followers at least till Pope * *Gelasius* first asserting the *Communion of Infants* for needfull. Nor Pope *Vigilius* dodging with the Fifth *Synod*. Nor Pope *Honorius* condemned by so many Councils and Popes for *Monothelitism*. But surely Pope *Leo* and Pope *Gelasius* were strangely deceived; when they condemned *Partaking in one kind*. Pope *Gregory* was foully out, when he condemned the || *worship of Images*; and when he so declaimeth against the title of *Universal Bishop*; and when he avowed himself a Subject to the *Emperour Mauritius*; and when he denied the Books of *Maccabees* to be *Canonical*; and when he asserted the perfection of Holy Scripture. Pope *Leo* II. was mistaken, when he did charge his infallible Predecessour *Honorius* of *Monothelitism*. Pope *Nicholas* was a little deceived when he determined the * *attrition of Christ's Body*. Pope *Urban* II. was out, when he allowed it || lawful for good Catholicks to commit murther on Persons excommunicate. Pope *Innocent* IV. erred, when he called Kings, *The Pope's slaves.*

* P. Gelas. *i. Ep.* 9. *p.* 636.

De Consecr. dist. 2. *cap.* 12.
|| Greg. *Ep.* 7. 110. *Ep.* 2. 62. *Ep.* 4. 32, 36. 38. 6. 30. *In* Job. *lib* 19. *cap.* 13 *In* Job. *lib* 18. *cap.* 14.

If many Popes had been writers, we should have had more errours to charge them with.

* Grat. *de Consecr. dist.* 2. *cap.* 42
|| Grat. *Caus.* 23. *qu.* 5. *cap.* 47.
Mancipia Papæ Matt. Paris. *Anno* 1253.

Surely

Surely those Popes did err, who confirmed the Synods of *Constance* and *Basil*; not excepting the determinations in favour of General Councils being Superiour to Popes. All those Popes have devilishly erred, who have pretended to dispose of Kingdoms, to depose Princes: to absolve Subjects of their Oaths. Pope *Adrian* II. did not take the Pope to be infallible, when he said he might not be judged, excepting the case of *Heresie*; and thereby excuseth the *Orientals* for anathematizing *Honorius*, he being accused of Heresie.

Joh. 22 Gerson. *Serm. in Pasch. occam.* Celestinus—Alph. *à Castro. Hær.* 1. 4. Bin. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 994.

There is one Heresie, of which, if all Histories do not lie grievously, divers Popes have been guilty; a Heresie defined by divers Popes; the *Heresie of Simony*; How many such Hereticks have sate in that Chair? of which how many Popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice in History? *The hand*, says St. * *Bernard*, *does all the Papal business, shew me a man in all this greatest City who would admit thee to be Pope without the mediation of a bribe?* Yea how few for some Ages have been guiltless of this Heresie? It may be answered, they were no Popes because their Election was null; but then the Church hath often and long been without a *Head*. Then numberless Acts have been void; and Creations of *Cardinals* have been null; and consequently there hath not probably been any true Pope for a long time.

P. Greg. *VII. Ep. lib.* 3. 7. *Simoniaca hæresis.*

P. Jul. *II.* Conc. Lat. *Sess.* 5. *(p.* 57.) *Idem electus non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus, & tanquam hæresiarcha, &c. Ibid Tract.* 4 *sect.* 12. *&* 16.

Decernimus, quòd—— sed etiam contra dictum sic electum vel assumptum à Simoniaca labe opponi & excipi possit sicut de vera & indubitata hæresi——

* *Omne Papale negotium manus agunt, quem dabis mihi de tota maxima Urbe, qui te in Papam receperit pretio non intercedente?* Bern. *de Consid* 4 2.

In the judgment of so many great *Divines*, which did constitute the Synod of *Basil*, many Popes (near all surely) have been Hereticks; who have followed or countenanced the opinion that Popes are superiour to General Councils; the which there is flatly declared Heresie. Pope *Eugenius* by name was there declared *a pertinacious Heretick, deviating from the faith*—

A fide devius, pertinax hæreticus—— Concil. Basil.. *Sess.* 34 *p.* 96. *&* *p.* 107.

It often happeneth that the Pope is not skilled in *Divinity*, as Pope *Innocent* X. was wont to profess concerning himself (to wave discourse about Theological points) he therefore cannot pronounce, in use of ordinary means, but onely by miracle, as *Balaam*'s Ass. So Pope *Innocent* X. said, that *the Vicar of Jesus Christ was not obliged to examine all things by dispute; for that the truth of his decrees depended onely on divine Inspiration:* what is this but downright *Quakerism, Enthusiasm, Imposture?*

Le Pape respondit, que le Vicaire de J. C ne estoit point oblige d'examiner toutes choses par la dispute; que la verite de ses decrets dependoit seulement de l'Inspiration divine. Memor. *Hist. de* 5. *Propos.*

Pope *Clemens* V. did not take himself to be infallible, when in his great Synod of *Vienna*, the question, whether beside remission of sin, also vertue were conferred to Infants, he resolved thus very honestly, ----*The second opinion, which says that informing grace and vertues are in baptism conferred both upon infants and adult persons, we think fit with the consent of the holy council to be chosen; as being more probable, and more consonant and agreeable to the Divinity of the modern Doctours.*

—— *Opinionem secundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quàm adultis conferri in baptismo informantem gratiam & virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem ac Doctorum modernorum Theologiæ magis consonam & concordem sacro approbante Concilio duximus eligendam.* Clem. *in* Tit. 1.

Which of the *two* Popes were in the right, Pope *Nicholas* IV. who decided that our Lord was so poor that he had right to nothing, or Pope *John* XXII. who declared this to be a Heresie, charging our Lord with injustice?

Bell. 4. 14. *(p.* 1318 *)* *Confer.* Sext. *lib* 5. *tit.* 12. *cap.* 3 *Extrav.* Joh. *XXII. tit.* 14. *cap* 3, 4, 5.

XIV. A

XIV. A Sovereign is in Dignity and Authority Superiour to any number of Subjects, however conjoined or congregated; as a Head is above all the Members however compacted; He is not Supreme, who is any-wiſe ſubject or inferiour to a Senate, or any Aſſembly in his Territory.

Therefore the Pope doth claim a Superiority over all Councils; pretending that their determinations are invalid without his conſent and confirmation; that he can reſcind or make void their Decrees; that he can ſuſpend their Conſultations, and tranſlate or diſſolve them. Bellarm. *de Concil.* 2. 15.

And Baronius reckons this as one errour in Hincmarus Biſhop of Rhemes, that he held as if the canons of Councils were of greater authority in the Church of God than the decrees of Popes, which, ſays he, *how abſurd and unreaſonable an opinion it is,* &c.

That the Authority of the Apoſtolick See in all Chriſtian Ages has been been preferred before the univerſal Church, both the Canons of our predeceſſours and manifold tradition do confirm.

Planè ſignificat majoris eſſe auctoritatis in Eccleſia Dei Canones Conciliorum decretis Pontificum: hæc quàm ſint abſurda & ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c. Baron. *ad. Ann.* 992. *Sect.* 56. *Concil.* Later. *V. Seſſ.* 11. *p.* 152. Th. Cajet. *Orat. in Conc.* Lat. *p.* 36. *Apoſtolicæ verò Sedis auctoritas, quod cunctis ſæculis Chriſtianis Eccleſiæ prælata ſit univerſæ, & canonum ſerie paternorum, & multiplici traditione firmatur. P.* Gelaſ. *I. Ep.* 8. (O *impudentiam!*)

This is a queſtion ſtiffly debated among *Romaniſts*; but the moſt (as *Æneas Sylvius*, afterward Pope *Pius* II. did acutely obſerve) with good reaſon do adhere to the Pope's ſide, becauſe the *Pope* diſpoſeth of *Benefices*, but *Councils* give none.

But in truth anciently the Pope was not underſtood Superiour to Councils: for *greater is the Authority of the world than of one city*, ſays St. *Hierome*. He was but one Biſhop, that had nothing to doe out of his precinct. He had but his Vote in them; He had the firſt Vote, as the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria* the ſecond, of *Antioch* the third--- but that order neither gave to him or them any advantage, as to deciſion; but common conſent, or the ſuffrages of the majority did prevail. He was conceived Subject to the Canons no leſs than other Biſhops. Councils did examine matters decreed by him, ſo as to follow or forſake them as they ſaw cauſe. The Popes themſelves did profeſs great veneration and obſervance of *Conciliar* Decrees. Pope *Leo* I. did oppoſe a Cannon of the Synod of *Chalcedon*, (not pretending his Superiority to Councils, but the inviolability of the *Nicene* Canons) but it notwithſtanding that oppoſition did prevail.

Major eſt auctoritas orbis quàm urbis. Hier. *ad* Evag.

Even in the Dregs of times, when the Pope had clambred ſo high to the top of power, this Queſtion in great unmerous Synods of Biſhops was agitated, and poſitively decided againſt him; both in Doctrine and practice.

Concil. Conſt. *Seſſ.* 4. (*p.* 1003.) *Concil.* Baſſ. *Seſſ.* 33.

The Synod of *Baſil* affirmeth the mattter of theſe Decrees to be a *verity of the Chriſtian faith, which whoever doth pertinaciouſly reſiſt, is to be deemed a heretick*---- Thoſe *Fathers* ſay that *none of the skilfull did ever doubt of this truth, that the Pope in things belonging to faith, was ſubject to the judgment of the ſame General Councils---- that the Council has an authority immediately from Chriſt which the Pope is bound to obey.* Thoſe Synods were confirmed by Popes, without exception of thoſe determinations.

Veritas Catholicæ fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans eſt cenſendus hæreticus Concil. Baſ. *Seſſ.* 33.

Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit ſummum Pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorundem Conciliorum univerſalium eſſe ſubjectum. Conc. Baſil. *decret. p.* 117.

Concilium habet poteſtatem immediatè à Chriſto, cui Papa obedire tenetur—— *Conc.* Baſ. *Seſſ.* 38. *p.* 101.

Great *Churches*, most famous *Vniversities*, a mighty store of learned *Doctors* of the Roman Communion have reverenced those *Councils*, and adhered to their Doctrine. Insomuch that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* did affirm him to be an Heretick in *France*, who did hold the contrary.

These things sufficiently demonstrate that the Pope cannot pretend to Supremacy by universal Tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? not surely by Scripture, nor by Decrees of ancient Synods, nor by any clear and convincing reason.

XV. The Sovereign of the Church is by all Christians to be acknowledged the chief Person in the world, inferiour and subject to none; above all commands; the greatest *Emperour* being his *Sheep* and *Subject*.

As in *Israel* *Saul* was the *Head*. 1 Sam. 15. 17.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all Princes. Divers Popes have affirmed this Superiority. They are allowed and most favoured by him, who teach this Doctrine. In their *Missal* he is preferred above all Kings, being prayed for before them.

Rom. 13. 1.

But in the primitive times this was not held; for St. *Paul* requires *every soul to be subject to the higher powers*. Then the *Emperour* was avowed the first person, next to God; *To whom*, says *Tertullian*, *they are second, after whom they are first, before all and above all Gods. Why? &c. ----we worship the Emperour as a man next to God, and less onely than God.* And *Optatus*, ---- *since there is none above the Emperour but God who made him.* ---- *while Donatus extolleth himself above the Emperour, he raises himself as it were above humanity, and thinks himself to be God and not Man. For the King is the top and head of all things on earth.* Then even * *Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, all men whoever were subject to the Emperour.* The *Emperours* did command them, † *even the blessed Bishops and Patriarchs of old Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis and Jerusalem.* Divers Popes did avow themseves subject to the Emperour.

—— *à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes, & super omnes Deos; quidni? cùm super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt.* Tertul. *Apol. cap* 30.

Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum, & solo Deo minorem. Tertul. *ad* Scap. *cap.* 2.

Cùm super Imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem. Opt. 3. *Vid. Tr.* 5. *Sect.* 14.

Dum se Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum ut se ut Deum non hominem æstimaret. Id. Ibid.

Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. β. p. 463.

* Chrys. *in* Rom. 13. 1.

† *Jubemus igitur beatissimos Episcopos & Patriarchas hoc est senioris Romæ, & Constantinopoleos, & Alexandriæ, & Theopoleos & Hierosolymorum.* Justinian. *Novel.* 123. *cap.* 3. *P.* Greg. *M. Ep.* 2. 62. *Supra in præf. Sect.* 4. *Tract.* 5. *Sect.* 14.

Vid. Sect. 5. *Dist* 63. *c.* 4. *P.* Nic. *I. Ep. Ann.* 482. *Sect.* 1.

XVI. The Confirmation of Magistrates, elected by others, is a *Branch* of *Supremacy* which the Pope doth assume.

Baronius saith that this was the ancient custome; and that Pope *Simplicius* did confirm the Election of *Calendion* Bishop of *Antioch*.

Ἐβεβαίωσε τῷ θειοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρίαν. Theod. 5. 8.

Meletius confirm'd the most holy Gregory in the Bishoprick of Constantinople.

But the truth is, that anciently Bishops being elected did onely give an account of their choice unto all other Bishops; especially to those of highest rank, desiring their approbation and friendship, for preservation of due communion, correspondence and peace. So the Synod of *Antioch* gave an account to the Bishops of *Rome* and *Alexandria, and all their Fellow-ministers throughout the world*, &c. of the election of *Domnus* after *Paulus Samosatenus*. So the *Fathers* of *Constantinople* acquainted Pope *Damasus* and the *Western* Bishops with the Constitution of *Nectarius*, *Flavianus*, &c.

Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς —— Euseb. 7. 30.

This

This was not to request Confirmation, as if the Pope or other Bishops could reject the Election if regular, but rather to assure whom they were to communicate with. *We have* (say the Fathers of the Synod against *Paulus Samosatenus*) *signified this, (our chusing of Domnus into Paulus's room) that you may write to him and receive letters of communion from him*---- And St. *Cyprian*; *That you and our Collegues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters.*

Ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τούτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα.—— Euseb. *Ibid.*

Ut scires tu, & Collegæ nostri quibus scribere, & literas mutuò à quibus vos accipere oporteret—— Cypr. *Ep.* 55 (*ad* Cornel.)

Thus the Bishops of *Rome* themselves did acquaint other Bishops with their Election, their Faith, *&c.* So did *Cornelius*; whom therefore S. *Cyprian* asserteth as established by the consent and approbation of his *Collegues*; *When the place of Peter and the Sacerdotal Chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our consents confirmed*, &c. — *and the testimony of our Fellow-bishops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimously consented.*

Vid. P. Greg. *Tract. de Unit. Eccl.*

Cum locus Petri, & gradus Cathedræ Sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrûm consensione firmato — Cypr. *Ep.* 52.

-- *& Co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consensit. Ibid.*

The *Emperour* did confirm Bishops, as we see by that notable passage in the Synod of *Chalcedon*; where *Bassianus*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, pleading for himself saith, *Our most religious Emperour knowing these things presently ratified it, and by a memorial published it, confirming the Bishoprick*; *afterwards he sent his rescript by Eustathius the Silentiary again confirming it.*

Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ εὐτεβέστατος ἡμῶν Βασιλεὺς, εὐθὺς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσε, καὶ εὐθέως διὰ ὑπομνηστικοῦ ἐδήλωσεν ἐν φανερῷ, βεβαιῶν τὴν Ἐπισκοπὴν μὲν ταῦτα ἀπεστειλε σάκραν πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθιοῦ τοῦ Σιλεντιαρίου βεβαιοῦσαν τὴν Ἐπισκοπήν. Conc. Chalc. *Act.* 11. (*p.* 404.)

XVII. It is a Privilege of Sovereigns to grant *Privileges, Exemptions, Dispensations.*

This he claimeth; but against the Laws of God and Rights of Bishops. Against the Decrees of Synods----against the sense of good men in all times.

Vid. Bern.

XVIII. It is a Prerogative of Sovereign power, to Erect, Translate Spiritual Presidencies.

Wherefore this the Pope claimeth. *Cum ex illo*, &c.

But at first he had nothing to doe therein, except in his own Province or Diocese.

As Christianity did grow and enter into Cities, so the neighbour Bishops did ordain Bishops there.

Princes often, as they did endow, so they did erect Episcopal Sees and did, as was sutable, change places.

Pope *Paschal* II. doth by complaining attest to this, writing to the Archbishop of *Poland*, *What shall I say of the translations of Bishops, which among you are presumed to be made, not by Apostolick authority, but the King's command.*

P. Innoc. III. *in* Greg. *decr. li.* 1. *tit.* 7 *c.* 1.—*&c.*

Quid super Episcoporum translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate Apostolicâ, sed nutu Regis præsumuntur? P. Pasch. *II. Ep.* 6. *Præter authoritatem nostram Episcoporum translationes præsumitis*— Eadm. *p.* 115.

XIX. It is a great Prerogative of Sovereignty to impose *Taxes* on the *Clergy* or *People.*

Wherefore the Pope doth assume this; as for instance that Decree of Pope *Innocent* IV. in the first Synod of *Lions*; *By the common consent of the Council we ordain that all the Clergy, as well those who are under authority as the Prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their Ecclesia-*

Cæterùm ex communi Concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnes omnino Clerici, tam subditi quàm prælati, vigesimam Ecclesiarum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium terræ sanctæ, per manus eorum, qui ad hoc Apostolicâ fuerint providentiâ ordinati.—— sciantque se omnes ad hoc fideliter observandum per excommunicationis sententiam obligatos. Lugdun. *Concil.* 1. (*Anno* 1245.)

stical revenues towards the assistence of the holy Land, into the hands of those who shall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the Apostolick See.--and let all know that this they are bound faithfully to do under pain of excommunication.

But Antiquity knew no such Impositions: when the Church, the Clergy, the Poor were maintained and relieved by voluntary Offerings, or Obventions.

Ut ditentur Oblationibus Matronarum.

Even the invidious splendour of the *Roman* Bishop was supported by the *Oblations of Matrons*, as *Marcellinus* observeth.

Marcell. 27. *Vid. Const. Apost.* 2. 25. *Nam qui constituerent vel fundâruut sanctissimas Ecclesias pro sua salute & communis Reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis substantias, ut per eas debeant sacræ liturgiæ fieri, & ut illis à ministrantibus piis Clericis Deus colatur. Cod. Lib.* 1. *Tit.* 3. *Sect.* 42.

This is an encroachment upon the right of Princes, unto whom Clergymen are Subjects, and bound *to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.*

SUPPOSITION VII.

A farther grand Assertion of the *Roman* Party, is this, *That the Papal Supremacy is indefectible, and unalterable.*

BUT good reasons may be assigned, why even supposing that the Pope had an Universal Sovereignty in virtue of his Succession to Saint *Peter* conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent, that it must always, or doth now belong to him. For it might be settled on him not absolutely but upon conditions, the which failing his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should onely continue for a time. And there are divers ways, whereby according to common rules of justice, he might be disseised thereof.

1. If God had positively declared his will concerning this Point, that such a Sovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then indeed it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration doth appear, then to assert it for such is to derogate from his power and providence; by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of things. Whence no humane power can be supposed absolutely stable or immovably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source, or firmer ground, than that of the Civil Government hath, for *all such power is from heaven*, and in relation to that it is said, *There is no power but from God, the powers that are, are ordanied by God:* But yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the Sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds either personal or local.

Joh. 29. 11. Rom. 13. 1.

Any temporal Jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things, to which all humane Constitutions are subject; and which are ordered *by the will and providence of the most High, who ruleth*

Dan. 5. 21. Psal. 75. 7

in

in the Kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth; putting down one, and setting up another.

Adam By God's appointment was Sovereign of the world; and his first born Successours derived the same power from him: yet in course of time that order hath been interrupted, and divers independent Sovereignties do take place.

Every Prince hath his authority from God, or by virtue of Divine Ordination within his own Territory; and according to God's Ordinance the lawfull Successour hath a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority doth often fail totally or in part, changing its extent.

Why then may not any Spiritual power be liable to the same vicissitudes? why may not a Prelate be degraded as well as a Prince? why may not the Pope, as well as the Emperour, lose all, or part of his Kingdom?

Why may not the Successour of *Peter*, no less than the Heir of *Adam* suffer a defaileur of Jurisdiction?

That Spiritual Corporations, Persons and Places are subject to the same contingencies with others, as there is like reason to suppose, so there are examples to prove; God removed his sanctuary from *Shiloh*, *Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at first, &c.* He deserted *Jerusalem*. He removeth the Candlesticks. He placed *Eli* (of the Family of *Ithamar*) in the High-Priesthood, and displaced his Race from it: *I said indeed* (saith God) *that thy house, and the house of thy father should walk before me for ever, but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me, &c.*

Jer. 7. 12. Jer. 7. 14. Apoc. 2. 5. 1 Sam. 2 30. 1 King. 2. 27.

3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering an Universal Jurisdiction; for when it should prove very inconvenient or hurtfull, God might order such an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God first did institute one Universal Monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious, providence gave way for its change, and setting up of particular Governments; to which men are bound to submit; So God might institute a singular Presidency of the Church; but when the Church grew vastly extended, so that such a Government would not conveniently serve the whole, he might order a division, in which we should acquiesce.

4. It hath ever been deemed reasonable, and accordingly been practised, that the Church in its exteriour form and political administrations should be suted to the state of the world, and Constitution of worldly Govenrments that their might be no clashing or disturbance from each to other.

Wherefore seeing the World is now settled under so many Civil Sovereignties, it is expedient that Ecclesiastical Discipline should be so modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reasonable, that any pretence of Jurisdiction should veil to the publick good of the Church and the World.

That it should be necessary for the Church to retain the same form of policy or measure of power affixed to persons or places, can nowise be demonstrated by sufficient proof, and it is not consistent with experience; which sheweth the Church to have subsisted with variations of that kind.

There

There hath in all times been found much reaſon or neceſſity to make alterations as well in the places and bounds of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, as of ſecular Empire.

Wherefore Saint *Peter*'s Monarchy, reaſon requiring, might be cantonized into divers ſpiritual Supremacies; and as other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions have been chopp'd and chang'd, enlarged or diminiſhed, removed and extinguiſhed, ſo might that of the *Roman* Biſhop. The Pope cannot retain power in any State againſt the will of the Prince: he is not bound to ſuffer correſpondences with Foreigners, eſpecially ſuch who apparently have intereſts contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Eſpecially that might be done if the continuance of ſuch a Juriſdiction ſhould prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the Church.

6. That power is defectible which according to the nature and courſe of things doth ſometime fail.

But the Papal Succeſſion hath often been interrupted by contingencies (of *Sedition*, *Schiſm*, *Intruſion*, *Simoniacal Election*, *Depoſition*, &c. as before ſhewed) and is often interrupted by Vacancies from the death of the Incumbents.

7. If leaving their dubious and falſe ſuppoſitions, (concerning Divine Inſtitution, Succeſſion to Saint *Peter*, &c.) we conſider the truth of the caſe, indeed the more grounded plea of the Pope, that Papal preeminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the *Roman* City, and by the collation or countenance of the Imperial authority; then by the defect of ſuch advantages it may ceaſe or be taken away: for when *Rome* hath ceaſed to be the Capital City, the Pope may ceaſe to be Head of the Church. When the Civil powers, which have ſucceeded the Imperial, each in its reſpective Territory, are no leſs abſolute than it, they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by humane Authority, by the ſame may be revoked; and what the Emperour could have done, each Sovereign power now may doe for it ſelf.

An indefectible power cannot be ſetled by man; becauſe there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; ſo that whatever power one may raiſe, the other may demoliſh; there being no bounds whereby the preſent time may bind all poſterity.

However no humane Law can extempt any Conſtitution from the providence of God; which at pleaſure can diſſolve whatever man hath framed. And if the Pope were deveſted of all adventitious power, obtained by humane means, he would be left very bare; and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for Juriſdiction.

8. However or whenceſoever the Pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the Pope doth encroach on the rights and liberties of others uſurping a lawleſs domination, beyond reaſon and meaſure, they may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and ſhake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwiſe than by infringing the Sacred Laws, and trampling down the inviolable Privileges of the Churches, either granted by Chriſt, or eſtabliſhed by the Sanctions of General Synods; he thereby depriveth himſelf of all Authority; becauſe it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others (whoſe right out-weigheth his) and without great miſchief to the Church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage. This

This was the *Maxime* of a great Pope, a great stickler for his own dignity; for when the Bishop of *Constantinople* was advanced by a General Synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that Pope opposing him did say, that *whoever doth affect more than his due, doth lose that which properly belonged to him*; the which Rule if true in regard to another's case, may be applied to the Pope, for *with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*

Propria perdit; qui indebita concupiscit. P. Leo. *I. Ep.* 54.

On such a supposition of the Papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him; *It is too proud and immoderate a thing to stretch beyond ones bounds, and in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other mens right, and to oppose the Primacies of so many Metropolitans, on purpose to advance the dignity of one.*

Superbum nimis est & immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, & antiquitate calcatâ alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius crescat dignitas, tot Metropolitanorum impugnare primatus —— P. Leo. *I Ep.* 55.

For the privileges of Churches, being instituted by the Canons of the holy Fathers, and fixt by the Decrees of the venerable Synod of Nice, cannot be pluckt up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation.

Privilegia enim Ecclesiarum, sanctorum Patrum Canonibus instituta, & venerabilis Nicenæ Synodi fixa Decretis, nullâ possunt improbitate convelli, nullâ novitate mutari. Ibid.

Far be it from me, that I should in any Church infringe the Decrees of our Ancestours made in favour of my fellow-priests; for I do my self injury, if I disturb the rights of my brethren.

Absit hoc à me, ut Statuta Majorum Consacerdotibus meis in qualibet Ecclesiâ infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo. Greg. *I. Epist.* 2. 37.

The Pope surely (according to any ground of Scripture, or Tradition, or ancient Law) hath no Title to greater Principality in the Church, than the Duke of *Venice* hath in that State; Now if the Duke of *Venice* in prejudice to the publick right and liberty, should attempt to stretch his power to an absoluteness of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the constitution of that Common-wealth, he would thereby surely forfeit his Supremacy, (such as it is) and afford cause to the State of rejecting him: the like occasion would the Pope give to the Church by the like demeanour.

9. The Pope by departing from the Doctrine and Practice of Saint *Peter*, would forfeit his Title of Successour to him; for in such a case no succession in place or in name could preserve it; *The Popes themselves had swerved and degenerated from the example of Peter.*

Pontifices ipsi à Petri vestigiis discesserant. Plat. *in* Joh. 10. (*p.* 275.)

They are not the Sons of the Saints, who hold the places of the saints, but they that doe their works. (Which place is rased out of St. *Hierome.*)

Non Sanctorum Filii sunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum —— Hieron. *ad* Heliod. *apud Grat. Dist.* 40. *cap.* 2.

They have not the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear asunder by ungodly division.

Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impiâ divisione discerpunt. Ambr. *de Pœn.* 1. 6.

So *Gregory Nazianzene* saith of *Athanasius*, that *he was Successour of Mark, no less in piety than presidency: the which we must suppose to be properly succession*: otherwise the *Mufti* of *Constantinople* is Successour to St. *Andrew*, of St. *Chrysostome*, &c. the *Mufti* of *Jerusalem* to St. *James.*

Οὐχ ἧττον τῆς Εὐσεβείας, ἢ τῆς προεδρείας διάδοχος —— ἣν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ὑποληπτέον διαδοχήν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον, τὸ δὲ ἀντίδοξον καὶ ἀτίθρονον —— Greg. Naz. *Or.* 21.

If then the Bishop of *Rome* instead of teaching Christian Doctrine doth propagate Errours contrary to it; If instead of guiding into Truth and Godliness, he seduceth into Falshoood and Impiety; If instead of declaring and pressing the Laws of God, he delivereth and imposeth Precepts opposite, prejudicial, destructive of God's Laws; If instead of pro-

promoting genuine Piety, he doth (in some instances) violently oppose it: If instead of maintaining true Religion, he doth pervert and corrupt it by bold Defalcations, by Superstitious additions, by Foul mixtures and alloys; If he coineth new Creeds, Articles of Faith, new Scriptures, new Sacraments, new Rules of Life, obtruding them on the Consciences of Christians; If he conformeth the Doctrines of Christianity to the Interests of his Pomp and Profit; *making gain godliness*; If he prescribe Vain, Prophane, Superstitious ways of Worship, turning Devotion into Foppery and Pageantry; If instead of preserving Order and Peace, he fomenteth Discords and Factions in the Church; being a Make-bate and Incendiary among Christians; If he claimeth exorbitant Power, and exerciseth Oppression and tyrannical Domination over his Brethren; cursing and damning all that will not submit to his Dictates and commands; If instead of being a Shepherd, he is a Wolf, worrying and tearing the Flock by cruel Persecution: He by such behaviour *ipso facto* depriveth himself of Authority and Office; He becometh thence no Guide or Pastour to any Christian; there doth in such case rest no obligation to hear or obey him; but rather to decline him, to discost from him, to reject and disclaim him.

Non Facit Ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum. Hier.
Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian.

Non omnes Episcopi Episcopi sunt. *Id.*
All Bishops are not Bishops.

Οἱ παρ' αὐτῖς κατάσκοποι, ὁ δ' Ἐπίσκοποι. Athan. *Const. Ap.* 8. 2.
They with them are scouts or spies, not Overseers or Bishops.

This is the reason of the case, this the Holy Scripture doth prescribe, this is according to the Primitive Doctrine, Tradition and Practice of the Church. For,

10. In reason, the nature of any spiritual Office consisting in Instruction in Truth and Guidance in Vertue toward attainment of Salvation; if any man doth lead into pernicious Errour or Impiety, he thereby ceaseth to be capable of such Office: As a blind man, by being so, doth cease to be a Guide; and much more he, that declareth a will to seduce; for, *Who so blind as he that will not see?*

Luk. 6. 39. Μὴ δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;

Matt. 15. 14. Ezek. 3. 18. No man can be bound to *follow any one into the ditch:* or to obey any one in prejudice to his own Salvation; *to die in his iniquity.* Seeing God Matt. 15. 9. saith in such a case, μάτην σέβονταί με, *In vain do they worship me, teaching for Doctrines the Precepts of men*

They themselves do acknowledge that Hereticks cease to be bishops; Bell. *de P. R.* 2 30. (*p.*1083.) and so to be Popes. Indeed they cease to be Christians; for ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, *such a one is subverted.*

11. According to their Principles, the Pope hath the same relation to other Bishops and Pastours of the Church, which they have to their people; he being Pastour of Pastours: But if any Pastour should teach bad Doctrine, or prescribe bad Practice, his people may reject and disobey him; therefore in proportion, the Pastours may desert the Pope misguiding or misgoverning them. In such cases any Inferiour is exempted from obligation to comply with his Superiour, either truly or pretendedly such.

12. The case may be that we may not hold communion with the Pope, but may be obliged to shun him; in which case his Authority doth fail, and no man is subject to him.

13. This is the Doctrine of the Scripture. The High Priest and his fellows, under the Jewish Oeconomy, had no less Authority than any Matt. 23. 2. Pope can now pretend unto; they did *sit in the Chair of Moses*, and Matt. 15. 6. therefore all their True Doctrines and Lawfull Directions the people were

were obliged to learn and observe; but their false Doctrines, and impious Precepts they were bound to shun; and consequently to disclaim their Authority so far as employ'd in urging such Doctrines and Precepts; Ἄφετε αὐτούς, *Let them alone*, saith our Saviour, *they are blind leaders of the blind.* Under the Christian dispensation, the matter is no less clear; our Lord commandeth us *to beware of false Prophets*; and to *see that no man deceive us*; although he wear the cloathing of a Sheep, or come under the name of a Shepherd (*coming in his name*---). Saint *Paul* informeth us, that if *an Apostle*, if *an Angel from Heaven* doth preach beside the old Apostolical Doctrine (introducing any new Gospel, or a Divinity devised by himself) he is to be *held accursed* by us. He affirmeth, that even the Apostles themselves were not *Lords of our faith*, nor might challenge any power inconsistent with the maintenance of Christian Truth and Piety; *We* (saith he) *can doe nothing against the truth, but for the truth*; the which an ancient Writer doth well apply to the Pope, saying, that he *could doe nothing against the truth more than any of his Fellow-priests could doe*; which St *Paul* did in practice shew, when he *resisted* Saint *Peter*, *declining from the truth of the Gospel.* He chargeth that if any one doth ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, *teach heterodoxies*, we should *stand off from him*; that, *if any brother walketh disorderly, and not according to Apostolical tradition, we should withdraw from him*; that if any one doth *raise divisions and scandals beside the doctrines received from the Apostles we should decline from him*; that we are *to refuse any heretical person.* He telleth us that *grievous Wolves should come into the Church, not sparing the flock*; that *from among Christians there should arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them*; but no man surely ought to follow, but to shun them.

Matt. 16. 6. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης——ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς. Vers. 12.
Beware and take heed of the leaven—— of the doctrine.

Matt. 15. 14.

Matt. 7. 15.

Matt. 24. 4.

Gal. 1. 8, 9.

2 Cor. 1. 24.

2 Cor. 13. 7, 8.

Nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate, plus suis Con-sacerdotibus potest. Fac. Hermian. 2. 6.

Gal. 2. 11. 14. Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

1 Tim. 6. 3, 5. εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ——ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

2 Thess. 3. 6. στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ——
Rom. 16. 17. ἐκκλίνειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

Tit. 3. 10.
Act. 20. 29. εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

Act. 20. 30.

These Precepts and Admonitions are general, without any respect or exception of Persons great or small, Pastour or Lay-men: nay they may in some respect more concern Bishops than others; for that they declining from truth, are more dangerous and more contagious.

14. The Fathers (in reference to this case) do clearly accord, both in their Doctrine and Practice. St *Cyprian* telleth us, that *a people obedient to the Lord's commandments, and fearing God, ought to separate it self from a sinful Bishop*, that is, from one guilty of such sins which unqualifie him for Christian Communion or Pastoral charge; and *Let not* (addeth he) *the common people flatter it self, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt, if it communicate with a sinful Bishop*; whose irreligious Doctrine or Practice doth render him uncapable of communion; for *how* (saith he otherwhere) *can they preside over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices do begin to proceed from them?*

They who reject the Commandment of God, and labour to establish their own tradition, let them be strongly and stoutly refused and rejected by you.

Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis & Deum metuens à peccatore præposito separare se debet. Cypr. *Ep.* 68.

Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit cum Sacerdote peccatore communicans. Ibid.

Quomodo enim possunt integritati & continentiæ præesse, si ex ipsis incipiant corruptelæ & vitiorum magisteria procedere? Cyp. *Ep.* 62.

Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, & traditionem suam statuere conantur, fortiter à vobis & firmiter resistantur. Cypr. *Ep.* 40. (*p.* 73.)

St. *Chrysostome*, commenting on Saint *Paul's* words, *If I or an Angel*----saith, that Saint *Paul meaneth to shew, that dignity of persons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned*; that, *if one of the chief Angels from Heaven should corrupt the Gospel, he were to be accursed*; that, *not onely if they shall speak things contrary, or overturn all, but if they preach any small matter beside the Apostolical doctrine, altering the least point whatever, they are liable to an anathema.*

Ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι ἐκάλυψεν, ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσέχει, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. Chrys. *in* Gal. 1. 9.

Κἂν γὰρ τῶν πρώτων Ἀγγέλων ἢ τις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, διαφθείρων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Ibid* 1. 8.

Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταλλέγωσιν, ἢ ἀναίρωσι τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται παρ' ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν. *Ibid.*

καταλλέλ

And other-where, very earnestly perswading his Audience to render due respect and obedience to their Bishop, he yet interposeth this exception, *If he hath a perverse opinion, although he be an Angel do not obey him*; *but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life but his words.*

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κἂν Ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πίθου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τῷ βίῳ προσέχῃς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι. Chrys. *in* 2. Tim. *Orat.* 2.

Ecclesiastical Judges as men are for the most part deceived,

Ecclesiastici Judices ut homines plerunque falluntur----Aug. *c.* Cresc. 2. 21.

For neither are Catholick Bishops to be assented to, if peradventure in any case they are mistaken, so as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.

Quia nec Catholicis Episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi fortè falluntur, ut contra Canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid sentiant. August. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 10.

If there be any Church which rejects the faith, and does not hold the fundamentals of the Apostolical doctrine, it ought to be forsaken, lest it infect others with its heterodoxy.

Si quia est Ecclesia, quæ fidem respuat, nec Apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, nè quam labem perfidiæ possit aspergere deserenda est. Ambr. *in* Luc. 9. (*p.* 85.)

If in such case we must desert any Church, then the *Roman*; if any Church, then much more any Bishop, particularly him of *Rome.*

This hath been the Doctrine of divers Popes.

Which not onely the Apostolical Prelate, but any other Bishop may doe, viz. *discriminate and severe any men, and any place from the Catholick communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned heresie.*

Quod non solùm præsuli Apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque Pontifici, ut quoslibet & quemlibet locum secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, à Catholica communione discernant. P. Gelas. *I. Ep.* 4.

Faith is universal, common to all, and belongs not onely to Clergymen but also to Laicks, and even to all Christians.

Therefore the sheep which are committed to the cure of their Pastour, ought not to reprehend him, unless he swerve and go astray from the right faith.

Fides universalis est, omnium communis est, non solùm ad Clericos, verùm etiam ad Laicos, & ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos. P. Nich. *I. Ep.* 8. *p.* 506.

Oves ergò quæ pastori suo commissæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, nisi à recta fide exorbitaverit, debent—— P. Joh. *I. Ep.* 1. (*apud* Bin. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 812.

15. That this was the current opinion, common practice doth shew, there being so many instances of those who rejected their Superiours, and withdrew from their communion, in case of their maintaining errours, or of their disorderly behaviour; such practice having been approved by General and Great Synods as also by divers Popes.

When *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* did introduce new and strange Doctrine, *divers of his Presbyters did rebuke him, and withdraw communion from him*; which proceeding is approved in the *Ephesine* Synod.

Ἐν τῇ συνεδρίῳ πολλάκις πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπειθειαν αὐτοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον ——Conc. Eph. *part I. p.* 220.

Particularly *Charisius* did assert this proceeding in those remarkable words presented to that same Synod; *'Tis the wish and desire of all well affected persons, to give always all due honour and reverence especially to their spiritual Fathers and Teachers: but if it should so happen*

Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν ἀεὶ καὶ σέβεσθαι αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάλιστα πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ὑπονέμειν· εἰ δέ τι συμβῇ τοῦ διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιοῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν πρὸς τὸ πι-

happen that they who ought to teach, should instil unto those who are set under them such things concerning the faith, as are offensive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of necessity the order must be inverted, and they who teach wrong Doctrine must be rebuked of those who are their inferiours.

στεως, οἷα τὰς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας κλαδωλαίπει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀναλλαλάπεσθαι. καὶ τοὺ νομικῶς διδάσκειν ἐλευθέρους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων διελέγχεσθαι. Charis. *in Conc.* Eph. *Act.* 6. *p.* 328.

Pope *Celestine* I. in that case did commend the people of *Constantinople*, deserting their Pastour; *Happy flock* (said he) *to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own Pasture.*

Μακάριον ὄμως ἡ ἀγέλη ἡ παρέχουσα ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τ ἰδίας νομῆς. Celest. *I. in Conc.* Eph. *p.* 190.

St. *Hierome* did presume to write very briskly and smartly in reproof of *John* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, in whose province he a simple Presbyter did reside.

Who makes a Schism in the Church? we whose whole house in Bethlehem communicate with the Church, or thou, who either believest aright, and proudly concealest the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makest a breach in the Church? Art thou onely the Church? and is he who offendeth thee excluded from Christ?

Quis scindit Ecclesiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in Ecclesia communicat; an tu qui aut benè credis, & superbè de fide taces, aut malè & verè scindis Ecclesiam?——An tu solus Ecclesia es; & qui te offenderit à Christo excluditur? Hier. *Ep.* 61. *cap.* 16. *Ep.* 62.

Malchion, Presbyter of *Antioch* disputed against *Paulus Samosatenus* his Bishop.

Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Presbyter, adversus Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurârat disputavit. Hieron. *in* Catal.

Beatus Presbyter confuted his Bishop *Elipandus* of *Toledo*.

But if the Rectour swerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by those who are under him,

Quòd si à fide exorbitaverit Rector, tunc arguendus erit à subditis Isid. Hisp. *de Offic.* 3. 39. *Vid.* Thomam Aq. *in* 4. *Dist.* 19. *Art* 2.

16. The case is the same of the Pope; for if other Bishops, who are reckoned Successours of the Apostles, and Vicars of Christ within their precinct; if other Patriarchs, who sit in Apostolical Sees, and partake of a like extensive Jurisdiction, by incurring heresie or schism, or committing notorious disorder and injustice, may be deprived of their Authority, so that their Subjects may be obliged to forsake them, then may the Pope lose his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the Chair of *Rome* more than to any other; there is no ground of asserting any such Privilege either in Holy Scripture or in old Tradition; there can no promise be alledged for it, having any probable shew (that of *Oravi pro te*, being a ridiculous pretence) it cannot stand without a perpetual miracle; there is in fact no appearance of any such miracle; from the ordinary causes of great errour and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, sloth, luxury) the Papal state is not exempt, yea apparently it is more subject to them than any other; All Ages have testified and complained thereof.

17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the Pope; as other-where we have shewed by divers Instances.

18. The Canon Law it self doth admit the Pope may be judged if he be a Heretick.-- *Because he that is to judge all persons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone astray from the faith.*

Quia cunctos ipse judicaturus à nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur à fide devius. Gra. *dist.* 40. *cap.* 6. *Vid. P.* Innoc. *III. apud* Laun. *contra* Baron.——

The supposition doth imply the possibility, and therefore the case may be put that he is such, and then he doth (according to the more current Doctrine ancient and modern) cease to be a Bishop, yea a Christian; Hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great Pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope *Honorius* for good, because he was erroneous in point of Faith: *for* (saith he, in that which is called the *Eighth* Synod) *although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the Oriental Bishops; it is yet well known, that he was accused for heresie; for which alone it is lawfull for inferiours to rise up against superiours.*

Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τοῦ Ὀνορίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν κτ. θάνατον ἀνάθεμα ἐῤῥέθη, ὅμως γνωστὸν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἱρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἣν καὶ μόνον ἔξεστι τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους τῶν μειζόνων κατεξανίστασθαι. *Syn. VIII. Act. 7. p. 963.*

Now that the Pope (or Papal succession) doth pervert the truth of Christian Doctrine, in contradiction to the Holy Scripture, and Primitive Tradition; that he doth subvert the practice of Christian piety in opposition to the Divine commands; that he teacheth falshoods, and maintaineth impieties, is notorious in many particulars, some whereof we shall touch.

We justly might charge him with all those extravagant Doctrines and Practices which the high-flying Doctours do teach, and which the fierce Zealots upon occasion do act; for the whole succession of Popes of a long time hath most cherished and encouraged such folks, looking squintly on others, as not well affected to them; But we shall onely touch those new and noxious or dangerous positions, which great Synods, managed and confirmed by their Authority, have defined, or which they themselves have magisterially decreed; or which are generally practised by their influence or countenance.

It is manifest, that the Pope doth support and cherish as his special Favourites the Venters of wicked Errours; such as those who teach the *Pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal Princes*, to cashier and *depose* them, to *absolve Subjects from their allegeance*---the Doctrine of *equivocation*, *breach of faith with hereticks*, &c. the which Doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever doth so much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Christianity, are guilty of the same crimes.

The Holy Scripture and Catholick Antiquity do teach and enjoin us *to worship and serve God alone*, our Creatour; forbidding us to worship any Creature, or *Fellow-Servant*; even not Angels. *For I who am a Creature will not endure to worship one like to me.*

Matt. 4. 10. Apoc. 19. 10. 22. 9. Col. 2. 18. Rom. 1. 25.
Κτίσμα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυνεῖν. Bas. *apud* Sozom. 6. 16.

But the Pope and his Clients do teach and charge us to worship Angels, and dead men; yea even to venerate *the reliques and dead bodies of the Saints.*

Similiter & Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos atque invocandos esse: — atque horum reliquias esse venerandas. Pii *IV. Profess. fid. Bonum atque utile esse eos invocare—— Sanctorum quoque corpora—— à fidelibus veneranda esse Conc.* Trid.

The Holy Scripture teacheth us *to judge nothing* (about the the present or future state of men, absolutely) *before the time, untill the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts, and then each man shall have praise of God.*

But the Pope notoriously (in repugnance to those precepts, anticipating God's Judgment, and arrogating to himself a knowledge requisite

quisite thereto) doth presume to determine the state of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be Saints, and proposing them to be worshipped; and on the other side, he damneth, curseth and censureth his Fellow-Servants.

God in his Law doth command us not *to bow down our selves unto any image*, or worship *the likeness of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth*; the which Law (whether Moral or Positive) the Gospel doth ratifie and confirm, charging us to *keep our selves from idols*, and *to fly worshipping of idols*, that is, to observe the Second Commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers most expressly assert; and divers of them were so strict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful so much as to make any Image.

Exod. 20. 4. οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα. —— 1 Joh. 5. 21. 1 Cor. 10. 14, 7. Clem. Alex. Tertul.

But the Pope and his adherents (in point-blank opposition to Divine Law, and Primitive Doctrine) doth require us to *fall down before* and to worship Images. *Moreover we decree that the Images of Saints be especially had and retain'd in Churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them--- so that by those Images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Christ, and venerate the Saints whose likeness they bear.*

Imagines porrò —— Sanctorum in Templis præsertim habendas, & retinendas, eisque debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam —— ità ut per Imagines, quas osculamur & coram quibus caput aperimus, & procumbimus, Christum adoremus; & Sanctos quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 25.

Neither is he satisfied to recommend and decree these unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible strange kind of uncharitableness and ferity) doth he *anathematize those, who teach* or think *any thing opposite to his decrees concerning them*; so that if the ancient Fathers should live now, they would live under this curse.

Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut senserit, anathema sit. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 25.

The Holy Scripture, under condition of Repentance and amendment of life, upon recourse to God and trust in his mercy, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, doth offer and promise Remission of sins, Acceptance with God, Justification and Salvation; this is the tenour of the Evangelical Covenant; nor did the Primitive Church know other terms.

Ezek. 18. Luk. 15. Rom. 10. 9. Mark. 1. 15.

But the Pope hoth preach another Doctrine, and requireth other terms as necessary for Remission of Sins and Salvation; for he hath decreed the confession of all and each mortal sin, which a man by recollection can remember, to a Priest, to be necessary thereto; anathematizing all who shall say the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. *Chrysostome* frequently) have affirmed the contrary.

Si quis dixerit in Sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia & singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita & diligenti præmeditatione habeatur —— anathema sit. Sess. 14. *de Pæn. Can.* 7.

If any one shall say, that in the Sacrament of Penance, it is not necessary by divine right to confess all and singular mortal sins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation let him be anathema.

The which is plainly preaching another Gospel (forged by himself and his abettors) as offering Remission upon other terms than God hath prescribed; and denying it upon those which Christianity proposeth.

He teacheth that no sin is pardoned without absolution of a Priest.

He requireth satisfaction imposed by a Priest, besides repentance and new obedience, as necessary. Which is also another Gospel.

Si quis negaverit ad integram & perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri — contritionem, confessionem & satisfactionem. Sess. 14. *Can.* 4.

If any shall deny that contrition, confession and satisfaction, is required to the entire and perfect remission of sin.

He

Et qui Hierosolymam proficiscuntur. & ad Christianam gentem defendendam, & tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus—Conc. Lat. *I. Can.* 11.

He dispenseth pardon of sin upon condition of performances unnecessary and insufficient; such as undertaking *Pilgrimages to the Shrines of Saints*, *Visiting Churches*, making *War upon Infidels* or *Hereticks*, *Contributing Money*, *repeating Prayers*, undergoing *Corporal Penances*, &c. Which is likewise to frame and publish another Gospel.

And whoever go to Jerusalem and powerfully afford help to defend Christian people, and to subdue the tyranny of Infidels, to them we grant forgiveness of their sins———

These Doctrines are highly presumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

Rom. 13. 1.— Tit. 3 1. 1 Pet. *κἂν ἀπόστολος.*—— Chrys. *Si omnis & vestra*——*si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.* Bern. *Ep.* 42.

God hath commanded that *every soul should be subject to the higher powers* temporal, *as to God's Ministers*; so as to obey their Laws, to submit to their Judgments, to pay Tribute to them---And the Fathers expound this Law to the utmost extent and advantage. *If every soul, then yours, if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you.*

Lex Canonica simpliciter eos eximit. Bell. *de Cler. cap.* 1. *Sanè quia Laici quidam Ecclesiasticas personas & ipsos etiam Episcopos suo judicio stare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præsumpserint, à communione fidelium decernimus segregandos.* Conc. Lat. *III. Can.* 14. *Con.* Lat. *II. Can.* 15. Steph. *VI. Ep.* 1. (*Tom.* 1. *p.* 130.) Nichol. 1. *Ep.* 8. (*Tom.* 6. *p.* 513.

But the Pope countermandeth, and exempteth all Clergy-men from those duties, by his *Canon Law*; excommunicating Lay-Judges, who shall perform their office in regard to them. *Because indeed some Lay-persons constrain Ecclesiasticks, yea and Bishops themselves, to appear before them and to stand to their judgment, those that henceforth shall presume to doe so, we decree that they shall be separate from the communion of the faithfull.*

Tertul. Opt. Cyril. *&c. alibi.* Greg. *Ep* 2. 62. Agatho, *&c.*

The Scriptures do represent the King (or Temporal Sovereign) as Supreme over his Subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield special respect and obedience: The Fathers yield him the same place, above all next to God; and subject to God alone: The ancient good Popes did acknowledge themselves Servants, and Subjects to the Emperour.

2 Thess. 2. 4.

But later Popes, like *the man of sin* in Saint *Paul*, have advanced themselves above all Civil power; claiming to themselves a supereminency not onely of Rank but of power over all Christian Princes; even to depose them. *Christ has committed the rights both of terrestrial and celestial government to that blessed man who bears the keys of eternal life.*

Christus beato æternæ vitæ Clavigero terreni simul & cælestis Imperii jura commisit. P. Nich. *II. apud* Grat, *dist* 22. *cap.* 1. Greg. *VII Ep.* 8. 21. *Caus.* 15. *qu.* 6. *cap.* 3.

Seculi potestates si fideles sunt, Deus Ecclesiæ Sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas—*Imperatores Christiani subdere debent executiones suas Ecclesiasticis præsulibus, non præferre.* P. Joh. *VIII. apud* Grat. *dist.* 96. *cap.* 11.

If the secular power be believers, God would have them subject to the Priests of the Church---Christian Emperours ought to submit, and not prefer the execution of their Laws to the Rulers of the Church.

God by indispensable Law hath obliged us to retain our obedience to the King even Pagan; charging us under pain of damnation to be subject to him, and not to resist him---

But the Pope is ready upon occasion to discharge Subjects from that obligation, to absolve them from their solemn Oaths of Allegeance, to

to encourage Insurrection against him; to prohibit obedience---*We observing the Decrees of our holy Predecessours, by our Apostolical Authority absolve those from their Oath who were bound by their Fealty and Oath to excommunicated Persons: and we forbid them by all means that they yield them no Allegeance, till they come and make satisfaction.*

Nos sanctorum Prædecessorum nostrorum Statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis Fidelitatem

tate aut Sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolicâ auctoritate à Sacramento absolvimus, & nè eis Fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quousque ipsi ad satisfactionem veniant. Greg. *VII. in Syn.* Rom. Grat. *Caus. 15. qu. 6. cap. 4.*

Thus doth he teach and prescribe *Rebellion*, *Perjury*---together with all the *Murthers* and *Rapines* consequent on them: which is a far greater Heresie, than if he should teach *Adultery*, *Murther* or *Theft* to be lawfull. *For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the Allegeance which they have sworn to a Christian Prince, who is an adversary to God and his Saints, and contemns their commands.*

Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano Principi juperfolvere

rârunt, Deo ejúsque Sanctis adversanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nullâ cohibentur auctoritate P. Urb. *II. apud* Grat. *Caus. 15. qu. 6. cap 5.*

Not onely the Holy Scripture, but Common Sense doth shew it to be an enormous presumption to obtrude for the Inspirations, Oracles and Dictates of God, any Writings or Propositions, which are not really such. Ezek. 13. 3, &c.

This the Pope doeth notoriously, charging us to admit divers writings, (which the greatest part of learned men in all Ages have refused for such) as Sacred and Canonical; anathematizing all those who do not hold each of them for such---Even as they are extant in a Translation, not very exact, and framed partly out of *Hebrew*, partly out of *Greek*, upon divers accounts liable to mistake; as its Author St. *Hierome* doth avow.

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, & in veteri vulgatâ

Latina Editione habentur, pro Sacris & Canonicis non susceperit --- anathema sit. Conc. Trid. *Sess. 4.*
But if any shall not receive for Sacred and Canonical, those whole Books with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the Catholick Church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin Edition; let him be *Anathema.*

According to which Decree, all who consent with St. *Hierome*, St. *Austin*, St. *Athanasius*, &c. with common sense, with the *Author* of the Second of *Maccabees* himself, must incur a curse---what can be more uncharitable, more unjust, more silly than such a Definition?

He pretendeth to Infallibility, or encourageth them who attribute it to him; which is a continual Enthusiasm and profane bold Imposture.

The Scripture doth avow a singular reverence due to it self, as containing the Oracles of God.—

But the Pope doth obtrude the *Oral Traditions* of his Church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain---) to be worshipped with equal reverence as the Holy Scripture. *And also receives and venerates with the like pious respect and reverence the Traditions themselves--- which have been preserved by continual succession in the Catholick Church.*

---nec non traditiones ipsas--- continuâ successione in Ecclesia Catholica

conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit, & veneratur. Syn. Trid. *Sess. 4.*

Among which Traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their Mass-service; together with all their new notions about Pur-

Purgatory, Extreme unction, &c. *He also used several ceremonies, as mystical benediction, lights, incensings, garments, and many other such things, from Apostolical discipline, and tradition.*

Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut mysticas benedictiones lumina, thymiamata, vestes, aliáque id genus multa ex Apostolica disciplina & traditione-- Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 22. *cap.* 5. 11. *de sacrif. Miss.*

The Scriptures affirm themselves to be written for common instruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themselves to be studyed and searched by all people; as the best and surest means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. The Fathers also do much exhort all people, (even women and girles) constantly to read; and diligently to study the Scriptures.

2 Tim. 3. 15. — Rom. 15. 4. 1 Cor. 9. 10. 10. 11. 2 Pet. 1. 20. ἐπιβσέως.
Joh. 5. 39. Act. 17. 11.
Psal. 119. ----
Hier. *ad* Læt. *Epitaph.* Paul. *Vit.* Hilar. ---
Chrys. *in* Colos. Or. 9.
Aug. *Serm.* 55. *de temp.*

But the Pope doth keep them from the people, locked up in Languages not understood by them; prohibiting Translations of them to be made, or used ---- The Scripture teacheth, and common sense sheweth, and the Fathers do assert (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly) that all necessary points of faith and good morality are with sufficient evidence couched in Holy Scripture, so that *a man of God*, or pious men may thence *be perfectly furnished to every work*; But they contrary-wise blaspheme the Scriptures as obscure, dangerous, *&c.*

N. P. *Pius* IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and permission of books; in which it is permitted to Bishops to grant a faculty of reading the Scriptures translated---- but to this rule there is added an observation, that *this power was taken from Bishops by command of the Roman Universal Inquisition. Ind. Lib. prohib. à* Clem. *VIII.*

2 Tim. 3. 17.

Common sense dictateth, that devotions should be performed with understanding and affection; and that consequently they should be in a known tongue: And Saint *Paul* expressly teacheth, that it is requisite for private and publick edification; *from this Doctrine of Paul it appears, that it is better for the edification of the Church, that publick prayers, which are said in the audience of the people, should be said in a tongue common to the Clergy and the people, than that they should be said in Latin.*

1 Cor. 14. 14. — *Ex hac* Pauli *doctrina habetur, quòd melius est ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi Clericis & populo, quàm dici Latinè* Cajet. *in* 1 Cor. 14.

All ancient Churches did accordingly practise; and most others do so, beside those which the Pope doth ride.

But the Pope will not have it so, requiring the publick Liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue; and that most Christians shall say their devotions like Parrots. He anathematizeth those, who *think the Mass should be celebrated in a vulgar tongue*; that is all those who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient Church.

—aut Linguâ tantum vulgari Missam celebrari debere—anathema sit. Sess. 22. *Can.* 9.

The Holy Scripture teacheth us that there is but one Head of the Church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have otherwhere shewed.)

But the Pope assumeth to himself the headship of the Church, affirming all *power and authority to be derived from him into the subject members of the Church.*

A quo tanquam Capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas & authoritas derivetur. P. Pius *II. in Bull. Retract.*

We decree that the Roman Pontife is the true Vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church.

Definimus Romanum Pontificem —— verum Christi Vicarium, totiúsque Ecclesiæ caput -- Defin. Syn. Flor.

The

The Scripture declareth that God did institute marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of sin; forbidding the use of it to none, who should think it needful or convenient for them; reckoning the prohibition *of it* among heretical doctrines; implying it to be *imposing a snare* upon men.

Matt. 19. 11. Μὴ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον; — 1 Cor. 9. 5. Κωλύοντα γαμεῖν· 1 Tim. 4. 3. Βέλτιον ἐστὶ γαμῆσαι· 1 Cor. 7. 35.

But the Pope and his Complices do prohibit it to whole Orders of men, (*Priests, &c.*) engaging them into dangerous vows.

Vid. Tom. 7 Conc. p. 465. Syn. Trid. Sess. 24. de matr. Can. 9.

Our Lord forbiddeth any marriage lawfully contracted to be dissolved, otherwise than in case of adultery.

Matt. 5. 32. 19. 7. 1 Cor. 7. 10.

But the Pope commandeth Priests married to be divorced. *And that marriages contracted by such persons should be dissolved.*

Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi —— Conc. Lat. I. cap. 21. Lat. II. Trid. *Sess.* 24. *Can.* 9. ——

He dissolveth matrimony agreed, by the profession of monkery of one of the espoused. *If any shall say, that matrimony confirmed, not consummate, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party, let him be anathema.*

Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit. Sess. 24. *Can.* 6.

Our Saviour did institute and enjoin us (under pain of damnation, if we should wilfully transgress his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his bloud, in participation of the Holy Supper.

Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Matt. 26. 27. ἐὰν μὴ —— πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωήν. Jon. 6. 53.

The Fathers did accordingly practise, with the whole Church, till late times.

But *notwithstanding Christ's institution* (as they express it) Papal Synods do prohibit all Laymen, and Priests not celebrating to partake of Christ's bloud; so maiming and perverting our Lord's Institution: † *and yet they decline to drink the bloud of our redemption.*

Non obstante. Conc. Const. *Sess.* 13. *Conc.* Trid. *Sess.* 13. *cap.* 8. *& Can.* 3. *Sess.* 21. *cap.* 4. *& Can.* 3.

† This P. *Leo* I. condemneth. *De Quadr. Serm.* 4. (*p.* 38.) *Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant.* —— *P. Gelasius* calleth the division of the Sacrament a grand Sacrilege. Gratian. *in De Consecr. dist.* 2. *cap.* 12.

In defence of which practice, they confound body and bloud; and under a curse would oblige us to believe, that one kind doth contain the other; or that a part doth contain the whole.

Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 21. *Can.* 3. *Sess.* 13. *Can.* 3.

Whereas our Lord saith, that *whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his bloud hath eternal life*, and consequently supposeth, that bad men do not partake of his body and bloud; yet they condemn this assertion under a curse.

Joh. 6. 54.

Si quis dixerit tantum in usu, &c. Trid. *Conc. Sess.* 13. *cap.* 8. *& Can.* 4. ——

The Holy Scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the Eucharist, after consecration, bread and wine; affirming them to retain their nature.

Ἄρτον τοῦτον. 1 Cor. 11. 26.

Theod. Gelas. ——

But the Popish *Cabal* anathematizeth those who say, *that bread and wine do then remain.*

Si quis dixerit in Sacrosancto Eucharistia Sacramento remanere substantiam panis & vini —— *anathema sit.* Trid. *Conc. de Euch. Sess.* 13. *Can.* 2.

If any shall say that in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of bread and wine remain ----let him be Anathema.

The nature of the Lord's Supper doth imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to say that a Priest *may not communicate alone*; so establishing the belief of non-sense, and contradiction.

Si quis dixerit Missas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse, anathema sit. Sess. 22. *de Sacr. Miss. Can.* 8. *Sess.* 13. *Can.* 8.

The Holy Scripture teacheth us, that our Lord hath departed, and is absent from us in body; until that he shall come to judge, which is *called his presence*; that heaven, whither he ascended, and where he sitteth at God's right hand, must *hold him till the times of the restitution of all things.*

2 Cor. 5. 6.---- Act. 2. 33. Col. 3. 1. Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισε. Heb. 10. 12. Ὃν δεῖ δέχεσθαι οὐρανὸν ἄχρι. Act. 3. 21.

But the Pope with his *Lateran* and *Tridentine* Complices draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally present every day, in numberless places here.

The Scripture teacheth us, that our Lord is a man, *perfectly like to us, in all things.*

Ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. Heb. 2. 17.

But the Pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once present in innumerable places; insensible, *&c.* devested of the properties of our body; thereby destroying his humane nature, and in effect agreeing with *Eutyches*, *Apollinarius*, and other such pestilent *Hereticks.*

The Scripture representeth him born once for us; but they affirm him every day made by a Priest, uttering the words of consecration; as if that which before did exist, could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

The Scripture teacheth, that our Lord was *once offered for expiation of* our sins; but they pretend every day to offer him up as a *propitiatory sacrifice.*

Heb. 9. 26. 10. 10, 12, 14. ἐφάπαξ, καὶ προσφορά.

These devices without other foundation, than a figurative expression (which they resolve to expound in a proper sense, although even in that very matter divers figurative expressions are used, as they cannot but acknowledge) they with all violence and fierceness obtrude upon the belief as one of the most necessary and fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion.

The Scripture teacheth us humbly to acknowledge the rewards assigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, *after we have done all, must acknowledge our selves unprofitable servants.*

Eph. 2. 8, 9. Tit. 3. 5. Rom. 3. 24. Luk. 17. 10.

But the *Papists* curse those who, although out of humility and modesty, will not acknowledge the good works of justified Persons to be truly meritorious; *deserving the encrease of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory:* so forcing us to use saucy words and phrases, if not impious in their sense.

Sess. 6 de Justif. Can. 32.

The Scripture teacheth one Church diffused over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace and communion with the rest, upon brotherly terms.

But the *Romanists* arrogate to themselves the name and privilege of the only Church; condemning all other Churches besides their own, and censuring all for Apostatical who do not adhere to them or submit to their yoke; Just like the *Donatists*, who said that *the world had apostatized*, excepting those who upon their own terms did communicate with them; *onely the communion of Donatus remained* the true Church.

Orbis terrarum Apostatavit, & sola remansit Donati Communio. Aug. *de Unit.* 12.---

The Holy Scripture biddeth us take care of persons pretending to extraordinary Inspirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices.

1 Joh. 4. 1. Jer. 29. 8.---

Such have been their *Synods*, boldly fathering their Decrees on God's Spirit---- And their Pope is infallible, by virtue of inspiration communicated to him, when he pleaseth to set himself right in his Chair.

Chair. Whence we may take them for bodies of Enthusiasts and Fanaticks: the difference onely is, that other Enthusiasts pretend singly, they conjunctly and by conspiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence, these impose their dreams on the whole Church.

If they say that God hath promised his *Spirit* to his Church; it is true, but he hath no less plainly and frequently promised it to single Christians, who should seek it earnestly of him. Luk. 11. 13. Jam. 1. 5. 1 Joh. 2. 27. Heb. 8. 11. Rom. 8. 9. Act. 5. 32.

The Ancient Fathers could in the Scriptures hardly discern more than two Sacraments or Mysterious Rites of our Religion, by positive Law and Institution of our Saviour to be practised. Aug. *Doctr. Christ. Ep. ad* Jen.

But the Popes have devised others, and under uncharitable curses propound them to be professed for such; affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Si Sacramenta essent pauciora, magna impietas fuisset, & superstitio, &c. Bell. *de Sacr.* 2. 25. If the Sacraments were fewer there would have been great impiety and superstition, *&c.*

Every Clergy-man and Monk is bound by *Pius* IV. to profess *there are just seven of them*; and the *Tridentine* Synod *anathematizeth all those, who do say there are more or fewer*; although the Ancients did never hit on that number.

Profiteor quoque septem esse propriè & verè Sacramenta. Bulla Pii *IV.*

Si quis dixerit ---- esse plura vel pauciora quàm septem ---- anathema sit. Syn. Trid. *Sess.* 7: *Can.* 1.

But these our Sacraments both contain grace, and also confer it upon those who worthily receive them.

Hæc verò nostra & continent gratiam, & ipsam dignè suscipientibus conferunt. P. Eug: *in Instr. Arm.*

They require men to believe under a curse that each of those were instituted of Christ, and confer grace by the bare performance.

Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam —— anathemâ sit. Ibid. Can. 8.

Particularly, they curse those who do not hold *matrimony for a Sacrament, instituted by Christ, and conferring grace.* What can be more ridiculous than to say, that matriage was instituted by Christ, or that it doth confer grace?

Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse verè ac propriè unum ex septem legis Evangelicæ Sacramentis, à Christo Domino institutum —— neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit. Sess 24. *Can.* 1.

Yet with another *anathema* they prefer Virginity before it: and why forsooth is not that another Sacrament? And then they must be comparing the worth of these Sacraments, condemning those heavily, who may conceive them equal, as being Divine Institutions. *Sess.* 24. *Can.* 10.

If any say that these seven Sacraments are so equal one to another, that one is in no respect of more worth than another, let him be Anathema.

Si quis dixerit hæc septem Sacramenta ità esse inter se paria, ut nullâ ratione aliud sit alio dignius; anathema sit. Sess. 7. *Can.* 3.

The first, as it seemeth, who reckoned the Sacraments to be seven, was *Peter Lombard*; whom the Schoolmen did follow; and Pope *Eugenius* IV. followed them; and afterward the *Trent* men formed it into an Article back'd with an *Anathema.*

Novæ legis septem sunt Sacramenta, &c. P. Eug. *in Instr. Arm.*

Bellarmine could find none before him. *Vid. de Sacram.* 2. 25.

Upon which rash and peremptory Sentence touching all ancient Divines, we may note;

1. Is it not strange that an Article of Faith should be formed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, used with great variety?

2. Is it not strange to define a Point whereof it is most plain that the Fathers were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or resolve any thing?

3. Yea whereof they speak variously.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curse people for a point of so little consideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and presumption to define, nay indeed to make an Article of Faith, without any manner of ground or colour of Authority either from Scripture or Tradition of the ancient Fathers?

Multa dicuntur à veteribus Sacramenta præter ista septem. Bell. *de Sacr.* 2. 24. Many things are by the Ancients called Sacraments besides these seven.

Mat. 23. 8. 2 Cor. 1. 24. 1 Thess. 5. 21. Col. 2. 8. Mat. 15. 9. * Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Heb. 13. 9.

The Holy Scripture forbiddeth us *to call any man master upon earth*, or absolutely to subject our Faith to the dictates of any man; it teacheth us that the Apostles themselves are *not Lords of our faith*, so as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; It forbiddeth us to swallow whole the Doctrines and Precepts of men, without examination of them. It forbiddeth us to admit * *various and strange doctrines.*

But the Pope and *Roman* Church exact from us a submission to their Dictates, admitting them for true, without any farther enquiry or discussion, barely upon his Authority. *They who are provided of any Benefices whatever, having cure of Souls, let them promise and swear obedience to the Roman Church,*

Provisi de beneficiis quibuscunque curam animarum habentibus —— in Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientiam spondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. *Sess.* 24. *cap.* 12. *de Ref.* *—— nec non veram obedientiam summo Pontifici spondeant & profiteantur. Sess.* 25. *cap.* 2. *de Ref.*

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profess, to assert innumerable Propositions, divers of them new and strange no-wise deducible from Scripture or Apostolical Tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the Primitive Church, devised by humane subtilty, curiosity, contentiousness ---- divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common sense) uncertain, obscure and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably false. Namely all such Propositions, as have been taught by their great *Junto's*, allowed by the Pope, especially that of *Trent.*

Cætera item omnia à Sacris Canonibus & Oecumenicis Conciliis, ac præcipuè à Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita, & declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simúlque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab Ecclesia damnatas & rejectas & anathematizatas ego pariter damno, respuo & anathematizo. P. Pii. *IV. profess. Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla salus esse potest. Ibid.*

Moreover all other things delivered, defined and declared by the Sacred Canons and Oecumenical Councils, and especially by the Holy Synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess; and also all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner do condemn. reject and anathematize ---- This is the true Catholick Faith, out of which there can be no Salvation.

This Usurpation upon the Consciences of Christians (none like whereto was ever known in the World) they prosecute with most uncharitable censures; cursing and damning all who do not in heart and profession submit to him, obliging all their consorts to joyn therein, against all charity and prudence.

Rom. 14. 1. 15. 1, 7.

The Scripture enjoineth us to bear with those who are weak in faith, and err in doubtfull or disputable matters.

But the Popes with cruel uncharitableness, not onely do censure all that cannot assent to their devices, which they obtrude as Articles of Faith; but sorely persecute them with all sorts of punishments; even with death it self; a practice inconsistent with Christian meekness, with equity, with reason; and of which the Fathers have expressed the greatest detestation.

They

They have unwoven and altered all Theology from head to foot, and of Divine have made it Sophistical.

Totam Theologiam à capite usque ad calcem retexuerunt, & ex divina Sophisticam fecerunt. Erasm. *præf. ad* Hieron.

The Pope with his pack of mercenary Clients at *Trent*, did indeed establish a *Scholastical* or *Sophistical*, rather than a Christian Theology; framing Points, devised by the idle wits of latter times, into Definitions and peremptory Conclusions, back'd with Curses and Censures: concerning which Conclusions it is evident

That the Apostles themselves would not be able to understand many of them. *Formaliter justos Sess. 6. Can. 10.*

That ancient Fathers did never think any thing about them.

That divers of them consist in application of artificial terms and phrases devised by humane subtilty. *Ex opere operato Sess. 7. Can. 8. Character. Sess. 7. Can. 9.*

That divers of them are in their own nature disputable; were before disputed by wise men, and will ever be disputed by those who freely use their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and cursing they know not who, Fathers, Schoolmen, Divines, &c. who have expressly affirmed points so damned by them.

That many Truths are uncharitably back'd with Curses, which disparageth them; (seeing a man may err pardonably --ἐν πολλοῖς γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες) *in many things we offend all.*

For instance; what need was there of defining, what need of cursing those, who think concupiscence *to be truly and properly sin*, upon Saint *Paul*'s Authority, calling it so? *Sess. 5. Can. 5.* Rom. 7.

That *Adam presently upon his transgression did lose the Sanctity and justice in which he was constituted.* *Cùm mandatum dei in paradiso fuisset transgressus, statim sanctitatem & justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse. Ibid Can. 1.*

What need of cursing those, who say that men are justified *by the sole remission of sins*, according to Saint *Paul*'s notion, and use of the word Justification? *Sess. 6. Can. 11.*

What need of those, who say the *grace of God by which we are justified, is onely the favour of God*, whereas it is plain enough that God's *grace* there in Saint *Paul*, doth signifie nothing else, applied to that case. *Sess. 6. Can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei.*

Or that Faith is *nothing else, but a reliance in God's mercy, remitting sins for Christ*; seeing it is plain that Saint *Paul* doth by Faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the Gospel. *Sess. 6. Can. 12.*

Or that good works *do not cause an encrease of justification*; seeing Saint *Paul* doth exclude justification by works; and it is a free work of God---- uncapable of degrees. *Sess 6 Can. 24. Non autem ipsius augendæ causam.*——

Or that after remission of sin in justification, *a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide.* *Ut nullus remancat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ*—— *Sess. 6. Can. 30. Sess. 14. de pœnit Can. 15.*

Or that a man cannot *by his works merit encrease of grace, and glory and eternal life*; seeing a man is not to be blamed, who doth dislike the use of so sawcy a word; the which divers good men have disclaimed. *Sess. 6. Can 32.*

What need of cursing those, who do not take the Sacraments to be *precisely Seven*? or who conceive that some one of their seven may not be *truly and properly* a Sacrament; seeing the word *Sacrament*

ment is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. *Austin*, *Signum rei sacræ*; and that before *Peter Lombard* ever did mention that number.

De Sacramentis. Si quis dixerit. —— *esse plura vel pauciora quàm septem. Sess. 7. Can. 1.*

What need of damning those, who do conceive the Sacraments equal in dignity?

Sess 7. Can. 3.

What need of defining, that Sacraments do confer grace *ex opere operato*; which is an obscure Scholastical phrase?

Sess. 7. Can. 8. Von imprimi characterem in animâ.

What need of cursing those who say, that *a Character is not impressed in the soul* of those who take *Baptism, Confirmation, or Orders?* seeing what this Character is (or *this spiritual and indelible mark*) they do not themselves well understand or agree.

Sess. 7. Can 9. Hoc est signum quoddam spirituale, & indelebile. Ibid.

What need of cursing those, who do not think that the validity of Sacraments (and consequently the assurance of our being Christians) dependeth on the Intention of the Minister?

Sess. 7. Can. 11.

Sess. 7. Can. 13.

What need of cursing those, who think that a Pastour of the Church may change the Ceremonies of administring the Sacraments; seeing St. *Cyprian* often teacheth that every Pastour hath full authority in such cases within his own precinct?

Sess. 4.

What need of defining the Second Book of *Maccabees* to be Canonical, against the common opinion of the Fathers (most expressly of St. *Austin* himself) of the most learned in all Ages, of Pope *Gelasius* himself (*in decret.*) which the Author himself (calling his work an Epitome, and asking pardon for his errours) disclaimeth? and which common sense therefore disclaimeth.

Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus
Ut quisque linguâ nequior.
Solvunt ligántque quæstionum vincula
Per Syllogismos plectiles ——
Prudent. *in Apotheos.*

Their new Creed of *Pius* IV. containeth these novelties and heterodoxies. 1. *Seven Sacraments.* 2. *Trent Doctrine of Justification and Original sin.* 3. *Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass.* 4. *Transubstantiation.* 5. *Communicating under one kind.* 6. *Purgatory.* 7. *Invocation of Saints.* 8. *Veneration of Reliques.* 9. *Worship of Images.* 10. *The Roman Church to be the Mother and Mistress of all Churches.* 11. *Swearing Obedience to the Pope.* 12. *Receiving the Decrees of all Synods* and of *Trent.*

A DIS-

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

UNITY

OF THE

CHURCH.

By *ISAAC BARROW*, D. D. late Master of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*.

Aug. de Bapt. 3.

Non habet Charitatem Dei, qui Ecclesiæ non diligit Unitatem.

LONDON,

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EPHES. IV. 4.

One Body, and one Spirit.

THE *Unity of the Church* is a Point which may ſeem ſomewhat ſpeculative and remote from Practice; but in right Judgments it is otherwiſe; many Duties depending upon a true notion and conſideration of it; ſo that from ignorance or miſtake about it we may incur divers offences or omiſſions of Duty; hence in Holy Scripture it is often propoſed as a conſiderable Point, and uſefull to Practice.

And if ever the Conſideration of it were needfull, it is ſo now when the Church is ſo rent with Diſſenſions; for our ſatisfaction and direction about the Queſtions and Caſes debated in Chriſtendom; for on the Explication of it, or the true Reſolution wherein it doth conſiſt, the Controverſies about *Church Government*, *Hereſie*, *Schiſm*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, and by conſequence many others do depend; yea indeed all others are by ſome Parties made to depend thereon.

Saint *Paul*, exhorting the *Epheſians*, his diſciples, to the maintenance of Charity and Peace among themſelves, doth for inducement to that Practice repreſent the Unity and Community of thoſe things which jointly appertain to them as Chriſtians: the Unity of that *Body* whereof they were members; of that *Spirit* which did animate and act them; of that *Hope* to which they were called; of that *Lord* whom they all did worſhip and ſerve; of that *Faith* which they did profeſs; of that *Baptiſm* whereby they were admitted into the ſame ſtate of Duties, of Rights, of Privileges; of that one *God* and univerſal *Father*, to whom they had all the ſame relations.

He beginneth with the *Unity* of the *Body*; that is, of the Chriſtian Church; concerning which Unity, what it is, and wherein it doth conſiſt, I mean now to diſcourſe.

In order to clearing which Point, we must first state what the Church is, of which we discourse; for the word *Church* is ambiguous having both in Holy Scripture, and common use, divers senses somewhat different: For,

1. Sometimes any Assembly or Company of Christians, is called a Church; as when mention is made of * *the Church in* such *a house*, (whence *Tertullian* † saith, *Where there are three, even Laicks, there there is a Church.*)

* Rom 16. 5. Col. 4. 15. Philem. 2. † *Ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licèt Laici.* Tert. *de Exh. Cast.* cap. 7.

2. Sometimes a particular Society of Christians living in spiritual Communion, and under Discipline, as when, * *the Church at* such *a Town*; † *the Churches of* such *a Province*; || the Churches, all the Churches, are mentioned: According to which notions St. *Cyprian* * saith, that there is a Church, where there is *a People united to a Priest, and a Flock adhering to their Shepherd:* and so *Ignatius* † saith, *that without the Orders of the Clergy a Church is not called.*

* Act. 8. 1. 14. 27. 5. 11. 1 Cor. 1. 1. Col. 4. 16. 1 Thess. 1. 1. 2 Cor. 1. 1. Act. 2. 1, &c. Rom. 16. 1.

† Act. 9. 31. Gal. 1. 2. 1 Cor. 16. 1, 19. 2 Cor. 8. 1. || Rom. 16. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 17. 11. 16. Act. 16. 5. Apoc. 2. 7, 11. Καὶ' ἐκκλησίαν. Act. 14. 23. * *Ecclesia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo Grex adhærens.* Cypr. *Ep.* 69. † Ὅπου ἂν ᾖ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. Ignat. *ad* Tral.

3. A larger Collection of divers particular Societies combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common Government, or of Persons acting in the Publick behalf, is termed a Church: as the Church of *Antioch*, of *Corinth*, of *Jerusalem*, &c. each of which at first probably might consist of divers Congregations, having dependencies of less Towns annexed to them: all being united under the care of the Bishop and Presbytery of those places; but however, soon after the Apostles times, it is certain that such Collections were, and were named Churches.

4. The Society of those who at present or in course of time profess the Faith and Gospel of Christ, and undertake the Evangelical Covenant, in distinction to all other Religions: particularly to that of the *Jews*; which is called the Synagogue.

Mat. 16. 18. Eph. 3. 10. Gal 1. 13. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Act 12. 1. 2. 47.

5. The whole body of God's people that is, ever hath been, or ever shall be, from the beginning of the world to the consummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually) believed in Christ and sincerely obeyed God's Laws, shall finally by the meritorious Performances and Sufferings of Christ be saved, is called the Church.

20. 28. 1 Cor. 10. 32 12. 28. 15. 9 14. 12.

Of these Acceptions the two latter do onely come under present consideration; it being plain that Saint *Paul* doth not speak of any one particular or present Society; but of all at all times who have relation to the same *Lord*, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Sacraments*, &c.

Wherefore, to determine the case between these two, we must observe that to the latter of these (that is, to the Catholick Society of true Believers and faithfull Servants of Christ, diffused through all ages, dispersed through all Countries, where part doth sojourn on Earth, part doth reside in Heaven, part is not yet extant; but all whereof is described in the register of Divine Pre-ordination, and shall be recollected at the resurrection of the just; that I say, to this Church) especially all the glorious Titles and exccellent Privileges attributed to the Church in Holy Scripture do agree.

Ephes. 1. 10.

Col. 1. 18, 20.

This is *the Body of Christ*, whereof he is *the Head*; and Saviour.

Ephes. 5. 25, 32. Apoc. 16. 7. Matt. 22. 2. 25. 1.

This is the Spouse, and Wife of Christ; whereof he is the Bridegroom and Husband.

This

This is *the House of God*; whereof our Lord is the Master: which is *built upon a rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.* Matth. 24 13 1. Tim. 3. 15. Heb. 3. 5. 1 Pet. 2. 5. Eph. 2. 21. Matth. 16 18.

This is *the City of God; the new, the holy, the heavenly Jerusalem, the Mother of us all.* Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10. Gal. 4. 26. Heb. 12. 22.

This is the *Sion, which the Lord hath chosen, which he hath desired for his habitation*, where he hath resolved to *place his rest and residence for ever.* Psal. 132. 13.

This is *the mountain of the Lord, seated above all mountains, unto which all Nations shall flow.* Is. 2. 22; Mic. 4. 1.

This is *the elect generation, royall Priesthood, holy nation, peculiar people.* 1 Pet. 2. 9.

This is *the general Assembly, and Church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven.* Heb. 12. 23.

This is *the Church which God hath purchased with his own bloud; and for which Christ hath delivered himself, that he might sanctifie it, and cleanse it, with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that it might be holy and unblemished.* Act. 20. 28. Eph. 5. 25.

To this Church as those high Elogies most properly do appertain, so that unity which is often attributed to the Church doth peculiarly belong thereto.

This is that *One body, into which we are all baptized by one Spirit*; which is *knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid, and supply to its nourishment and encrease*; the members whereof do hold a mutual sympathy and complacence; which is joyned to one Head, deriving sense and motion from it; which is enlivened, and moved by *one Spirit.* 1 Cor. 12. 13. Rom. 12. 5. Eph. 4. 16. Col. 2. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 26.

This is that *one spiritual House*, reared *upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord.* 1 Cor. 12. 13. Eph. 4. 16. Col. 2. 19.

This is that *One family of God*, whereof Christ is the οἰκοδεσπότης whence good Christians are οἰκεῖοι θεοῦ. Heb. 3. 6. 1 Tim 3. 15. Mat. 10. 25.

This is that one City, or corporation, endued with an ample Charter and noble Privileges, in regard to which St. *Paul* saith we are συμπολῖται τῶν Ἁγίων, (fellow Citizens of the Saints) and that our πολίτευμα (our civil state and capacity) *is in Heaven*, or that we are Citizens thereof. Heb. 12. 22. Apoc. 3. 12. 21. 2, 10. Eph. 2. 19. Phil. 3. 20.

That one holy nation, and peculiar People, (the spiritual *Israel*,) subject to the same Government and Law, (that which is called the Kingdom of Heaven,) enjoyning the same Franchises and Privileges, following the same Customs and Fashions; using the same Conversation and Language; whereof Jesus Christ is the Lord and King. 1 Pet. 2. 9. Ezek. 37. 22.

This is the * *one Flock, under one Shepherd.* * Joh. 10. 16. Ezek. 37. 24. 24. 23.

This is the Society of those for whom Christ did pray, that they might † *be all one.* † Joh 17. 20.

It is true, that divers of these Characters are expressed to relate to the Church after Christ; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithfull Servants of God before, who in effect were Christians, being saved upon the same account: and therefore did belong to the same Body.

Ex quo vocantur Sancti, est Ecclesia in terra. Aug. *in* Psal. 128.

Since men are called Saints, there is a Church upon Earth. *Sancti ante Legem, Sancti sub Lege, Sancti sub Gratia, omnes hi perficientes Corpus Domini in membris sunt Ecclesiæ constituti.* Greg. Mag. *Epist.* 24. Saints before the Law. Saints under the Law, Saints under the Gospel, all these make up the Body of Christ, and are reckoned among the members of the Church.

To this Church in a more special and eminent manner all those Titles, and particularly that of *Unity*, are ascribed; but the same also in some order and measure do belong and are attributed to the Universal Church sojourning upon Earth.

For because this visible Church doth enfold the other, (as one Mass doth contain the good Ore and base alloy; as one Floor the Corn and the Chaff; as one Field the Wheat and the Tares; as one Net the choice Fish and the refuse; as one Fold the Sheep and the Goats; as one Tree the Living and the dry Branches:) Because this Society is designed to be in reality what the other is in appearance, the same with the other: Because therefore presumptively every member of this doth pass for a member of the other, (the time of distinction and separation not being yet come:) Because this in its Profession of Truth, in its Sacrifices of Devotion, in its practice of Service and Duty to God doth communicate with that: Therefore commonly the Titles and Attributes of the one are imparted to the other.

One great house hath vessels of honour and dishonour, 2 Tim. 2. 20. (Rom. 9. 21.) Mat. 3. 12. 13. 38, 47.

Joh. 15. 2.

Mat. 13. 30.

Rom. 9. 6. 2. 28. Joh. 1. 18. *Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, ità proxima mea in medio filiarum*——*Unde filias appellat, nisi propter communionem Sacramentorum?* Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 13. As the Lily among Thorns, so is my Love among the Daughters. ——Why doth he call them Daughters, but for the communion, and agreement in Sacraments?

All, saith Saint *Paul*, *are not Israel who are of Israel*; nor *is he a Jew, that is one outwardly*; yet in regard to the conjunction of the rest with *the faithfull Israelites*; because of external Consent in the same Profession and conspiring in the same Services, all the Congregation of *Israel* is styled *a holy Nation*, and *peculiar People*.

So likewise do the Apostles speak to all Members of the Church as to elect and holy Persons, unto whom all the Privileges of Christianity do belong; although really Hypocrites and bad men *do not belong to the Church*, nor are *concerned in its Unity*, as St. *Austin* doth often teach.

Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores fœneratores. Videntur esse in Ecclesia, non sunt. Aug. *de Bap. c.* Don. 4. 1. 6. 3. *Ecclesiam veram intelligere non audeo nisi in sanctis & justis.* Aug. *de Bapt.* 5. 27. I dare not understand the true Church to be but among holy and righteous men. *Pax autem hujus Unitatis in solis bonis est*——*Sicut autem isti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur, quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem & illam gloriosam Ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi non pertineant.* Idem *de Bapt.* 3. 18. *Nec regenerati spiritualiter in corpus & membra Christi co-ædificentur nisi boni, &c.* Aug. *de Unit.* 18. *Multi tales sunt in Sacramentorum communione cum Ecclesia, & tamen jam non sunt in Ecclesia.* Idem *de Unit. Eccl. cap.* 20. There are many such who communicate in Sacraments with the Church, and yet they are not in the Church. *Omnes mali spiritualiter à bonis sejuncti sunt. De Bapt.* 6. 4. All evil men are spiritually severed from the good.

Ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ λέγω τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν. Clem. Alex. *Str. p.* 514. I call the Church the Congregation of the Elect,

The places therefore of Scripture which do represent the Church one, as unquestionably they belong (in their principal notion and intent) to the true universal Church, (called the Church mystical and invisible;) so may they by analogy and participation be understood to concern the visible Church Catholick here in Earth; which professeth Faith in *Christ*, and Obedience to his Laws.

And of this Church (under due reference to the other) the question is, Wherein the Unity of it doth consist, or upon what grounds it is called one? being that it compriseth in its self so many Persons, Societies and Nations.

For resolution of which Question, we may consider, that a Community of men may be termed one upon several Accounts and Grounds; as,

For special Unity of nature, or as *Unum genus*; so are all men one by participation of common rationality; τὸ Ἀνθρώπινον, *Humanum genus*. For

For Cognation of bloud; as, *Gens una*; so are all *Jews*, however living dispersedly over the World, reckoned one Nation, or People; so all Kinsmen do constitute one Family: and thus also all Men, as made of one Bloud, are one People.

For Commerce of language; so *Italians*, and *Germans*, are esteemed one People, although living under different Laws and Governments.

For Consent in opinion, or Conformity in manners and practices; as, Men of the same Sect in Religion or Philosophy, of the same Profession, Faculty, Trade: so *Jews*, *Mahometans*, *Arians*; so *Oratours*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*; so *Divines*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, *Merchants*, *Artizans*, *Rusticks*, &c.

For Affection of mind, or Compacts of good-will; or for Links of peace and amicable correspondence; in order to mutal interest and aid; as, Friends and Confederates.

For being ranged in order under one Law and Rule; as, those who live under one Monarchy, or in one Commonwealth; as the People in *England*, *Spain*, *France*; in *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Holland*, &c.

Upon such Grounds of Union or Unity a Society of men is denominated One; and, upon divers such accounts, it is plain that the Catholick Church may be said to be One. For,

I. It is evident, that the Church is One by Consent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of Doctrine, especially in those which have considerable influence upon the Practice of Piety toward God, Righteousness toward Men, and Sobriety of Conversation; to *teach us which the Grace of God did appear.* *My sheep hear my voice,* Joh. 10. 27. 16. Tit. 2. 12.

As he that should in any principal Doctrine differ from *Plato* (denying the *Immortality of the Soul*, the Providence *of God*, the *natural difference of Good and Evil*;) would not be *Platonist*; so he that dissenteth from any Doctrine of importance, manifestly taught by *Christ*, doth renounce Christianity. *Regula fidei sola immobilis & irreformabilis.* Tert. *de Virg. vel.* 1. a 17

All Christians are *delivered into one form of doctrine*; to which they must stiffly and stedfastly adhere, *keeping the* Depositum *committed to them:* They must *strive together for the faith of the Gospel*; *and, earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints:* They must *hold fast the form of sound words—in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus*; that *great salvation, which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers, God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.* Rom. 6. 17. Col. 2. 7. Heb. 3. 6. 13. 9. 1 Cor. 15. 58. Eph. 4. 14. Jud. 3. 2 Tim. 1. 13. Heb. 2. 3.

They are bound *to mind* or think, *one and the same thing*; *to stand fast in one spirit with one mind*; *to walk by the same rule*; *to be joyned together in the same mind, and in the same judgment*; *with one mind and mouth to glorify God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Τὸ ἐν φρονεῖν. Phil 2. 2. 2 Cor. 13. 11. Phil. 1. 27. Phil. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 1. 10.

They are obliged to disclaim Consortship with the Gain-sayers of this Doctrine; *to stand off from those who do* ἐπεισδύξειν, or who *do not consent to the wholsome Words—of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Doctrine which is according to Godliness, to mark those who make divisions and scandals beside the Doctrine which Christians had learnt, and to decline from them: To reject Hereticks:* To *beware of false Prophets, of Seducers*; *of those who speak perverse things to draw disciples after them:* To *pronounce* Anathema *upon whoever shall preach any other Doctrine.* Rom. 15. 6. Ἀφίστασθαι. 1 Tim. 6. 4. 2 Thess. 3 16. Rom. 16. 17 Tit. 3. 10. Matt. 7. 15. 24. 11. Act. 20. 29, 30 2 Pet. 2. 1. Eph. 4. 14. Gal. 1. 8.

Thus 3. 28, (26.)

Thus are all Christians *one in Christ Jesus:* thus are they (as *Tertullian* speaketh) *confederated in the society of a Sacrament*, or of one profession.

De societate Sacramenti confœderantur Tertull. *in* Marc. 4. 5.

This preaching and this faith the Church having received, though dispersed over the world, doth carefully hold, as inhabiting one house; and alike believeth these things, as if it had one soul, and the same heart, and consonantly doth preach, and teach, and deliver these things, as if it had but one mouth.

Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ Ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διασπαρεῖσα ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει, καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσι, ὡς τὸ ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη. Iren. 1. 3. (*apud* Epiph. *Hær.* 31.)

As for Kings, though their Kingdoms be divided yet he equaly expects from every one of them one dispensation, and one and the same sacrifice of a true Confession and Praise. So that, though there may seem to be a diversity of temporal ordinances, yet an Unity and Agreement in the right Faith may be held and maintained among them.

Reges——Quorum etsi divisa sunt regna, æqualiter tamen de singulis dispensationem exigit, unámque de eis veræ de se confessionis hostiam laudis exspectat—ut etsi dispositionum temporalium videatur esse diversitas, circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis consonantia teneatur. (P. Leo. 2. *Epist.* 5. *ad* Ervigium R. Hisp.

In regard to this Union in Faith peculiarly the body of Christians, adhering to it, was called the Catholick Church, from which all those were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated who in any point deserted that Faith; *such a one* (saith Saint *Paul*) ἐξέστραπται, *is turned aside*, or left the Christian way of life. He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected and shunned.

Ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, Tit. 3. 10. Rom. 16. 17. 1 Joh. 10.

He (saith Saint *Cyprian*) *cannot seem a Christian, who doth not persist in the Unity of Christ's Gospel and Faith.*

Nec Christianus videri potest, qui non permanet in Evangelii ejus & fidei veritate. Cypr. *de Unit. Eccl.*

If (saith *Tertullian*) *a man be a Heretick, he cannot be a Christian.*

Si Hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt. Tert. *de Præscr. c.* 37.

Whence *Hegesippus* saith of the old Hereticks, that they did *divide the Unity of the Church by perniciious speeches against God, and his Christ.*

Οἵτινες ἐμίσησαν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας φθοριμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. Euſ. *Hiſt.* 4. 22.

The Vertue (saith the Pastour *Hermes*, cited by *Clemens Alexan.*) *which doth keep the Church together, is Faith.*

Ἡ συνέχουσα τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ἀρετὴ, ἡ Πίστις ἐστι. Herm. *apud* Clem. *Strom. p.* 281.

So the Fathers of the Sixth Council tell the Emperour that *they were members one of another, and did constitute the one body of Christ by consent in opinion with him, and one another; and by faith.*

Μελῶν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστώντων Χριστῷ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως. *Conc. VI. Act.* 18. *p.* 271.

We ought in all things to hold the Unity of the Catholick Church; and not to yield in any thing to the enemies of faith and truth.

Per omnia debemus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Unitatem tenere, nec aliquo fidei & veritatis hostibus cedere. Cypr. *Ep.* 71. (*ad* Quint. *de* Steph. P.)

In each part of the world this faith is one, because this is the Christian faith.

Utriusque partis terrarum fides ista una est, quia & fides ista Christiana est. Aug. *c.* Jul. 1. 2. (*p.* 203. 2.)

He denies Christ, who confesses not all things that are Christ's.

Negat Christum, qui non omnia quæ Christi sunt confitetur. Ambr. *in* Luc. *lib.* 6. *cap.* 9. *p.* 90. (*Vid. p.* 85.)

Hence in common practice, whoever did appear to differ from the common Faith, was rejected as an Apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of other Christians.

There

There are Points of less moment, more obscurely delivered------in which Christians with breach of Unity may dissent, about which they may dispute, in which they may err----without breach of Unity, or prejudice to Charity.

Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defensores, salvâ fidei compage non consonant, &c. Aug. *c.* Jul. 1. 2. *p.* 205. *Totum hoc genus liberas habet observationes.* Aug. *ad* Jan. *Ep.* 118. *Ep.* 86. (*ad* Casal.)

The Faith of Christians did at first consist in few Points, those which were professed in Baptism, whereof we have divers *Summaries* in the Ancients---- by analogy whereto all other Propositions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto sound Doctrines were distinguished from false: so that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them---- .

So he that holds that immovable Rule of truth which he received at his Baptism, will know the words and sayings and parables which are taken out of the Scriptures, &c.

Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud se habet quam per Baptismum accepit, hæc quidem quæ sunt ex Scripturis nomina & dictiones & parabolas cognoscet, &c. Iren. 1. 1. *Vid.* Gr. *(p. 4.)*

II. It is evident, that all Christians are united by the bands of mutual Charity and Good-will.

They are all bound to wish one another well, to have a complacence in the good, and a compassion of the evils incident to each other, to discharge all offices of kindness, succour, consolation to each other.

This is the command of *Christ* to all; (*This is my commandement*, saith he, *That ye love one another*;) This is the common badge by which his Disciples are discerned and distinguished, *Hereby* (saith he) *shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another:* They must have *the same love:* They must *love as Brethren, be compassionate, pitifull, courteous each to other:* They must *bear one anothers burthens*; and, *especially, as they have opportunity, doe good to the houshold of faith. If one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members must rejoice. The multitude of them who believe must be* (like that in the *Acts*) *of one heart, and of one soul.* They must *walk in love*, and *doe all things in love.*

Joh. 15. 12. 1 Joh. 3. 11. 1 Thess. 4. 9. Joh. 13. 35. Phil. 2. 2. 1 Pet. 3. 8. Gal. 6. 2, 10. 1 Cor. 12. 26. Act. 4. 32. Eph. 5. 2. 1 Cor. 16. 14

Whoever therefore doth highly offend against Charity, maligning or mischieving his brethren, doth hereby separate himself from *Christ*'s body, and cease to be a Christian.

They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the Church, or seem to be within, they are Pseudo-christians and Anti-christs-- When they seem to be within the Church, they are separated from that invisible conjunction of Charity; Whence Saint John, *They went out from us, but were not of us. He saith not, that by their going out they were made aliens, but because they were aliens, therefore he declareth that they went out.*

Hujus autem fraternæ charitatis inimici sive apertè foris sint, sive intùs esse videantur, Pseudo-christiani sunt & Anti-christi. Aug. *de Bapt.* 3. 19.——*Cùm intùs videntur, ab illa invisibili charitatis compage separati sunt; Unde* Johannes, (1 John 2. 19.) *Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis—Non ait quòd exeundo alieni facti sunt, sed quòd alieni erant, propter hoc eos exisse declaravit.* Ibid.

Wherefore the most notorious violations of Charity being the causing of dissentions and factions in the Church, the causeless separation from any Church, the unjust condemnation of Churches----Whoever was guilty of any such unchristian behaviour was rejected by the Fathers, and held to be no Christian. Such were the *Novatians*, the *Donatists*, the, *Meletians*, the *Luciferians*, ---- and other Schismaticks.

For

Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο χαριέστερον, ἢ τοὺς τοσούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τόπων διειργμένους τῇ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθορᾷν εἰς μίαν μελῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι Χριστοῦ δεδέσθαι. Bas. *Ep.* 220.

For what can be more acceptable and pleasant than to see those who are severed and scattered into so many places, yet knit and joyned together in the bond and union of charity as harmoniouss members of the body of Christ.

Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καιρῶν—— ἡνίκα ἤνθουν αἱ Ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐρριζώμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μιᾶς συμπνοίας διαφόρων μελῶν ὑπαρχούσης. Bas. *Ep.* 338.

In old time----when the Church of God flourished, being rooted in the same faith, united in love: there being as it were one conspiracy or league of different members in one body.

Ἡ κατὰ Πνεῦμα συναφεία ἐμποιεῖν πέφυκε τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν πεπιστεύκαμεν Bas. *Epist.* 182.

For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite mens minds, which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection.

Qui ergò compage Charitatis incorporati sunt ædificio super petram constituto, &c. Aug. *de Unit. cap.* 18.

They therefore who by the bond of Charity are incorporated into the building setled upon the rock.

Membra verò Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, & per eandem capiti suo cohærent, quod est Christus. Aug. *de Unit. cap.* 2.

But the members of Christ are joined together by the charity of union, and by the same cleave close to their head, which is Christ.

Omnes Sancti sibi charitate cohærent.—— Aug. *de Bapt.* 6. 3.

III. All Christians are united by spiritual cognation and alliance; as being all *regenerated by the same incorruptible seed*, being alike *born, not of bloud, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*; whence, as *the sons of God*, and *brethren of Christ*, they become brethren one to another; so that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Christians, *the brethren* signifying all Christian people; and *a brother* being the same with a Christian professour.

1 Pet. 1. 23. Jam. 1. 18. Joh. 1. 14. Gal. 3. 26. Joh. 1. 12. Heb. 2. 10, 11. 1 Cor. 7. 15. 5. 11. Rom. 14, 10, *&c.*

IV. The whole Christian Church is one by its incorporation into the mystical body of *Christ*; or as Fellow-subjects of that spiritual, heavenly Kingdom, whereof *Christ* is the sovereign Head and Governour; whence they are governed by the same Laws, are obliged by the same Institutions and Sanctions; they partake of the same Privileges, and are entitled to the same Promises, and encouraged by the same Rewards; (*being called in one hope of their calling.*)

They are under a Covenant of Allegiance.

Eph. 4. 4.

So they make up one spiritual Corporation, or Republick, whereof *Christ* is the Sovereign Lord.

Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων. Rom. 10. 12.

Εἰ δὲ ὁ τόπος χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸς συνάπτει κοινὸς ὤν, *&c.* Chrys. *in* 1 Cor. *Orat.* 1. *Vid.*

Though the place disjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord, &c.

Hence an habit of disobedience doth sever a man from this Body; for, *not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, or continue therein. Every such person who *denieth God in works* is a Rebel, an Outlaw, renouncing his Allegiance, forfeiting his Title to God's protection and favour.

Mat. 7. 21.

Tit. 1. 16.

He is not *a sheep* of Christ, because he doth not * *hear his voice.*

Qui eum non sequitur, quomodo se ovem ejus dicere audebit? Aug. *de Unit. Eccl. cap* 10. * Joh. 10. 27.

Col. 2. 9.

He is separated from the Body, by not *holding the Head.*

Mendacium est, Christianum se dicere, & opera Christi non facere Ambr.

'Tis a lie, to call one's self a Christian, and not to doe the works of Christ.

Qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videtur. Salv. *de Gub. D.* 4.

He that does not the work of a Christian name, seems not to be a Christian.

When

When in stead of the works themselves he begins to oppose even the most apparent truth, whereby he is reproved, then he is cut off (from the body, or the Church.)

——*Cùm pro ipsis operibus etiam veritati apertissimæ, quâ redarguitur, resistere cœperit, tunc præciditur.* Aug. *de Unit Eccl. cap.* 20.

Hence St. *Austin* often denieth wicked persons to be in the Church, or to appertain unto its Unity. *Vid. supra*

For when there is one and the same Lord, that dwelleth in us, he every where joins and couples those that are his with the bond of Unity.

Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem sit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique & copulat suos vinculo Unitatis. Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

V. All Christians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; so that they are bound to live in good correspondence; to communicate in works of Piety and Devotion; to defend and promote the common interest of their Profession.

Upon the entrance of the Gospel by our Lord's Incarnation, it was by a celestial Herald proclaimed, *Peace on earth, and good-will among men.* Luc. 2. 14. It was our Lord's office * *to preach Peace.* * Act. 10. 36. It was a principal end and effect of his Death † *to reconcile all men, and to destroy enmity.* Eph. 2. 17. † Col. 1. 20. He specially charged his Disciples, εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, *to maintain Peace one with another.* Eph. 2. 14. Marc. 9. 50. It was his Will at parting with them, *Peace I leave with you.* Joh. 14. 27.

The Apostles frequently do enjoin to *pursue Peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure heart*; to follow the things *which make for Peace and edification mutual*; *to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* 2 Tim. 2. 22. Rom. 14. 19. Eph. 4. 3.

It was in the Prophecies concerning the Evangelical state declared, that under it, *The Wolfe should dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard should lie down with the Kid, and the sucking Child should play on the hole of the Aspe*; that is, that men of all tempers, and conditions, by virtue of this Institution, should be disposed to live innocently, quietly and lovingly together; so that they should *not hurt, nor destroy in all God's holy mountain*; for that would be a Duty incumbent on the Disciples of this Institution, which all good Christians would observe. Isai. 11 6. Isai. 65. 25. 2. 4. 66. 12. Isai. 2 4. *They shall learn war no more.*

The Evangelical Covenant, as it doth ally us to God, so it doth confederate us together: The Sacraments of this Covenant are also Symbols of Peace and Amity between those who undertake it. Of *Baptism* it is said, *that so many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ*; and thence, *Ye are all one in Christ Jesus---- All in one Spirit have been baptized into one body.* Gal. 3. 27, 28. 1 Cor. 12. 13. And in the *Eucharist*, by partaking of one individual Food, they are transmuted into one Body and Substance; *We* (saith Saint *Paul*) *being many are one bread, one body*; *for all of us do partake of one bread.* 1 Cor. 10. 7.

By which Sacraments also our people appears to be united: for, as many grains collected, and ground, and mingled together make one bread; so in Christ, who is the bread of heaven, we may know our selves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together.

Quo & ipso Sacramento populus noster adunatus ostenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, & commolita, & commixta, panem unum faciunt; sic in Christo, qui est panis cælestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui conjunctus sit noster numerus & adunatus. Cypr. *Ep.* 63.

With us there is both one Church, and one mind, and undivided concord.

Nobis & Ecclesia una, & mens juncta, & individua concordia. Cypr. *Ep.* 57.

Let us hold the peace of the Catholick Church in the unity of concord.

Catholicæ Ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unitate teneamus. Ep. 45.

Manente concordiæ vinculo, & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramentò, &c. Ep. 52. (ad Anton. *p. 96.)*

The bond of concord remaining, and the individual Sacrament of the Catholick Church continuing, &c.

Qui ergò nec unitatem Spiritûs, nec conjunctionem Pacis observat, & se ab Ecclesiæ vinculo, atque à Sacerdotum collegio separat, Episcopi nec potestatem potest habere, nec honorem, &c. Ibid. p. 97.

He therefore that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit, nor the conjunction of Peace, and separates himself from the bond of the Church, and the college (or society) of Priests, can have neither the power of a Bishop, nor the honour.

Thus in general. But particularly, All Christians should assist one another in the common Defence of Truth, Piety and Peace, when they are assaulted, in the Propagation of the Faith, and Enlargement of the Church, which is συναθλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, *to contend together for the faith of the Gospel; to be good Souldiers of Christ; warring the good warfare; ---- striving for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.*

Phil. 1. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 18. 6. 12. 2 Tim. 4. 7. Jud. 3.

Hence if any where any Heresie or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it; that it may not infect, or spread a doubt arising, as in the case of celebrating *Easter*; *They all with one consent, declared by letters the Decree of the Church to all every where.*

Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν Δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διετυποῦντο. Euseb. 5. 23.

Especially the Pastours of the Churches are obliged with consent to oppose it.

Cypr. *Ep.* 67.

Laborantes hic nos & contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus resistentes, multùm Sermo vester adjuvit, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 23.

While we laboured here, and withstood the force of envy with the whole strength of our faith, your Speech assisted us very much.

Thus did the Bishops of several Churches meet to suppress the Heresie of P. *Samosatenus.*

This was the ground of most Synods.

Οὕτως οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα πανταχῇ ποικίλως ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν Αἱρετικῶν ἀθροισθέντες καινίσμασι κοινὴν ὡς σύμψυχοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ψῆφον· ἅπερ ἀδελφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἐδοκίμασαν, ταῦτα τρανῶς τοῖς ἀποῦσι διαπορθμεύσαντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λυμὴν φωράσαντες, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον. *Syn.* Chalced. *ad Imper. Conc.* Chal. *pars* 3. *p.* 78.

So they who afterward in all places and several ways were gathered together against the innovations of Hereticks gave their common opinion in behalf of the faith, as being of one mind: what they had approved among themselves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to those who were absent: and they who at the Council of Sardis had earnestly contended against the remainders of Arius, sent their judgment to those of the Eastern Churches: and they who had discovered the infection of Apolinarius, made their opinions known to the Western.

If any dissention or Faction doth arise in any Church, other Churches, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and disavowing the factious.

Vid. Ep. 42. *(ad* Cornel.*) p.* 77.

Thus did Saint *Cyprian* help to discountenance and quash the *Novatian* Schism.

Thus when the *Oriental* Churches did labour under the *Arian* Faction, and Dissentions between the *Catholicks*, St. *Basil.* (with other Orthodox Bishops consorting with him) did write to the *Western* Bishops (of *Italy* and *France*) to yield their succour.

Hoc enim vel maximè, frater, laboramus, & laborare debemus, ut Unitatem à Domino, & per Apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus; & quod in nobis est, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 42. *p.* 78.

For this, my brother, we must earnestly endeavour, and ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the Unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the Apostles, whose successours we are; and what lies in us, &c.

All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of Piety and Charity; in

in Prayer, in communion of the Eucharist, in brotherly conversation, and pious conference for edification or advice. *Ep.* 398.

So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know, that such a man breaks himself off from the whole Church.

Ὥστε ὁ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λαν θανέτω ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν πάσης ἑαυτὸν τ' Ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρήγνυς. Bas. *Ep.* 75.

Saint *Chrysostome doth complain of Epiphanius*; *Then when he came to the great and holy City Constantinople, he came not out into the Congregation according to custome and the ancient manner, he joyned not himself with us, nor communicated with us in the Word, and Prayer, and the Holy Communion* &c.

Εἶτα τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θεοφιλοῦς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιβὰς οὐκ εἰς Ἐκκλησίαν ἐξῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς, καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν κρατήσαντα θεσμὸν οὐχ ἡμῖν συνεγένετο, οὐ Δόγου μετέδωκεν, ἐκ Εὐχῆς, οὐ Κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἀποβὰς τοῦ πλοίου, &c. Chrys. *ad* Innoc. P. (*Ep.* 122.)

So *Polycarp*, being at *Rome*, did communicate with P. *Anicetus*; Ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν Εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, κατ' ἐντροπὴν δηλονότι. Euseb. 5. 24.

If Dissention arise between divers Churches; another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the Church of *Carthage*, between that of *Rome* and *Alexandria* *Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 101.

If any Bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his Office, (to the common damage of Truth and Piety,) his neighbour Bishops might admonish him thereto; and, if he should not reform, might deprive him of Communion. *Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 123.

All Christians should hold friendly correspondence, as occasion doth serve, and as it is usefull, to signifie consent in Faith, to recommend Persons, to foster Charity, to convey Succour and Advice, to perform all good offices of Amity and Peace.

Siricius who is our Companion, and fellow-labourer, with whom the whole world by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory Letters agree together with us in one common Society.

Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordant. Opt. *lib.* 2. *p.* 40.

The Catholick Church being one body, 'tis consequent thereto, that we write and signifie one to another, &c.

Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις, &c. Alex. Alexandriæ. Socr. 1. 6. Theod.

In cases of doubt or difficulty one Church should have recourse to others for Advice; and any Church should yield it..

Both common charity and reason requires, most dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of those things which are done among us, that so there may be common advice taken by us concerning the most usefull way of ordering Ecclesiastical affairs.

Et dilectio communis & ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientiæ vestræ subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem Ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune consilium. Cyp. *Ep.* 29. (*ad Cler. Rom.*)

One Church should acquaint others of any extraordinary transaction concerning the common Faith or Discipline; requesting their approbation and countenance.

The practice of this we see frequently in Saint *Cyprian*'s Epistles; particularly *in Epist.* 4, 15, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48. (*P.* Corn.)

Thus did the *Eastern* Churches give account to all other Churches of their proceedings against *P. Samosatenus.*

Which letters are sent all the world over, and brought to the notice of all the Churches and of all the Brethren.

Euseb. 7. 30. *Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, & in notitiam Ecclesiis omnibus & universis fratribus perlatæ sunt* Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Anton. *p.* 92.) *Scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, &c.* Ibid.

When any Church or any Pastour was oppressed or injured, he might have recourse to other Churches for their assistence in order to relief.

Habeat potestatem is qui abjectus est, ut Episcopos finitimos interpellet, & causa ejus audiatur ac diligenter tractetur, &c. Conc. Sard. *Can.* 17. *Vid. Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 125.

Let him who is cast out have power to apply himself to the neighbouring Bishops, that his cause may be carefully heard and discussed.

Thus did *Athanasius* (being overborn and expelled from his See by the *Arian* faction) goe for refuge to the Church of *Rome*.

St. *Chrysostome* had recourse to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to those of the *West*, as also to the Bishop of *Antioch*.

VI. Now, because in the transacting of these things, the Pastours have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the Churches which they inspect, therefore is the Church united also by their consent in Doctrine, their agreement in Peace, their maintaining entercourse, their concurrence to preserve Truth and Charity.

Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque Provincias membra digesta sunt excubare. Cypr. *Ep.* 30. (*Cler. Rom. ad* Cypr. P.)

We ought all to be vigilant and carefull for the body of the whole Church, where members are dispersed through many several Provinces.

Quod servis Dei, & maximè Sacerdotibus. Idcirco copiosum corpus est Sacerdotum, &c. Cypr. *Ep* 42. (*ad* Cornel.) Cypr. *Ep.* 67. (*p.* 161.)

Quando Ecclesia, quæ Catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & cohærentium sibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata. Cyp. *Ep.* 69.

Seeing the Church, which is one and Catholick, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together, by the bond of Priests united one to another.

Hoc verecundiæ & disciplinæ & vitæ ipsi omnium convenit-- ut Episcopi plures in unum convenientes --- disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus. Cypr. *Ep.* 14. (*Clero suo*)

This agrees with the modesty and discipline and the very life of all, that many of the Bishops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice.

Ut cum pace à Domino nobis data plures Præpositi convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula & reformare possimus. Cypr. *Ep.* 15. (*Clero* Rom.)

That, since it having pleased God to grant us peace, we begin to have greater meetings of Bishops, we may also by your advice order and reform every thing.

Quod ut simul cum cæteris Collegis nostris stabiliter ac firmiter administremus, atque ut Catholicæ Ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Cornel.)

Which that, with the rest of our Collegues, we may stedfastly and firmly administer; and that we may keep the peace of the Church, in the unanimity of concord, the divine favour will vouchsafe to accomplish.

Copiosus Episcoporum numerus--in unum convenimus. Cypr. *Ep.* 45. (*ad* Anton.)

A great number of Bishops----we met together.

Bishops being chosen did acquaint other Bishops with it; *It was sufficient* (saith St. *Cyprian* to *Cornelius*) *that you should by your Letters acquaint us that you were made a Bishop.*

Satis erat, ut tu te Episcopum factum Literis nunciares. Cyprian. *ad* Cornel. (*Epist.* 42.)

Significa planè nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, & cui scribere debeamus. Cypr. *Ep.* 67. P. *ad* Steph.

Declare plainly to us who is substituted at Arles in the room of Marcian, that we may know to whom we should direct our brethren, and to whom we should write.

Cypr. *Ep.* 41, 42, 52. (*pag.* 93.)
Theod. 5. 9.
Euseb. *de P.* Samos.

All Churches were to ratifie the Elections of Bishops duly made by others, and to communicate with those. And likewise to comply with all reasonable Acts for Communion.

To preserve this Peace and Correspondence, it was a law and Custom, that no Church should admit to Communion those which were excommunicated by another; or who did schismatically divide.

Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censura, & disciplinæ consensione sociati. Cler. Rom. *ad* Cypr. *Epist.* 31.

We are believed to have done the same thing, whereby we are found to be all of us associated and joined together by the same agreement in censure and discipline.

The

The Decrees of Biſhops were ſent to be ſubſcribed.

Vid. Conc. Sard. *P.* Leonis *II. Ep.* 2. (*ad* Hiſp. *Epiſt*) *N. B. p.* 385. (*Tom* 5) *P.* Bened. *II. Ep.* 16.

VII. All Chriſtian Churches are one by a ſpecifical Unity of Diſcipline, reſembling one another in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations, which are regulated by the indiſpenſible Sanctions and Inſtitutions of their Sovereign.

They are all bound to uſe the ſame Sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any ſubſtantial alteration.

They muſt uphold that ſort of Order, Government and Miniſtery on all its ſubſtantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the Church, or *give thereto*, as Saint *Paul* expreſſeth it; it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in thoſe matters which our Lord had a ſpecial care to order and ſettle. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11. Rom. 12. 7. Act. 20. 28.

Nor can they continue in the Church that have not retained Divine and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, neither in good converſation, nor peaceable life. *Nec remanere in Eccleſia poſſunt qui Deificam & Eccleſiaſticam Diſciplinam nec actûs ſui converſatione, nec morum pace tenuerunt.* P. Cornel. *apud* Cyprian. *Ep.* 48. *Vid. Ep.* 73. (*ad* Jub.).

In leſſer matters of Ceremony or Diſcipline (inſtituted by humane prudence) Churches may differ, and it is expedient they ſhould do ſo, in regard to the various circumſtances of things, and qualities of perſons to which diſcipline ſhould be accommodated; but no Power ought to *abrogate*, deſtroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of Diſcipline, conſtituted by Divine appointment. *Ep.* Firmil. (*pag.* 198.) Aug. *Ep.* 118. & 86. *ſuprà.*

Hence, when ſome Confeſſours had abetted *Novatianus*, againſt *Cornelius*, thereby (againſt a fundamental Rule of the Church, neceſſary for preſerving of Peace and Order therein, that but one Biſhop ſhould be in one Church,) St * *Cyprian* doth thus complain of their proceeding--

(To act any thing) *againſt the Sacrament of Divine ordination and Catholick unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the Church.*

----*Forſaking the Lord's Prieſts contrary to the Evangelical diſcipline; a new Tradition of a ſacrilegious Inſtitution ſtarts up.*

There is one God and one Chriſt, and one Church, and one See founded upon Peter by the word of the Lord; beſides one Altar and one Prieſthood, another Altar cannot be erected nor a new Prieſthood ordained.

* *Gravit enim me, atque contriſtat, &c. Ep.* 44. (*ad Conſeſſ.* Rom.)

Contra Sacramentum ſemel traditum Divinæ diſpoſitionis & Catholicæ unitatis adulterum & contrarium caput extrà Eccleſiam facit. Cyprian. *Epiſt.* 42. (*ad* Cornel.)

—*Relictis Domini Sacerdotibus contra Evangelicam diſciplinam nova Traditio ſacrilegæ Inſtitutionis exſurgat.*— Cypr. *Ep.* 40. (*Plebi ſuæ.*)

Deus unus eſt, & Chriſtus unus, & Eccleſia una, & Cathedra una ſuper Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud Altare conſtituit, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum Altare, & unum Sacerdotium non poteſt. Ibid.

Hence were the *Meletians* rejected by the Church, for introducing Ordinations----

Hence was *Aerius* accounted a Heretick, for meaning to innovate in ſo grand a point of Diſcipline, as the ſubordination of Biſhops and Presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all Churches ſhould conform to each other in great matters of prudential Diſcipline, although not inſtituted or preſcribed by God: for this is a means of preſerving Peace, and is a Beauty or Harmony. For difference of Practice doth alienate Affections, eſpecially in common People.

So the Synod of *Nice*.

That

That all things may be alike ordered in every Diocese, it hath seemed good to the holy Synod, that men should put up their Prayers to God standing, (viz. between *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, and upon the *Lord's-day.*)

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως τάττεσθαι, ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ Συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ Can. 29.

Πρὸς τούτοις κἀκεῖνο πάρεστι συνορᾶν, ὡς ἐν τελικούτῳ πράγματι. καὶ τοιαύτῃ θεοσκείας ἑορτῇ διαφονίαν ἄρχειν ἔστιν ἀθέμιτον. Const. M. *in Epist. ad Eccles.* Euseb. *vita* Constantini. 3. 18

The Church is like the World; for as the World doth consist of men, all naturally subject to one King, Almighty God; all obliged to observe his Laws, declared by natural Light; all *made of one bloud,* and so Brethren; all endowed with common Reason; all bound to excercise good Offices of Justice and Humanity toward each other, to maintain Peace and Amity together; to further each other in the prosecution or attainment of those good things which conduce to the Welfare and Security of this present Life: even so doth the Church consist of persons spiritually allied, professing the same Faith, subject to the same Law and Government of *Christ*'s heavenly Kingdom; bound to exercise Charity, and to maintain Peace toward each other, and to promote each others good in order to the future Happiness in Heaven.

All those kinds of Unity do plainly agree to the universal Church of *Christ*; but the Question is, Whether the Church is also necessarily by the design and appointment of God to be in way of external policy under one singular Government or Jurisdiction of any kind; so as a Kingdom or Commonwealth are united under the Command of one Monarch or one Senate.

That the Church is capable of such an Union, is not the Controversie; that it is possible it should be so united, (supposing it may happen that all Christians may be reduced to one Nation, or one civil Regiment; or that several Nations spontaneously may confederate and combine themselves into one Ecclesiastical Commonwealth, administred by the same Spiritul Rulers and Judges according to the same Laws,) I do not question; that when in a manner all Christendom did consist of Subjects to the Roman Empire, the Church then did arrive near such an Unity, I do not at present contest; but that such an Union of all Christians is necessary, or that it was ever instituted by *Christ*, I cannot grant; and for my refusal of that opinion, I shall assign divers Reasons.

1. This being a Point of great consideration, and trenching upon Practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occasions to declare it; yet the Holy Scripture doth no where express or intimate such a kind Unity; which is a sufficient Proof, that it hath no firm ground. We may say of it as Saint *Austin* saith of the Church it self, *I will not that the Holy Church be demonstrated from humane reasonings, but the Divine Oracles.*

Nolo humanis documentis, sed Divinis Oraculis Sanctam Ecclesiam demonstrari. Aug. *de Unit. c.* 3.

Eph. 4. 1 Cor 12. Rom. 12. Gal. 3. 28.

Saint *Paul* particularly, in divers Epistles, designedly treating about the Unity of the Church, (together with other Points of Doctrine neighbouring thereon,) and amply describing it, doth not yet imply any such Unity then extant, or designed to be.

He doth mention and urge the Unity of Spirit, of Faith, of Charity, of Peace, of Relation to our Lord, of Communion in Devotions and Offices of Piety; but concerning any Union under one singular visible Government or Polity he is silent: He saith, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism; one God and Father of all:* not one Monarch, or one Senate, or one Sanhedrin---which is a pregnant sign, that none

none such was then instituted; otherwise he could not have slipped over a Point so very material and pertinent to his Discourse.

2. By the Apostolical History it may appear, that the Apostles, in the Propagation of Christianity, and founding of Christian Societies, had no meaning, did take no care, to establish any such Polity.

They did resort to several Places (whither Divine instinct, or reasonable occasion did carry them) where, by their Preaching, having convinced and converted a *competent number* of persons to the embracing Christian Doctrine, they did appoint Pastours to instruct and edifie them, to administer God's Worship and Service among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correspondence of Charity and Peace with all good Christians otherwhere; this is all we can see done by them.

Ὄχλον ἱκανόν. Act. 11. 26.

Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν. Act. 14. 23.

3. The Fathers, in their set Treatises and in their incidental Discourses about the Unity of the Church, (which was *de facto*, which should be *de jure* in the Church,) do make it to consist onely in those Unions of Faith Charity, Peace, which we have described, not in this political Union.

The Roman Church gave this Reason why they could not admit *Marcion* into their Communion, they would not doe it without his Father's consent, between whom and them *there was one faith and one agreement of mind.*

——μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ διάνοια Epiph. *hær.* 42.

Tertullian in his Apologetick describing the Unity of the Church in his time, saith, *We are one body by our Agreement in religion, our Unity of discipline, and our being in the same Covenant of hope.*

Corpus sumus de Conscientia religionis & disciplinæ Unitate, & spei Fœdere. Apol. 39.

And more exactly and largely in his Prescriptions against Hereticks, the breakers of Unity. *Therefore such and so many Churches are but the same with the first Apostolical one, from which all are derived: Thus they become all first, all Apostolical; whilst they maintain the same Unity; whilst there are a Communion of peace, names of brotherhood and contributions of hospitality among them; the rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the same Mystery.*

Itaque tot ac tantæ Ecclesiæ una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex qua omnes; sic omnes primæ, & omnes Apostolicæ; dum unam omnes probant Unitatem; Communicatio pacis, & appellatio fraternitatis & contesseratio hospitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit, quàm ejusdem Sacramenta una traditio. Tertul. *Præscript. cap.* 20.

They and we have one Faith, one God, the same Christ, the same Hope, the same Baptism; in a word, we are but one Church.

Una nobis & illis fides, unus Deus idem Christus, eadem Spes, eadem lavacri Sacramenta; semel dixerim una Ecclesia sumus. Tert. *de Virg. vel.* 2.

And *Constantine* the Great in his Epistle to the Churches:

(Our Saviour) *would have his Catholick Church to be one: the members of which, though they be divided into many and different places, are yet cherisht by one Spirit, that is, by the will of God.*

Καὶ μίαν ἔδει τὴν καθολικὴν αὐτοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν βεβαιωθῆναι· ἧς εἰ καὶ τὰ μέλη εἰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους τὰ μέρη διήρηται, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἑνὶ Πνεύματι τυτέστι τῷ Θείῳ εὐδοκήσαντι διάπεισαι. Const. M. *in Ep. ad Eccles.* Euseb. *vit:* Const. 3. 18.

And *Gregory* the Great.---

Our Head which is Christ, would therefore have us be his members, that by the joints of Charity and Faith he might make us one body in himself.

Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis & fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret. Greg. M. *Ep.* 7. 111.

Clem. Alex. defineth the Church;

A people gathered together out of Jews and Gentiles into one Faith, by the giving of the Testaments fitted into Unity of Faith.

Ὁ ἐκ νόμου καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν Πίστιν συναγομένη λαός. *Strom. 6. init.* τῇ καθ' τὰς Διαθήκας δόσει σκευαζόμενον εἰς Ἑνότητα τῆς Πίστεως. *Str.* 7. (*p.* 516.)

This

Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ Ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται Ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατέμνειν βιάζονται αἱρέσεις· κατά τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατά τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατά τε ἀρχὴν, (*principium*,) κατά τε ἐξοχὴν, μόνην εἶναι φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ Καθολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν εἰς Ἑνότητα Πίστεως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας Διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφέρους τοῖς χρόνοις Ἑνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλήματι δι' Ἑνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν, δικαίους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς. *Strom.* 7. (*p.* 549.)

This one Church therefore partakes of the nature of Unity, which Heresies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and Catholick Church, whether we respect its constitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one; which into the belief of that one Creed which is agreeable to its own peculiar Testaments, or rather to that one and the same Testament, in times however different, by the will of one and the same God through one and the same Lord, doth unite and Combine together all those who are before ordained, whom God hath predestinated, as knowing that they would be just persons, before the foundation of the world.

Many Passages in the Fathers, applicable to this Point, we have alledged in the foregoing Discourses.

Catholicam facit simplex & verus intellectus, intelligere singulare, ac verissimum Sacramentum, & Unitas animorum. Opt I. (*p* 14)

Ecclesia non parietibus consistit, sed in dogmatum veritate. &c. Hier Ps. 133.

4. The Constitution of such an Unity doth involve the vesting some Person or some number of Persons with a Sovereign Authority (subordinate to our Lord) to be managed in a certain manner, either absolutely according to pleasure; or limitedly according to certain Rules prescribed to it.

But that there was ever any such Authority constituted, or any Rules Prescribed to it by our Lord or his Apostles doth not appear, and there are divers reasonable presumptions against it.

It is reasonable that whoever claimeth such Authority, should for assuring his Title shew Patents of his Commission, manifestly expressing it; how otherwise can he justly demand Obedience, or any with satisfaction yield thereto?

It was just that the Institution of so great Authority should be fortified with an undoubted Charter, that its Right might be apparent, and the Duty of Subjection might be certain.

If any such Authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in Scripture; it being a matter of high importance among the establishments of Christianity, conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty. Especially considering that

There is in Scripture frequent occasion of mentioning it; in way of History, touching the use of it (the acts of Sovereign Power affording chief matter to the History of any Society) in way of Direction to those Governours how to manage it; in way of Exhortation to Inferiours how to behave themselves in regard to it; in way of commending the Advantages which attend it; it is therefore strange that its mention is so balkt.

The Apostles do often speak concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs of all natures, concerning the Decent administration of things, concerning preservation of Order and Peace, concerning the furtherance of Edification, concerning the Prevention and Removal of Heresies, Schisms, Factions, Disorders; upon any of which occasions it is marvellous that they should not touch that Constitution, which was the proper means appointed for maintenance of Truth, Order, Peace, Decency, Edification, and all such Purposes, for remedy of all contrary Mischiefs.

There

There are mentioned divers Schisms and Dissensions, the which the Apostles did strive by instruction and persuasion to remove; in which Cases, supposing such an Authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the Parties dissenting of having recourse thereto for decision of their Causes, that they do not exhort them to a Submission thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining such a Remedy.

It is also strange, that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the dissenting Parties to the Judgment of such Authority.

Indeed, if such an Authority had then been avowed by the Christian Churches, it is hardly conceivable that any Schisms could subsist, there being so powerfull a Remedy against them; then notably visible and most effectual, because of its fresh Institution, before it was darkned or weakned by Age.

Whereas the Apostolical Writings do inculcate our Subjection to one Lord in Heaven, it is much they should never consider his Vicegerent, or Vicegerents, upon Earth; notifying and pressing the Duties of Obedience and Reverence toward them.

There are indeed Exhortations to honour the Elders, and to obey the Guides of particular Churches; but the Honour and Obedience due to those Paramount Authorites, or Universal Governours, is passed over in dead silence, as if no such thing had been thought of.

They do expresly avow the secular Pre-eminence, and press Submission to the Emperour as Supreme; why do they not likewise mention this no less considerable Ecclesiastical Supremacy, or enjoin Obebience thereto? why *Honour the King*, and be *subject to Principalities* so often, but Honour the spiritual Prince or Senate doth never occur?

Rom. 13. 1. —— Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 17. 1 Tim. 1. 2.

If there had been any such Authority, there would probably have been some intimation concerning the Persons in whom it was setled, concerning the Place of their residence, concerning the Manner of its being conveyed, (by Election, Succession, or otherwise.)

Probably the Persons would have some proper Name, Title or Character to distinguish them from inferiour Governours; that to the Place some mark of Pre-eminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely, that somewhere some Rules or Directions would have been prescribed for the managment of so high a Trust, for preventing Miscarriages and Abuses to which it is notoriously liable.

It would have been declared Absolute, or the Limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enslaving God's heritage.

But of these things in the Apostolical Writings, or in any near those times, there doth not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation.

There hath never to this day been any place but one (namely *Rome*) which hath pretended to be the Seat of such an Authority; the Plea whereof we largely have examined.

At present we shall onely observe, that before the *Roman* Church was founded, there were Churches otherwhere; there was a great Church at *Jerusalem* (which indeed was *the Mother of all Churches*, and was by the Fathers so styled, however *Rome* now arrogates to her self that Title.) There were issuing from that Mother a fair Offspring of Churches (those of *Judæa*, of *Galilæa*, of *Samaria*, of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, of

Act. 2. 41, 47. 4. 4. 6. 1. 8. 1; Ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Act. 6. 7. Μήτηρ ἁπασῶν τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Conc. Const. *in Synod. Ep.* Theod. 5. 9.

Act. 9. 31. 15. 41. 11. 19. 8. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 1, 19. Rom. 16. 4. Vales. *in* Euseb. 2. 16. Gal. 1. 18, 19. 2. 1, 9, 11.

divers other places) before there was any Church at *Rome*, or that Saint *Peter* did come thither; which was at least divers years after our Lord's Ascension. Saint *Paul* was converted ---- after five years he went to *Hierusalem*, then Saint *Peter* was there; after fourteen years thence he went to *Hierusalem* again, and then Saint *Peter* was there; after that, he met with Saint *Peter* at *Antioch*. Where then was this Authority seated? How then did the political Unity of the Church subsist? Was the Seat of the Sovereign Authority first resident at *Jerusalem*, when Saint Peter preached there? did it walk thence to *Antiochia*, fixing it self there for seven years? Was it thence translated to *Rome*, and setled there ever since? Did this roving and inconstancy become it?

5. The primitive State of the Church did not well comport with such an Unity.

For Christian Churches were founded in distant places, as the Apostles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore could not, without extreme inconvenience, have resort or reference to one Authority, any where fixed.

Each Church therefore separately did order its own Affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable Advice or Relief in cases of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each Church was endowed with a perfect Liberty and a full Authority, without dependence or subordination to others, to govern its own Members, to manage its own Affairs, to decide Controversies and Causes incident among themselves, without allowing Appeals, or rendring Accounts to others.

Apoc. 2. & 3. 1 Cor. 14. 40. 1 Thess. 5. 14. 1 Cor. 5. 12. 6. 1.

This appeareth by the Apostolical Writings of Saint *Paul* and Saint *John* to single Churches; wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual Power for establishing Decency, removing Disorders, correcting Offences, deciding Causes, *&c.*

6. This Αὐτονομία, and Liberty of Churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumstances of place and time.

It is true, that if any Church did notoriously forsake the Truth, or commit Disorder in any kind, other Churches did sometime take upon them (as the Case did move) to warn, advise, reprove it, and to declare against its proceedings, as prejudicial not onely to the welfare of that Church, but to the common interests of Truth and Peace; but this was not in way of Commanding Authority, but of fraternal Solicitude; or of that Liberty which Equity and Prudence do allow to Equals in regard to common good: So did the *Roman* Church interpose in reclaiming the Church of *Corinth* from its Disorders and Seditions: So did Saint *Cyprian* and Saint *Denys* of *Alex.* meddle in the Affairs of the *Roman* Church, exhorting *Novatian* aud his adherents to return to the Peace of their Church.

Iren. 3. *c.* 2.

It is also true, that the Bishops of several adjacent Churches did use to meet upon Emergencies (concerning the maintenance of Truth, Order and Peace; concerning Settlement and Approbation of Pastours, *&c.*) to consult and conclude upon Expedients for attaining such Ends; this probably they did at first in a free way, without rule, according to occasion, as Prudence suggested; but afterwards, by confederation and consent, those Conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain Orders estab-

lished

liſhed by conſent, whence did ariſe an Eccleſiaſtical Unity of Government, within certain Precincts; much like that of the United States in the *Netherlands*; the which courſe was very prudential, and uſefull for perſerving the Truth of Religion and Unity of Faith againſt heretical Devices ſpringing up in that free age; for maintaining Concord and good Correſpondence among Chriſtans, together with an Harmony in Manners and Diſcipline; for that otherwiſe Chriſtendom would have been ſhattered and crumbled into numberleſs Parties, diſcordant in Opinion and Practice; and conſequently alienated in Affection, which inevitably among moſt men doth follow Difference of Opinion and Manners; ſo that in ſhort time it would not have appeared what Chriſtianity was, and conſequently the Religion, being overgrown with Differences and Diſcords, muſt have periſhed.

Thus in the caſe, about admitting the *Lapſi* to Communion, Saint *Cyprian* relates, *when the perſecution* [of *Decius*] *ceaſed, ſo that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a conſiderable number of Biſhops whom their own faith and God's protection had preſerved ſound and entire* [from the late Apoſtaſie and Perſecution] *being aſſembled, we deliberated of the compoſition of the matter with wholſome moderation*, &c.

Perſecutione ſopitâ, cùm data eſſet facultas in unum convenicndi, copioſus Epiſcoporum numerus, quos integros & incolumes fides ſua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, & ſcripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum ſalubri moderatione libravimus, &c. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. (*ad* Antonian.)

Which thing alſo Agrippinus of bleſſed memory with his other Fellow-biſhops who then governed the Church of Chriſt in the African Province and in Numedia did eſtabliſh; and by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together confirmed it.

Quod quidem & Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir cum cæteris Co-epiſcopis ſuis qui illo tempore Provinciam Africæ & Numediæ Eccleſiam Domini gubernabant, ſtatuit & librato concilii communis examine firmavit. Cypr. *Epiſt.* 71. *ad* Quint.)

Thus it was the cuſtome in the Churches of *Aſia*, as *Firmilian* telleth us in thoſe words:

Upon which occaſion it neceſſarily happens, that every year we the Elders and Rulers do come together to regulate thoſe things which are committed to our care; that if there ſhould be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined——

Quæ ex cauſa neceſſariò apud nos fit, ut per ſingulos annos Seniores & Præpoſiti in unum conveniamus, ad diſponenda ea quæ curæ noſtræ commiſſa ſunt; ut ſi qua graviora ſunt, communi conſilio dirigantur— Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

Yet while things went thus, in order to common Truth and Peace; every Church in more private matters, touching its own particular ſtate, did retain its Liberty and Authority, without being ſubject or accountable to any but the common Lord; in ſuch caſes even Synods of Biſhops did not think it proper or juſt for them to interpoſe, to the prejudice of that Liberty and Power which derived from a higher Source.

Supereſt ut de hac ipſa re ſinguli quid ſentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes aut à jure communionis aliquem ſi diverſum ſenſerit amoventes,——*&c. Vid. Conc.* Carthag. *apud* Cypr. *p.* 399. *Vid. Syn.* Ant. *Can.* 9.

Theſe things are very apparent, as by the courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſo particularly in that moſt pretious Monument of Antiquity, St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles; by which it is moſt evident, that in thoſe times every Biſhop or Paſtour was conceived to have a double relation or capacity; one toward his own Flock, another toward the whole Flock: One toward his own Flock; by virtue of which, * taking advice of his Presbyters, together with *the conſcience of his People aſſiſting*, did order all things tending to particular Edification, Order Peace, Reformation, Cenſure, *&c.* without fear of being

* *Vide Epiſt.* 28. 39. 14. 18. *Sub Populi aſſiſtentis conſcientiâ* Cypr. *Epiſt.* 78.

— Actum suum dispmit, & dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 52. Every Bishop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord.

being troubled by Appeals, or being liable to give any account but to his own Lord, whose Vicegerent he was.

Cùm statutum sit omnibus nobis ac æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum; & singulis Pastoribus portio Gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque Præpositus rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. *ad*——

Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise just and equal that every man's cause should be there judged where the crime is committed, and to each Pastour a portion of the Flock is assigned, which is to rule and govern, being to give an account of his act to the Lord.

Quæ in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cùm habeat in Ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque Præpositus, rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus. Cypr. *Ep.* 72. *ad* Steph. *P. Vide Ep.* 72. *p.* 186. *Ep.* 76. *p.* 212.

In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man, or prescribe any Law, since every Bishop hath in the government of his Church the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord.

Another toward the whole Church, in behalf of his People; upon account whereof he did (according to occasion or order) apply himself to confer with other Bishops for preservation of the common Truth and Peace, when they could not otherwise be well upheld, than by the joint conspiring of the Pastours of divers Churches.

So that the Case of Bishops was like to that of Princes; each of whom hath a free Superintendence in his own Territory, but for to uphold Justice and Peace in the World, or between adjacent Nations the entercourse of several Princes is needfull.

The Peace of the Church was preserved by communion of all Parts together, not by the Subjection of the rest to one Part.

7. This political Unity doth not well accord with the nature and *genius* of the Evangelical dispensation.

Our Saviour affirmed, that *his Kingdom is not of this World*; and
Joh. 18. 36. St. *Paul* telleth us, that it consisteth in a Spiritual influence upon the
Rom. 14. 17. Souls of men; producing in them Virtue, Spiritual Joy and Peace.

Gal. 4. 3, 9. Col. 2. 20. It disavoweth and discountenanceth *the elements of the World*, by which worldly designs are carried on, and worldly frames sustained.

1 Pet. 2. 1. It requireth not to be managed by politick artifices or *fleshly wisdom*, but by Simplicity, Sincerity, Plain-dealing: as every Subject of it must lay aside all *guile and dissimulation*, so especially the Officers
2 Cor. 1. 12. of it must doe so, in conformity to the Apostles, who *had their con-*
2 Cor. 4. 2. *versation in the world* (and prosecuted their design) *in simplicity and god-*
2. 17 (καπηλ.) *ly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God*; not *walking*
1 Thess. 2. 3, 5. *in craftiness*, or *handling the word of God deceitfully*; &c.

It needeth not to be supported or enlarged by wealth and pomp,
1 Cor. 1. 27. or by compulsive force and violence; for *God hath chosen the foolish*
Jam. 2. 5. *things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty, and base, despicable things*, &c. *that no flesh should glory in his presence.*

2 Cor. 10. 4. And, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*, &c.

It discountenanceth the imposition of new Laws and Precepts, beMatt. 15. 9. side those which God hath joined, or which are necessary for order and edification; derogating from the Liberty of Christians and
Colos. 2. 8, 20, 21. from the Simplicity of our Religion.

Gal. 4. 10. The Government of the Christian state is represented purely spiritual; administred by meek persuasion, not by imperious awe; as an humble ministery, not as stately domination; for the Apostles
2 Cor. 1. 24. themselves did not *Lord it over mens faith*, but *did co-operate to their*
2 Cor. 4. 5. *joy*; they did *not preach themselves, but Christ Jesus to be our Lord*; *and themselves their servants for Jesus.*

It

It is expresly forbidden to them, *to domineer over God's people* 1 Pet. 5. 3.

They are to be qualified with Gentleness and Patience; they are forbidden *to strive*, and enjoyned to be *gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.* Matt. 20, 25, 26. 2 Cor. 6. 4. 1 Tim. 3. 3. Tit. 2. 2.

They are *to convince, to rebuke, to exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.* 2 Tim. 2. 24, 25. Chrys. Isid.

2 Tim. 4. 2 *Episcopus praeest volentibus, non nolentibus* Hier. *Ep.* 3. (*ad* Nepot.)

They are furnished with no arms beside the *divine Panoply*; they bear no *sword*, but that *of the Spirit*; *which is the word of God*, —— they may teach, reprove, —— they cannot compell —— Ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν Θεοῦ. Eph. 6. 13. 6. 17. 2 Tim. 2. 4.

They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life.

Μάλιστα γὰρ ἁπάντων χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἐφεῖται πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων πταίσματα —— Chrys. *de Sacerd.* 2.

Ἐνταῦθα οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω τὴν τοιοῦτον.

But supposing the Church was designed to be one in this manner of political reigment, it must be quite another thing, nearly resembling a worldly state, yea in effect soon resolving it self into such an one; supposing, as is now pretended, that its managment is committed to an Ecclesiastical Monarch, it must become a worldly Kingdom; for such a Polity could not be upheld without applying the same means and engines, without practising the same methods and arts, whereby secular Governments are maintained. Ἑτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ ἄρχοντες. Arist. *Pol. IV.* 15.

Its Majesty must be supported by conspicuous Pomp and Phantastry.

Its Dignity and Power must be supported by Wealth; which it must corrade and accumulate by large Incomes, by exaction of Tributes and Taxes.

It must exert Authority in enacting of Laws for keeping its State in order, and securing its Interests, backed with Rewards and Pains; especially considering, its Title being so dark and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will contest it.

It must apply Constraint and Force, for procuring Obedience, and correcting Transgression.

It must have Guards to preserve its Safety and Authority.

It must be engaged in Wars, to defend its self and make good its Interests.

It must use Subtilty and Artifice, for promoting its Interests, and countermine the Policies of adversaries.

It must erect Judicatories, and must decide Causes with Formality of legal process; whence tedious Suits, crafty Pleadings, Quirks of Law and Pettifoggeries, Fees and Charges, Extortion and Barretry, *&c.* will necessarily creep in. *Is modus qui frequentatur execrabiles planè, & qui non dico Ecclesiam, sed nec forum deceret, &c.* Bern. *de Consid. I.* 10. *Attendens itaque S. Synodus, quòd spiritualia sine carnalibus sustineri nequeant. Syn.* Bass. *Sess.* 42. *p.* 108.

All which things do much disagree from the original constitution and design of the Christian Church, which is averse from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth or force to maintain it; but did at first, and may subsist without any such means. *Omnis pulchritudo filiae Regis intrinsecus.* Aug. *Ep.* 68.

I do not say, that an Ecclesiastical Society may not lawfully, for its support, use Power, Policy, Wealth, in some measure to uphold or defend it self; but that a Constitution needing such things is Divine; or that so far as it doth use them, it is no more than Humane. + not

Thus

Thus in effect we ſee that it hath ſucceeded, from the Pretence of this Unity; the which hath indeed transformed the Church into a mere worldly ſtate; wherein the Monarch beareth the garb of an Emperour, in external ſplendor ſurpaſſing all worldly Princes; crowned with a triple Crown.

One Crown doth ſerve an Emperour, but he muſt have a triple: to kiſs the hands of a King is a ſufficient reſpect, but you cannot ſalute him without kiſſing *his bleſſed feet.*

He aſſumeth the moſt haughty Titles of, *Our moſt holy Lord*, the Vicar general of *Chriſt*, *&c.* and he ſuffereth men to call him the Monarch of Kings, *&c.*

He hath Reſpects paid him, like to which no Potentate doth aſſume, (having his Feet kiſſed, riding upon the backs of men, letting Princes hold his Stirrup and lead his Horſe.)

That which *Seneca* did take for a piece of enormous Pride in *Caligula*. *De Benef.* 2. 12.

He hath a Court, and is attended with a traine of Courtiers ſurpaſſing in State and claiming Precedence to the Peers of any Kingdom.

Cardin. *vid.* Uſſ. *p.* 103.

He is encompaſſed with armed Guards. *Switzers.*

He hath a vaſt Revenue, ſupplied by Tributes and Impoſts, ſore and grievous; the exaction which hath made divers Nations of Chriſtendom to groan moſt lamentably.

He hath raiſed numberleſs Wars and Commotions for the promotion and advancement of his Intereſts.

He adminiſtreth things with all depth of Policy, to advance his Deſigns.

Sub Mortali.

He impoſes rigorous Oaths of Fealty and Obedience.

He hath enacted Volumes of Laws and Decrees to which Odedience is exacted with rigour and forcible conſtraint.

He draweth griſt from all Parts to his courts of Judgment, wherein all formalities of ſuſpence, all the tricks of ſqueezing money, *&c.* are practiſed, to the great trouble and charge of Parties concerned.

Briefly, it is plain, that he doth exerciſe the proudeſt, mightieſt, ſubtleſt Domination that ever was over Chriſtians.

Exaltatio, & inflatio, & arrogans ac ſuperba jactatio, non de Chriſti magiſterio, qui humilitatem docet, ſed de Antichriſti ſpiritu naſcitur. Cypr. *Ep.* 55. (*ad P.* Cornel.)

8 The Union of the whole Church in one Body, under one Government or Sovereign Authority, would be inconvenient and hurtfull; prejudicial to the main deſigns of Chriſtianity; deſtructive to the Welfare and Peace of Mankind in many reſpects.

This we have ſhewed particularly concerning the Pretence of the Papacy; and thoſe Diſcourſes being applicable to any like Univerſal Authority, (perhaps with more advantage, Monarchy being leſs ſubject to abuſe than other ways of Government) I ſhall forbear to ſay more.

9. Such an Union is of no need, would be of ſmall uſe, or would do little good; in balance to the great Miſchiefs and Inconveniences which it would produce.

This point alſo we have declared, in regard to the Papacy; and we might ſay the ſame concerning any other like Authority ſubſtituted thereto.

Such a Connexion of Churches it is not any-wiſe needfull or expedient to the Deſign of Chriſtianity; which is to reduce Mankind to the Knowledge, Love and Reverence of God; to a juſt and loving Conver-

Converſation together; to the practice of Sobriety, Temperance, Purity, Meekneſs, and all other Virtues; all which things may be compaſſed without forming men into ſuch a policy. Tit 2. 12.

It is expedient there ſhould be particular Societies in which men may concur in worſhiping God, and promoting that deſign by inſtructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent and orderly way.

It is convenient that the Subjects of each temporal Sovereignty ſhould live as in a civil, ſo in a ſpiritual Uniformity, in order to the preſervation of Goodwill and Peace among them (for that Neighbours differing in opinion and faſhions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to diſaffect one another) for the Beauty and pleaſant harmony of agreement in Divine things, for the more commodious ſuccour and defence of Truth and Piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the World ſhould be ſo joined is needleſs; and will be apt to produce more miſchief than benefit.

11. The Church in the Scripture ſenſe hath ever continued One; and will ever continue ſo; notwithſtanding that it hath not had this political Unity.

12. It is in fact apparent, that Churches have not been thus united, which yet have continued Catholick and Chriſtian.

It were great, no leſs folly than uncharitableneſs to ſay, that the *Greek* Church hath been none.

There is no Church that hath in effect leſs reaſon than that of *Rome* to preſcribe to others.

13. The reaſons alledged in proof of ſuch an Unity are inſufficient and inconcluding; the which (with great diligence, although not with like perſpicuity) advanced by a late Divine of great repute, and collected out of his Writings with ſome care, are thoſe which briefly propoſed do follow; together with Anſwers declaring their invalidity.

Arg. I. The name *Church* is attributed to the whole body of Chriſtians; which implieth Unity. *Epil. p. 38. Lat. p. 114.*

Anſw. This indeed doth imply an Unity of the Church, but determineth not the kind or ground thereof: there being ſeveral kinds of Unity; one of thoſe which we have touched, or ſeveral, or all of them may ſuffice to ground that comprehenſive Appellation

Arg. II. Our Creeds do import the belief of ſuch an Unity; for *Epil. Lat. 144.* in the *Apoſtolical* we profeſs to believe *the Holy Catholick Church*; in the *Conſtantipolitan*, *the Holy Catholick* and *Apoſtolick Church.*

Anſw. 1. The moſt ancient Summaries of Chriſtian Faith, extant in the firſt Fathers, (*Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, &c.) do not contain this Point. Iren. Tert. Cypr. Conc. Nic.

The word *Catholick* was not originally in the *Apoſtolical* (or *Roman*) Creed, but was added after *Ruffin* in Saint *Auſtin*'s time.

This Article was inſerted into the Creeds upon the riſe of Hereſies and Schiſms to diſcountenance and diſengage from them.

Anſw. 2. We do avow a Catholick Church in many reſpects One; wherefore not the Unity of the Church, but the Kind and Manner of Unity being in queſtion, the Creed doth not oppoſe what we ſay, nor can with reaſon be alledged for the ſpecial kind of Unity which is pretended.

Anſw.

Answ. 3. That the Unity mentioned in the *Constantinopolitan* Creed is such as our Adversaries contend for, of external Policy, is precariously assumed, and relieth onely upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Answ. 4. The genuine meaning of that Article may reasonably be deemed this; That we profess our adhering to the Body of Christians, which diffused over the World doth retain the Faith taught, the Discipline setled, the Practices appointed by our Lord and his Apostles; that we maintain general Charity toward all good Christians, that we are ready to entertain communion in Holy Offices with all such; that we are willing to observe the Laws and Orders established by Authority or Consent of the Churches, for maintenance of Truth, Order and Peace: that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all disorderly practices, all conspiracy with any factious combinations of people.

Παρρησιαζωμαι.

Answ. 5. That this is the meaning of the Article, may sufficiently appear from the reason and occasion of introducing it; which was to secure the Truth of Christian Doctrine, the Authority of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the common Peace of the Church; according to the Discourses and Arguments of the Fathers, (*Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, St. *Austin*, *Vincentius Lirinensis*,) the which do plainly countenance our Interpretation.

Answ. 6. It is not reasonable to interpret the Article so as will not consist with the state of the Church in the Apostolical and most primitive ages, when evidently there was no such a political Conjunction of Christians.

Ep. p. 40. *Lat. p.* 144, 151.

Arg. III. The Apostles delivered one Rule of Faith to all Churches, the imbracing and professing whereof, celebrated in Baptism, was a necessary condition to the admission into the Church, and to continuance therein; therefore Christians are combined together in one political Body.

Answ. 1. The Consequence is very weak; for from the Antecedent it can onely be inferred, that (according to the Sentiment of the Ancients,) all Christians should consent in one Faith; which Unity we avow; and who denieth?

Answ. 2. By like reason all Mankind must be united in one political Body; because all men are bound to agree in what the Light of nature discovereth to be true and good; or because the Principles of natural Religion, Justice and Humanity are common to all.

Epil. p 37, 49. *Lat. p.* 153. *p.* 118. *Leges ferre. Lat. p.* 171.

Arg. IV. God hath granted to the Church certain Powers and Rights, as *Jura Majestatis*; namely, the Power of the Keys, (to admit into, to exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven,) a Power to enact Laws, (for maintenance of its Order and Peace, for its edification and Welfare:) a Power to correct and excommunicate Offenders; a Power to hold Assemblies for God's Service; a Power to ordain Governours and Pastours.

Lat. p. 54.

Answ. 1. These Powers are granted to the Church, because granted to each particular Church or distinct Society of Christians; not to the whole as such or distinct from the Parts.

Answ. 2. It is evident that by virtue of such Grants particular Churches do exercise those Powers; and it is impossible to infer more from them than a Justification of their Practice.

Answ. 3. St. *Cyprian* often from that common Grant doth infer the Right of exercising Discipline in each particular Church; which Inference would not be good, but upon our Supposition; nor indeed

indeed otherwise would any particular Church have ground for its Authority.

Answ. 4. God hath granted the like Rights to all Princes and States; but doth it thence follow, that all Kingdoms and States must be united in one single Regiment? the Consequence is just the same as as in our Case.

Arg. V. All Churches were tied to observe the same Laws or Rules of Practice, the same Orders of Discipline and Customes; therefore all do make one Corporation. *Ep. p.* 42, 49. *Lat. p.* 151, 219. 1 Cor. 11. 16.

Answ. 1. That all Churches are bound to observe the same Divine Institutions, doth argue onely an Unity of relation to the same Heavenly King, or a specifical Unity and Similitude of Policy, the which we do avow.

Answ. 2. We do also acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all Churches in principal Observances, introduced by humane prudence, should agree so near as may be; an Uniformity in such things representing and preserving Unity of Faith, of Charity, of Peace.

Whence the Governours of the primitive Church did endeavour such an Uniformity; as the Fathers of *Nice* profess in the Canon forbidding of Genu-flexion on Lord's days, and in the days of Pentecost. Ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 20. *Vide de Paschate.*

Answ. 3. Yet doth not such an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a political Unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general Tradition, were tied to offer Sacrifice and oblations to God; that Consideration might argue all men to have been under the same Government: or no more than the usual Agreement of neighbour Nations in divers fashions doth conclude such an Unity.

Answ. 4. In divers Customes and Observances several Churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of Polity, than agreement in other Observances doth argue an Unity thereof. *Vide* Aug. *Epist.* 86. (*ad Casul.*) *Ep.* 118. *ad* Jan. Cypr. *Ep.* 75. *p.* 198. Iren. *apud* Euseb. *l.* 24. Socr. 5. 22. 7. 19.——*Cætera jam disciplinæ & conversationis admittunt novitatem correctibnis, hâc lege manente, &c.* Tert. *de Virg. vel* Thorn. *Lat. p.* 219. *P.* Greg. *I. in una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa. P.* Greg. *I. Epist.* 1, 41. *P.* Leo. *IX. Epist.* 1. *cap.* 29. *Nil obsunt salu-i credentium diversæ pro loco & tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest uni Deo commendat omnes. P.* Nic. *I. Ep.* 6. *De consuetudinibus quidem, quam nobis opponere visi estis, scribentes per diversas Ecclesias diversas esse consuetudines, si illis canonica non resistit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis resistimus, &c.*

Answ. 5. St. *Cyprian* doth affirm, that in such matters every Bishop had a Power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others. Cypr. *Ep.* 73.

Arg. VI. The Jewish Church was one Corporation; and in correspondence thereto the Christian Church should be such. *Ep. p.* 39. *Lat. p.* 159.

Answ. 1. As the Christian Church doth in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differeth in others, being designed to excel it: wherefore this Argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our Opinion as against it.

Answ. 2. In like manner it may be argued, that all Christians should annually meet in one place; that all Christians should have one Archpriest on Earth; that we should all be subject to one temporal Jurisdiction; that we should all speak one Language, *&c.*

Answ. 3. There is a great difference in the case; for the *Israelites* were one small Nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Christian Church should consist of all Nations, which rendreth Correspondence in this particular unpracticable, at least without great inconvenience.

Euſ. *Hiſt.* 1. 4. Baron. *App.* 2. *Anſw.* 4. Before the Law Chriſtian Religion, and conſequently a Chriſtian Church, did in ſubſtance ſubſiſt; but what Unity of Government was there then?

Anſw. 5. The Temporal Union of the Jews might only figure the ſpiritual Unity of Chriſtians in Faith, Charity and Peace.

Ep. p. 51--55. *Lat. p.* 157. *Arg.* VII. All Eccleſiaſtical Power was derived from the ſame Fountains, by ſucceſſion from the Apoſtles; therefore the Church was one political Body.

Iren. 3. 3. Tert. *Præſcr.* 31, 32. *Anſw.* 1. Thence we may rather infer, that Churches are not ſo united, becauſe the Founders of them were ſeveral Perſons endowed with co-ordinate and equal Power.

Anſ. 2. The Apoſtles did in ſeveral Churches conſtitute Biſhops, independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by ſucceſſion from thoſe, or by the conſtitutions of humane prudence, according to emergences of occaſion and circumſtances of things.

Anſ. 3. Divers Churches were Αὐτόνομοι· and all were ſo according to Saint *Cyprian.*

Anſ. 4. All temporal power is derived from *Adam*, and the Patriarchs, ancient Fathers of families; Doth it thence follow, that all the World muſt be under one ſecular Government?

Arg. VIII. All Churches did exerciſe a Power of Excommunication, or of excluding Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, diſorderly and ſcandalous people.

Ep. p. 59. *p.* 125. *Lat. p.* 185. *p.* 195. *Anſ.* 1. Each Church was veſted with this Power; this doth therefore only infer a reſemblance of ſeveral Churches in Diſcipline; which we avow.

Anſ. 2. This argueth that all Churches took themſelves to be obliged to preſerve the ſame Faith, to exerciſe Charity and Peace, to maintain the like Holineſs of converſation; What then? Do we deny this.

Anſ. 3. All Kingdoms and States do puniſh Offenders againſt Reaſon and Juſtice, do baniſh ſeditious and diſſorderly perſons, do uphold the Principles and Practice of common Honeſt and Morality; Doth it thence follow that all nations muſt come under one civil Government?

Excommunication of other Churches is only a Declaration againſt the Deviation from Chriſtian Truth, or Piety, or Charity.

Communio ſuſpenſa reſtituitur demonſtranti cauſas, quibus id acciderat, jam eſſe deterſas, & profitenti conditiones pacis impletas. P. Inn. *I. Ep.* 16. (*de* Attico Conſtant. *Ep.*)

Ep. p. 69. *Lat. p.* 222. *Arg.* IX. All Churches did maintain entercourſe and commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, ſynodical Epiſtles.

Literæ formatæ. Optat. 2. *Con.* Milev. *Can.* 20.
communicatoriæ. Aug. *Ep.* 162, 163.
καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικά. Euſeb. 7. 30. Cypr. *Ep.* 55, 67.
γράμματα συστατικά. *Apoſt. Can.* 12.
εἰρηνικαί. *Conc.* Chald. *Can.* 11.
συνοδικαί. Soz. 7. 11. *Conc. VI. Act.* 11. (*p.* 158, 198, 223.) Greg. *M.* (*Ep.* ——) P. Zach. Baron. *A.* 743. *Sect.* 29.

Significa planè nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelath fuerit ſubſtitutus, ut ſciamus ad quem fratres noſtros dirigere, & cui ſcribere debeamus. —— Cypr. *Ep.* 42, 67. *ad P.* Steph. (*p.* 161.) *Ep.* 55. (*N. B. p.* 113.)

Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας· ἐντολῆς τε οὔσης ἐν τῇ θείαις γραφαῖς πρεῖν συνδέσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις γιγνόμενα, &c. Alexandri *Epiſt.* Socr. *I.* 6.

The Catholick Church being one body, there being moreover a Command in the Holy Scriptures, to preſerve the bond of Peace and Concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to Write, and ſignifie to each other.

Anſw. 1. This doth ſignifie, that the Churches did by Admonition, Advice, *&c.* help one another in maintenance of the common Faith; did

did endeavour to preſerve Charity, Friendſhip and Peace; this is all which thence may be concluded.

Anſw. 2. Secular Princes are wont to ſend Ambaſſadors and Envoys with Letters and Inſtructions for ſettlement of Correſpondence and preſerving Peace; they ſometimes do recommend their Subjects to other Princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their ſubjects travelling or trading any where in the World; common Reaſon doth require ſuch things; But may common Unity of Polity from hence be inferr'd?

Arg. X. The effectual Preſervation of Unity in the primitive Church is alledged as a ſtrong Argument of its being united in one Government. *Ep pag.* 64. *Lat. pag.* 221.

Anſw. 1. That Unity of Faith and Charity and Diſcipline, which we admit, was indeed preſerved, not by influence of any one Sovereign Authority (whereof there is no mention,) but by the concurrent vigilance of Biſhops, declaring and diſputing againſt any Novelty in Doctrine or Practice which did ſtart up; by their adherence to the Doctrine aſſerted in Scripture and confirmed by Tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as Confederates againſt Errours and Diſorders creeping in.

Anſw. 2. The many Differences which aroſe concerning the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, the Re-baptization of Hereticks, the Reconciliation of Revolters and ſcandalous Criminals; concerning the deciſion of Cauſes and Controverſies, *&c.* do more clearly ſhew that there was no ſtanding common Juriſdiction in the Church; for had there been ſuch an one, recourſe would have been had thereto; and ſuch Differences by its Authority would eaſily have been quaſhed.

Arg. XI. Another Argument is grounded on the Relief which one Church did yield to another, which ſuppoſeth all Churches under one Government, impoſing ſuch Tribute. *Ep. pag.* 119. *Lat. pag.* 209.

Anſw. 1. This is a ſtrange Fetch: as if all who were under obligation to relieve one another in need, were to be under one Government. Then all Mankind muſt be ſo.

Anſw. 2. It appeareth by St *Paul* that theſe Succours were of free Charity, Favour and Liberality; and not by Conſtraint. 2 Cor. 8. 3. αὐθαιρέτοι. Veſ. 8. ἑκὰ ἐπίλαγήν 2 Cor. 9. 7. ἕκας & ἁδὼς προῃρῆται. Rom. 15. 26. εὐδόκησαν. Act. 11. 29. 24. 17. ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων.

Arg. XII. The uſe of Councils is alſo alledged as an Argument of this Unity. *Ep. pag.* 51. *Lat. pag.* 400.

Anſw. 1. General Councils (in caſe Truth is diſowned, that Peace is diſturbed, that Diſcipline is looſed or perverted,) are *wholſome* Expedients to clear Truth and heal Breaches; but the holding them is no more an Argument of political Unity in the Church, than the Treaty of *Munſter* was a ſign of all *Europe* being under one civil Government. Aug.

Anſw. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary, prudential means of reſtoring Truth, Peace, Order, Diſcipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary State of the Church.

Anſw. 3. For during a long time the Church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely; *For the firſt three hundred years* (ſaith *Bell.*) *there was no general aſſembly; afterwards ſcarce one in a hundred years.* *Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; poſtea verò vix centeſimâ annò. De Rom. P.* 1. 8.

And ſince the breach between the *Oriental* and *Weſtern* Churches, for many Centenaries, there hath been none.

Yet was the Church from the beginning One, till *Conſtantine*, and long afterwards.

Anſw. 4. The firſt General Councils (indeed all that have been with any probable ſhew capable of that denomination) were congregated by Emperours, to cure the Diſſentions of Biſhops; what therefore can be argued from them, but that the Emperours did find it good to ſettle Peace and Truth; and took this for a good mean thereto?

Bell. *de Conc.* l. 13. *Alb. Pighius* ſaid that General Councils were an invention of *Conſtantine*; and who can confute him?

Anſw. 5. They do ſhew rather the Unity of the Empire than of the Church; or of the Church as National under one Empire, than as Catholick; for it was the State which did call and moderate them to its purpoſes.

Anſw. 6. It is manifeſt that the congregation of them dependeth on the permiſſion and pleaſure of ſecular Powers; and in all equity ſhould do ſo, (as otherwhere is ſhewed.)

The validity of Synodical Decrees (as Spiritual) doth proceed from the Obligation to each ſingular Biſhop; as if Princes in confederacy do make any Sanction, the Subjects of each are bound to obſerve them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but becauſe of their Obligation to their own Prince conſenting.

Anſw. 7. It is not expedient that there ſhould be any of them now that Chriſtendom ſtandeth divided under divers temporal Sovereignties; for their Reſolutions may intrench on the Intereſts of ſome Princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the Civil Laws and Cuſtoms of every State.

Whence we ſee that *France* will not admit the Decrees of their *Tridentine* Synod.

Anſw. 8. There was no ſuch inconvenience in them while Chriſtendom was in a manner confined within one Empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the Emperour's leave or to his prejudice.

Hiſt. Trid. *p.* 67. A free Coun. *P.* Leo *I. Ep.* *Anſw.* 9. Yea (as things now ſtand) it is impoſſible there ſhould be a free Council; moſt of the Biſhops being ſworn Vaſſals and Clients to the Pope; and by their own Intereſts concerned to maintain his exorbitant Grandeur and Domination.

Anſw. 10. In the opinion of St. *Athanaſius* there was no reaſonable cauſe of Synods, except in caſe of new Hereſies ſpringing up, which may be confuted by the joint conſent of Biſhops.

Αἱ δὲ νῦν κινήσεις παρ' αὐτῆς ζήνοδοι πίαν ἔχουσιν εὔλογον αἰτίαν; &c. Athan. *de Syn. p.* 873.

Anſw. 11. As for particular Synods, they do onely ſignifie, that it was uſefull for neighbour Biſhops to conſpire in promoting Truth, Order and Peace, as we have otherwhere ſhewed.

Subrependi enim occaſiones non pretermittit ambitio, & quoties ob incurrentes cauſas generalis congregatio facta fuerit Sacerdotum, difficile eſt ut cupiditas improborum non aliquid ſupra menſuram ſuam non moliatur appetere. Leo *M. Ep.* 62. *(ad* Maximum Ant. *Ep.* ——*)*

Councils have often been convened for bad Deſigns, and been made Engines to oppreſs Truth and enſlave Chriſtendom.

That of *Antioch* againſt *Athanaſius*: of *Ariminum* for *Arianiſm*. The ſecond *Epheſine* to reſtore *Eutyches*, and reject *Flavianus*. The ſecond of *Nice*, to impoſe the Worſhip of Babies. The Synod of *Ariminum*, to countenance *Arians*. So the fourth Synod of *Laterane* (*ſub* Inn. *III.*) to ſettle the prodigious Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, and the wicked Doctrine of Papal Authority over Princes. The firſt Synod of *Lions*, to practiſe

practise that hellish Doctrine of Deposing Kings. The Synod of *Constance*, to establish the maim of the *Eucharist*; against the *Calistines* of *Bohemia*. The *Laterane* (under *Leo* X.) was called (as the Arch-bishop of *Patras* affirmed) *for the Exaltation of the Apostolical See*. The Synod of *Trent*, to settle a raff of Errours and Superstitions.

Pro Apostolicæ Sedis exaltatione. Lat. *Syn. Sess.* 10. *p.* 129.

Obj. II. It may farther be objected, that this Doctrine doth favour the Conceits of the Independents, concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline.

I answer, No. For,

1. We do assert, that every Church is bound to observe the Institutions of *Christ*, and that sort of Government which the Apostles did ordain, consisting of Bishops, Priests and People.

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive Churches, and in order to the maintenance of Truth, Order, Peace,) for several particular Churches or Parishes to be combined in political Corporations; as shall be found convenient by those who have just Authority to frame such Corporations: for that otherwise Christianity, being shattered into numberless shreds, could hardly subsist; and that great Confusions must arise.

3, We affirm, that such Bodies having been established and being maintained by just Authority, every man is bound to endeavour the upholding of them by Obedience, by peaceable and compliant Demeanour.

4. We acknowledge it a great Crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needless separation from them, to disturb them, to divide them, to dissolve or subvert them.

Jud. 19. Οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες.

We allow the *Apost. Can.* 31. Εἴ τις κατάφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου Ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγαγὴν καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ μηδὲν καταγνωκὼς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρεσθω ὡς φίλαρχος &c.

If any person, despising his own Bishop, shall set up a separate meeting, and build another Altar, having nothing to condemn in his Bishop, either for his Piety or uprightness, let him be deposed as one that ambitiously affects to be a Governour, &c.

5. We conceive it fit that every People under one Prince (or at least of one Nation, using the same Language, (Civil Law and Fashions,) should be united in the bands of Ecclesiastical Polity: for that such a Unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of Church and State; to the furtherance of God's Worship and Service; to the edification of People in Charity and Piety; by the encouragement of secular Powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of Ecclesiastical Pastours; by many advantages hence arising.

Δίκαιον οὖν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλους τοῦ νόμου αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ νόμου φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόροις διδασκαλίαις τὴν πίστιν μιαίνειν. *Syn.* Rom: *apud* Theod. 2. 22.

6. We suppose all Churches obliged to observe friendly communion; and, when occasion doth invite, to aid each other by assistence and advice, in Synods of Bishops, or otherwise,

7. We do affirm, that all Churches are obliged to comply with lawful Decrees and Orders, appointed in Synods with consent of their Bishops, and allowed by the Civil Authorities, under which they live: As if the Bishops of *Spain* and *France* assembling should agree upon Constitutions of Discipline which the Kings of both those Countries should approve; and which should not thwart God's Laws; both those Churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in observance of them.

From

From the Premisses divers Corollaries may be deduced.

1. Hence it appeareth, that all those clamours of the pretended Catholicks against other Churches, for not submitting to the *Roman* Chair, are groundless; they depending on the supposition, that all Churches must necessarily be united under one Government.

2. The Injustice of the Adherents to that See; in claiming an Empire (or Jurisdiction) over all, which never was designed by our Lord; heavily censuring and fiercely persecuting those who will not acknowledge it.

3. All Churches, which have a fair settlement in several Counties, are co-ordinate; neither can one challenge a Jurisdiction over the other.

4. The Nature of Schism is hence declared; *viz.* that it consisteth in disturbing the Order and Peace of any single Church; in withdrawing from it Obedience and Compliance with it; in obstructing good Correspondence, Charity, Peace, between several Churches; in condemning or censuring other Churches without just cause, or beyond due measure.

Excidisti enim teipsum; noli te fallere; si quidem ille est vero Schismaticus, qui se à communione Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Apostatum fecerit. Firmil. *apud* Cypr. *Ep.* 75.

In refusing to maintain Communion with other Churches, without reasonable cause; whence *Firmilian* did challenge P. *Stephanus* with Schism.

5. Hence the right way of reconciling Dissentions among Christians is not affecting to set up a political Union of several Churches, or subordination of all to one Power; not for one Church to enterprize upon the Liberty of others, or to bring others under it, (as is the practice of the *Roman* Church and its Abettors,) but for each Church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in Ecclesiastical Administrations; onely declaring against apparently hurtfull Errours and Factions; shewing Good-will, yielding Succour, Advice, Comfort, upon needfull occasion; according to that excellent Advice of the *Constantinopolitane* Fathers to the Pope and *Western* Bishops----(after having acquainted them with their proceedings) towards the conclusion they thus exhort them.

Οἷς εὐθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτεσούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πᾶσαν μὲν καταστέλλοντος (compressing) ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν, τὴν δὲ Ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴν προτιμοτέραν ποιοῦντος τῆς πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἕνα συμπαθείας ἢ χάριτος· οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτε τῆς πίστεως συμφωνηθέντος λόγου, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυρωθείσης ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπης παυσόμενα λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατεγνωσμένον, Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμὶ Παύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Απολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κεφᾶ· πάντες δὲ Κριστοῦ φανέντες, ὃς ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ μεμέρισται ἄρχιστον τὸ σῶμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τηρήσομεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ παῤῥησίας παραστησόμεθα. Theod. 5. 9.

We, having in a legal and canonical way determined these Controversies, do beseech your Reverence *to congratulate with us, your Charity spiritually interceding, the fear of the Lord also compressing all humane affection, so as to make us to prefer the edification of the Churches to all private respect and favour toward each other; for by this means the word of faith being consonant among us, and Christian Charity bearing sway over us, we shall cease from speaking after that manner which the Apostle condemns,* I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, but I am of Cephas; *for if we all do appear to be of Christ, who is not divided amongst us, we shall then through God's grace preserve the body of the Church from Schism, and present our selves before the throne of Christ with boldness.*

6. All that withdraw their communion to obeysance from particular Churches fairly established, (unto which they do belong or where

where they reside,) do incur the guilt of Schism: for such persons being *de Jure* subject to those particular Churches, and excommunicating themselves, do consequentially sever themselves from the Catholick Church; they commit great wrong toward that particular Church, and toward the whole Church of *Christ*.

Aug. *contra* Jul. *Ep.* 2. *Te certè occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis regeneravit Ecclesia: quid ei quæris inferre quod in ea non inveneristi, quando in ejus membra venisti? imò quid, &c.*

7 Neither doth their pretence of joining themselves to the *Roman* Church excuse them from Schism: for the *Roman* Church hath no reason or right to admit or to avow them; it hath no power to exempt or excuse them from their duty; it thereby abetteth their Crime, and involveth it self therein; it wrongeth other Churches, As no man is freed from his Allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another Prince; neither can another Prince justly receive such disloyal Revolters into his Patronage.

Synd. Sard. *Can.* 13. Gr.

It is a Rule grounded upon apparent Equity, and frequently declared by Ecclesiastical Canons, that no Church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another Church, or who do withdraw themselves from it: (for self-excommunication or Spiritual felony *de se* doth involve the Churches Excommunication, deserving it, and preventing it.)

Tornd. *Lat.* p. 220.

Αὐτικατάκειται. Tit. 3. 11.

Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφορισμένος, ὅπερ ἀδελφὸν ἀπλῶν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφορίζεσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. *Apost. Can.* 12.

Κρείττω γνώμη καὶ ἡ κανόνα τὰ διαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑπ' ἑτέρων ἐκβεβλημένους, ὑπ' ἐτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι. *Conc.* Nic. *Can.* 5.

If any Clerk, or Laick, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet readmitted (by his own Church) shall depart thence, and be received in another City without Letters commendatory, both he who doth receive him, and he that is received, let them be excommunicated.

Let the sentence be ratified which is according to that Canon which commands others not to admit those whom others have ejected.

Which Canon as the *African* Fathers do alledge and expound it, doth prohibit the *Pope himself* from receiving persons rejected by any other Church.

Μηδὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκκοινωνήτους εἰς κοινωνίαν τῶν λοιπῶν θέλητε δέχεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ δεικνὺς ἀσυγχύτως εὕρεσι καὶ στερρότητος. *Syn.* Afr. *Epist. ad* P. Celest. *I.*

Εἴ τις τῶν τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος λέγοντος, μὴ προτέρου αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δέχεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθείη τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκόπου. —— *Conc.* Ant. *Can.* 6. *Idem in Concil.* Sard. *Can.* 13, 14. (Græc.)

So when *Marcion*, having been excommunicated by his own Father, coming to *Rome*, did sue to be received by that Church into communion, they refused, telling him that, *they could not do it without the consent of his Reverend Father, between whom and them there being one faith and one agreement of mind, they could not do it in opposition to their worthy fellow labourer, who was also his Father.*

Ἔλεγε, τί μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν μεταδέξασθαι, ἅτε λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ γέροντος ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτοῖς μιᾶς οὔσης πίστεως καὶ μιᾶς ὁμονοίας, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ ὄντι σοῦ. Epiph. *Hær.* 42.

St. *Cyprian* refused to admit *Maximus* (sent from the *Novatian* party) to communion.

Ep. 55. *p.* 113.

So did P. *Cornelius* reject *Felicissimus*, condemned by St. *Cyprian*, without farther inquiry.

Ep. 55. *init.* (*abs te rejectum. Vid.*) *Vid.* Rig. *p.* 79.

It was charged upon *Dioscorus* as a heinous misdemeanour, that *he had against the Holy Canons, by his proper authority, received into communion persons excommunicated by others.*

—*quosdam à diversis Conciliis ritè damnatos, in communionem, propriâ auctoritate, suscepit, Sanctis Regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem alios non debere suscipere. Epist. Syn.* Chalced. *ad Imper. Act.* 4. *pag.* 286.

—— καθαιρεθέντα κανονικῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπισκόπου αὐθεντήσας ἀκοινώνητος εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο. Evagr. 2. 4.

The

The *African* Synod (at the suggestion of St. *Austin*) decreed, that *if it happen'd that any for their evil deeds were deservedly expell'd out of the Church, and taken again into communion by any Bishop or Priest whosoever, that he also who received him, should incur the same penalty of Excommunication.*

Augustinus Episcopus, legatus Provinciæ Numidiæ dixit; Hoc statuere dignamini, ut si qui fortè meritò facinorum suorum ab Ecclesia pulsi sunt, & sive ab aliquo Episcopo vel Presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pari cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius—— *Cod.* Afr. *Can.* 9.

The same is by latter Papal Synods decreed.

Sanctorum quippe canonum sanxit auctoritas, & ea passim Ecclesiæ consuetudo servat, ut à quolibet justè excommunicatum Episcopo, alius absolvere non præsumat. P. Urb. *II. Epist.* 20. (*apud* Bin.)

A suis Episcopis excommunicatos, ab aliis Episcopis, Abbatibus & Clericis in communionem recipi procul dubio prohibemus. Conc. Lat. *I.* (*sub* P. Calixto *II*) *cap.* 9.

—— *Qui vero excommunicato antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ teneatur obnoxius.* Conc. Lat. (*sub* Innoc. *II.*) *Can.* 3.

The Words of *Synesius* are remarkable: He, having excommunicated some cruel Oppressours, doth thus recommend the case to all Christians.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ Πτολεμαΐδος Ἐκκλησία τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἁπάντα χοῦ γῆς ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάττεται.—— Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολῖτιν ὑποσκυβαλίσει τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ δέξεται τοὺς ἀποκηρυκτοὺς αὐτῆς (proscribed by it) ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πένητι πείθεσθαι, ἔστω χρίσας τῶν Ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται.—— *Epist.* 58 *pag.* 203. *Edit. Petav.*

P. Leo *Ep.* 84. *cap.* 9.

Upon which grounds I do not scruple to affirm the Recusants in *England* to be no less Schimaticks than any other Separatists. They are indeed somewhat worse; for most others do onely forbear communion, these do rudely condemn the Church, to which they owe Obedience, yea, strive to destroy it: they are most desperate Rebels against it.

8. It is the Duty and Interest of all Churches to disclaim the Pretences of the *Roman* Court; maintaining their Liberties and Rights against its Usurpations: For Compliance therewith, as it doth greatly prejudice Truth and Piety; leaving them to be corrupted by the ambitious, covetous and voluptuous Designs of those men;) so it doth remove the genuine Unity of the Church and Peace of Christians; unless to be tyed by compulsory Chains (as Slaves) be deemed Unity or Peace.

9. Yet those Churches, which by the voluntary consent or command of Princes, do adhere in confederation to the *Roman* Church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject Communion of Charity or Peace; (for in that they do but use their Liberty.)

10. But if such Churches do maintain impious Errours; if they do prescribe naughty Practices; if they do reject Communion and Peace upon reasonable terms; if they vent unjust and uncharitable Censures; if they are turbulent and violent, striving by all means to subdue and enslave other Churches to their will or their dictates —— if they ~~they~~ damn and persecute all who refuse to be their Subjects: in such Cases we may reject such Churches as heretical or schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their Proceedings.

Quicunque hæresi communicans meritò judicatur à nostra societate removendus. Gelas. *Ep.* 1. *ad* Euphem.

An communicare, non est consentire cum talibus? P. Sym. I. *Ep.* 7.

A TA-

A TABLE of the AUTHORS quoted in the Treatise of the *Pope's Supremacy*, and *Unity of the Church.*

A.

S. *Ambrosius.*
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Anton. de Consil. *Pis.*
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